



# BRUCKNER



Food, Beer, Inns, Doctors,  
and a bit more ...



An insightful compilation of texts and images taken from the internet prepared by Gilles Houle



Bust of Anton Bruckner by Viktor Tilgner  
(Nordico Stadtmuseum Linz)

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## History of Beer

Beer is one of the oldest beverages humans have produced, dating back to at least the 5th millennium B.C. in Iran, and was recorded in the written history of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and spread throughout the world.

As almost any cereal containing certain sugars can undergo spontaneous fermentation due to wild yeasts in the air, it is possible that beer-like beverages were independently developed throughout the world soon after a tribe or culture had domesticated cereal. Chemical tests of ancient pottery jars reveal that beer was produced as far back as about 7,000 years ago in what is today Iran. This discovery reveals one of the earliest known uses of fermentation and is the earliest evidence of brewing to date. In Mesopotamia, the oldest evidence of beer is believed to be a 6,000 year old Sumerian tablet depicting people drinking a beverage through reed straws from a communal bowl. A 3,900 year old Sumerian poem honouring Ninkasi, the patron goddess of brewing, contains the oldest surviving beer recipe, describing the production of beer from barley via bread. In China, residue on pottery dating from between 5,400 and 4,900 years ago shows beer was brewed using barley and other grains.

The invention of bread and beer has been argued to be responsible for humanity's ability to develop technology and build civilization. The earliest chemically confirmed barley beer to date was discovered at Godin Tepe in the central Zagros Mountains of Iran, where fragments of a jug, from between 5,400 and 5,000 years ago was found to be coated with beerstone, a by-product of the brewing process.

Beer may have been known in Neo-lithic Europe as far back as 5,000 years ago, and was mainly brewed on a domestic scale. Women brewers dominated alcohol production on every occupied continent until commercialization and industrialization of brewing occurred.

The Finnish epic Kalevala, collected in written form in the 19th Century but based on oral traditions many Centuries old, devotes more lines to the origin of beer and brewing than it does to the origin of mankind.

The mythical Flemish king Gambrinus (from Jan Primus (John I)) , is sometimes credited with the invention of beer.

According to Czech legend, deity Radegast, god of hospitality, invented beer.

Ninkasi was the patron goddess of brewing in ancient Sumer.

In Egyptian mythology, the immense blood-lust of the fierce lioness goddess Sekhmet was only sated after she was tricked into consuming an extremely large amount of red-coloured beer (believing it to be blood) : she became so drunk that she gave-up slaughter altogether and became docile.

In Norse mythology the sea god Ægir, his wife Rán, and their 9 daughters, brewed ale (or mead) for the gods. In the Lokasenna, it is told that Ægir would host a party where all the gods would drink the beer he brewed for them. He made this in a giant kettle that Thor had brought. The cups in Ægir's hall were always full, magically refilling themselves when emptied. Ægir had 2 servants in his hall to assist him ; Eldir (Fire-Kindler) and Fimafeng (Handy) .

In Nart sagas, Satanaya (Ubykh [satanaja] , Adyghe [setenej] , Ossetian [ʃatana] ) , the mother of the Narts, a fertility figure and matriarch, invented beer.

Recent Irish Mythology attributes the invention of beer to fabled Irishman Charlie Mops.

Beer produced before the Industrial Revolution continued to be made and sold on a domestic scale, although by the 7th Century A.D. , beer was also being produced and sold by European monasteries. During the Industrial Revolution, the production of beer moved from artisanal manufacture to industrial manufacture, and domestic manufacture ceased to be significant by the end of the 19th Century. The development of hydrometers and thermometers changed brewing by allowing the brewer more control of the process, and greater knowledge of the results.

Beer was one of the most common drinks during the Middle-Ages. It was consumed daily by all social classes in the northern and eastern parts of Europe where grape cultivation was difficult or impossible. Though wine of varying qualities was the most common drink in the south, beer was still popular among the lower-classes. The idea that beer was consumed more commonly than water during medieval times is a myth. Water was cheaper than beer, and towns and villages were built close to sources of fresh water such as rivers, springs, and wells to facilitate easy access to the resource. Though probably one of the most popular drinks in Europe, beer was disdained by science as being unhealthy, mostly because ancient Greek and more contemporary Arab physicians had little or no experience with the drink.

In 1256, the Aldobrandino of Siena described the nature of beer in the following way :

« But from whichever it is made, whether from oats, barley or wheat, it harms the head and the stomach, it causes bad breath and ruins the teeth, it fills the stomach with bad fumes, and as a result anyone who drinks it along with wine becomes drunk quickly ; but it does have the property of facilitating urination and makes one's flesh white and smooth. »

The use of hops in beer was written of in 822 by a Carolingian Abbot. Flavouring beer with hops was known at least since the 9th Century, but was only gradually adopted because of difficulties in establishing the right proportions of ingredients. Before that, gruit, a mix of various herbs, had been used, but did not have the same preserving properties as hops. Beer flavoured without it was often spoiled soon after preparation and could not be exported. The only other

alternative was to increase the alcohol content, which was rather expensive. Hopped beer was perfected in the medieval towns of Bohemia by the 13th Century. German towns pioneered a new scale of operation with standardized barrel sizes that allowed for large-scale export. Previously, beer had been brewed at home, but the production was now successfully replaced by medium-sized operations of about 8 to 10 people. This type of production spread to Holland in the 14th Century and later to Flanders and Brabant, and reached England by the late-15th Century.

English ale and beer brewing were carried-out separately, no brewer being allowed to produce both.

The Brewers Company of London stated :

« No hops, herbs, or other like thing be put into any ale or liquore wherof ale shall be made - but only liquor (water) , malt, and yeast. »

This comment is sometimes misquoted as a prohibition on hopped beer. However, hopped beer was opposed by some, e.g. :

« Ale is made of malte and water ; and they the which do put any other thyng to ale than is rehersed, except yest, barme, or goddesgood (3 words for yeast) , doth sophysticat there ale. Ale for an Englysshe man is a naturall drinke. Ale muste haue these properties, it muste be fresshe and cleare, it muste not be ropy, nor smoky, nor it must haue no wefte nor taylor. Ale shulde not be dronke vnder .v. dayes olde. (...) Barly malte maketh better ale than Oten malte or any other corne doth. (...) Beere is made of malte, of hoppes, and water ; it is a naturall drynke for a doche (Dutch) man, and nowe of late dayes it is moche vsed in Englande to the detryment of many Englysshe men (...) for the drynke is a colde drynke. Yet it doth make a man fatte, and doth inflate the bely, as it doth appere by the doche mennes faces and belyes. »

In Europe, beer brewing largely remained a home activity in medieval times. By the 14th and 15th Centuries, beer-making was gradually changing from a family-oriented activity to an artisan one, with pubs and monasteries brewing their own beer for mass-consumption.

In the late Middle-Ages, the brewing industry in northern Europe changed from a small-scale domestic industry to a large-scale export industry. The key-innovation was the introduction of hops, which began in northern Germany in the 13th Century. Hops sharply improved both the brewing process and the quality of beer. Other innovations from German lands involved larger kettle sizes and more frequent brewing. Consumption went-up, while brewing became more concentrated because it was a capital-intensive industry. Thus, in Hamburg, « per capita » consumption increased from an average of 300 liters per year in the 15th Century to about 700 in the 17th Century.

The use of hops spread to the Netherlands, and then, to England. In 15th Century England, an unhopped beer would have been known as an ale, while the use of hops would make it a beer. Hopped beer was imported to England from the Netherlands as early as 1400 in Winchester, and hops were being planted on the island by 1428. The popularity of hops was at first mixed.

The Brewers Company of London went so far as to state :

« No hops, herbs, or other like thing be put into any ale or liquore wherof ale shall be made - but only liquor (water) , malt, and yeast. »

However, by the 16th Century, ale had come to refer to any strong beer, and all ales and beers were hopped, giving rise to the verse noted by the antiquary John Aubrey :

Greeks, Heresie, Turkey-cocks and Beer

Came into England all in a year.

the year, according to Aubrey, being the fifteenth of Henry VIII (1524) .

In 1516, William IV, Duke of Bavaria, adopted the « Reinheitsgebot » (Purity Law) , perhaps the oldest food regulation still in use through the 20th Century (the « Reinheitsgebot » passed formally from German law in 1987) . The « Gebot » ordered that the ingredients of beer be restricted to water, barley, and hops ; yeast was added to the list after Louis Pasteur's discovery in 1857. The Bavarian law was applied throughout Germany as part of the 1871 German unification as the German Empire under Otto von Bismarck, and has since been updated to reflect modern trends in beer-brewing. To this day, the « Gebot » is considered a mark of purity in beers, although this is controversial.

Most beers until relatively recent times were top-fermented. Bottom-fermented beers were discovered by accident in the 16th Century after beer was stored in cool caverns for long periods ; they have since largely outpaced top-fermented beers in terms of volume.

Following significant improvements in the efficiency of the steam-engine in 1765, industrialization of beer became a reality. Further innovations in the brewing process came about with the introduction of the thermometer in 1760 and hydrometer in 1770, which allowed brewers to increase efficiency and attenuation.

Prior to the late 18th Century, malt was primarily dried over fires made from wood, charcoal, or straw, and after 1600, from coke.

In general, none of these early malts would have been well-shielded from the smoke involved in the kilning process, and consequently, early beers would have had a smoky component to their flavours ; evidence indicates that maltsters and brewers constantly tried to minimize the smokiness of the finished beer.

Writers of the period describe the distinctive taste derived from wood-smoked malts, and the almost universal revulsion it engendered. The smoked beers and ales of the West Country were famous for being undrinkable - locals and the desperate excepted.

This is from « Directions for Brewing Malt Liquors » (1700) :

« In most parts of the West, their malt is so stench'd with the Smoak of the Wood, with which 'tis dried, that no Stranger can endure it, though the inhabitants, who are familiarized to it, can swallow it as the Hollanders do their thick Black Beer Brewed with Buck Wheat. »

An even earlier reference to such malt was recorded by William Harrison, in his « Description of England » , 1577 :

« In some places, it (malt) is dried at leisure with wood alone, or straw alone, in other with wood and straw together, but, of all, the straw-dried is the most excellent. For the wood-dried malt, when it is brewed, beside that the drink is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoy the head of him that is not used thereto, because of the smoke. Such also as use both indifferently do bark, cleave, and dry their wood in an oven, thereby, to remove all moisture that should procure the fume (...) »

« London and Country Brewer » (1736) specified the varieties of « brown malt » popular in the city :

« Brown Malts are dried with Straw, Wood and Fern, etc. The straw-dried is the best, but the wood sort has a most unnatural Taste, that few can bear with, but the necessitous, and those that are accustomed to its strong smoaky tang ; yet, it is much used in some of the Western Parts of England, and many thousand Quarters of this malt has been formerly used in London for brewing the Butt-keoing-beers with, and that because it sold for 2 Shillings per Quarter cheaper than Straw-dried Malt, nor was this Quality of the Wood-dried Malt much regarded by some of its Brewers, for that its ill Taste is lost in 9 or 12 Months, by the Age of the Beer, and the strength of the great Quantity of Hops that were used in its preservation. »

The hydrometer transformed how beer was brewed. Before its introduction, beers were brewed from a single malt : brown beers from brown malt ; amber beers from amber malt ; pale beers from pale malt. Using the hydrometer, brewers could calculate the yield from different malts. They observed that pale malt, though more expensive, yielded far more fermentable material than cheaper malts. For example, brown malt (used for Porter Beer) gave 54 pounds of extract per quarter, whilst pale malt gave 80 pounds. Once this was known, brewers switched to using mostly pale malt for all beers supplemented with a small quantity of highly-coloured malt to achieve the correct colour for darker beers.

The invention of the drum-roaster in 1817 by Daniel Wheeler allowed for the creation of very dark, roasted malts, contributing to the flavour of porters and stouts. Its development was prompted by a British law of 1816 forbidding the use of any ingredients other than malt and hops. Porter brewers, employing a predominantly pale malt grist, urgently needed a legal colourant. Wheeler's patent malt was the solution.

Yeast ring used by Swedish home-brewers in the 19th Century to preserve the yeast between brewing sessions.

Louis Pasteur's 1857 discovery of yeast's role in fermentation led to brewers developing methods to prevent the

souring of beer by undesirable micro-organisms.

## Brewing in ancient Germania

Brewing in ancient Germania was done by the women who germinated wheat grains and flavoured their beer with myrtle, ash leaves and oak bark. Tacitus reports that the Germans drank beer out of auroch horns while lying comfortably on bearskin coats. After the 7th Century, monks began to brew beer as a kind of « liquid bread » allowed during fasting days of Lent. This beer was especially strong and nourishing. Soon, they began to sell their beer in their monastery taverns, and many monasteries in Germania, Gallia and Britain become rich and famous. Monks soon had competition. Private northern German breweries were taking their own beer to Flanders and Sweden by 1200 A.D. There were over 600 such breweries in Hamburg alone in the 1500's. Monarchs liked the private brewers, as unlike monks, they had to pay taxes. Soon, royalty got into the act of promoting suds.

Beer was still made by the women in their household until the Middle-Ages. A common breakfast treat was warm beer enriched with eggs, ginger and nutmeg. The monks soon discovered hops as an appropriate spice for their beer. Although hops add a sour, bitter taste, they helped to keep it fresh longer and were thought to have a calming effect to reduce the danger of caving in to the devil's sexual temptations. Hildegard von Bingen recommended in her 12th Century book that « One should drink beer ! » and she prescribed it for depression and sleeplessness.

At the end of the 15th Century, there were numerous breweries in cities such as Salzburg, usually in combination with an inn. This is thanks in part to the famous physician « Paracelsus » (Theophrast von Hohenheim, 1493-1541) who spent much of his life in Salzburg and discovered that beer was good medicine. Paracelsus replaced speculative doctrines with observations of nature, including the beneficial effects of beer. People were happily in agreement with his theory. A brewer of the day not only brewed beer, he butchered his own meat and hosted guests to enjoy the hospitality. Townsfolk passing by would have a drink of beer and carry some home in jugs. Soon, 12 major breweries dominated Salzburg, and there were more than 100 individual brewers.

Brewing was risky business in the Middle-Ages, and those eager for greater profit often used cheap filler ingredients to pad the beverage, from fruit, herbs and eggs to tree bark and fish bladders. As a result, beer was sometimes putrid tasting and even poisonous. This gave urgency for some sort of uniformity law. The first regulation appeared in Augsburg, Bavaria, in the 1480's. Bavaria's reigning Duke Wilhelm IV expanded the Augsburg regulation to cover all of Bavaria and it became official at Ingolstadt in 1516.

The « Reinheitsgebot », or the German (or Bavarian) Beer Purity Law was a regulation governing beer production in Germany which in its original text decreed that the only ingredients which could be used in beer production were beer were water, barley, and hops (it was later revised to allow yeast) . It also set the price of beer. The penalty for making impure beer was also set : a brewer using other ingredients for his beer could have those barrels confiscated without compensation. 16th Century Brewers in Bavaria have generally received the credit for having originated or at least modified beer to its modern form.

From 1871, the « Reinheitsgebot » gradually spread from Bavaria to throughout the German Empire at Bavaria's insistence. Brewers outside of Bavaria sometimes objected and the law also led to the extinction of some old brewing traditions and local specialty beers, and it gave « Pilsner » style beer preeminence.

The « Reinheitsgebot » was also enforced in Greece from the early 19th Century thanks to the first Greek King, former Bavarian Prince Otto who, as one of his first royal acts, opened a brewery in Greece.

Original « Reinheitsgebot » :

« We hereby proclaim and decree, by Authority of our Province, that henceforth in the Duchy of Bavaria, in the country as well as in the cities and market-places, the following rules apply to the sale of beer : From Michaelmas to Georgi, the price for one “ Mass ” (Bavarian Liter : 1.069) or one “ Kopf ” (bowl-shaped container for fluids, not quite 1 “ Mass ”) , is not to exceed one Pfennig Munich value, and From Georgi to Michaelmas, the “ Mass ” shall not be sold for more than 2 Pfennig of the same value, the “ Kopf ” not more than 3 Heller.

If this not be adhered to, the punishment stated below shall be administered. Should any person brew, or otherwise have, other beer than March Beer, it is not to be sold any higher than 1 Pfennig per “ Mass ”. Furthermore, we wish to emphasize that in future in all cities, markets and in the country, the only ingredients used for the brewing of beer must be Barley, Hops and Water. Whosoever knowingly disregards or transgresses upon this ordinance, shall be punished by the Court authorities' confiscating such barrels of beer, without fail. Should, however, an inn-keeper in the country, city or markets buy 2 or 3 pails of beer (containing 60 “ Mass ”) and sell it again to the common peasantry, he alone shall be permitted to charge 1 Heller more for the “ Mass ” of the “ Kopf ”, than mentioned above. Furthermore, should there arise a scarcity and subsequent price increase of the barley (also considering that the times of harvest differ, due to location) , WE, the Bavarian Duchy, shall have the right to order curtailments for the good of all concerned. »

### Beer, Taverns and Inns in the Habsburg Empire

Max Graf :

« In Vienna, even if nowhere else, in the 19th Century there existed a kind of democracy in the taverns which prevailed as long as the effect of the wine. »

« Even the modest citizen had an easy existence. At 10 o'clock in the morning, after 2 hours' work, he would go to his favourite inn and fortify himself for further accomplishments with a glass of fresh beer and a portion of goulash. Evenings, with wife and children, he would saunter in the “ Prater ” where in good weather the inns were crowded, where games and entertainments were continuously patronized, and where music sounded from all sides - shrill barrel organs, blaring, brass bands, or waltz violins. Or he might sit in a corner of the tavern he regularly frequented, and talk politics with his cronies. The waiters kept carrying glass after glass of foaming beer, while smoke rose to the roof from numerous meerschaum pipes or long Virginia cigars. »



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It may seem convenient to link the societal unrest of the mid-19th Century with the unrest of discovery then rocking the brewing world. But simultaneity cannot help but establish at least the possibility of relation. The isolation of pure lager yeasts and the founding of new beer styles dependent on greater technical achievement by Anton Dreher in Vienna ; Gabriel Sedlmeyer in Munich ; Emil Hansen in Copenhagen ; and brewers in the Czech city of Plzeň (as well as through the immunological experiments of Louis Pasteur, who did much of his work with brewing yeasts) captured the world's fascination with brewing innovation. When the Czechs, Bohemians, Moravians, Germans, and Austrians spread outward into the wider world, they were liable to carry with them their enthusiasms. They did not sweep all brewing culture before them, but they did establish a way of doing things wherever they went. At the same time, emigrants from the wine-making regions of Italy and Hungary were busy themselves spreading world wine culture.

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Wine was preferred in Habsburg Vienna, and the kind of taxation that marginalized wines in England only affected wine consumption in the Habsburg Empire more slowly ... though the eventual stratification we see in England does eventually appear in the Habsburg domains as well.

« Modest » is perhaps the right word to describe the amount of beer drunk by the Viennese in the 1730's. It was about 65 litres per head per year. From the end of the 16th Century, there was a steady increase in the consumption of beer. By the end of the 18th Century, it was the same as that of the most frequently consumed alcoholic drink, namely wine. In the 1730's, the Viennese were still drinking around 3 times more wine than beer. Brandy and fruit juice also became more popular from the 16th Century on. It was in particular in the towns that wine was an important drink, because the water supply there was often inadequate and could be a source of epidemics. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the consumption of beer rose and that of wine fell, because increasing prices and taxation meant that the poorer classes could not afford it, so that drinking wine became more and more the preserve of the upper-classes.

There's a little more about the « Gasthäuser » and « Schenken » (inns and taverns) where this drinking was going on.

In the Habsburg territories, it was not always left to the people themselves to choose which beer and which wine they drank. It was not unusual for the lords of the manor to decide this for them.

Licences to sell beer or wine were granted either to persons or to premises and were restricted to burghers and vineyard owners respectively. Nor could any beer or any wine be sold. The authorities could oblige landlords to procure beer from a particular brewery - in most cases, one attached to a monastery or a landowner's castle, which could make a considerable profit from such sales. Whereas in the Middle-Ages, many households brewed their own beer, from the middle of the 15th Century brewing increasingly became a specialized trade practised by burghers, the aristocracy and monasteries.

It was permitted to serve wine only between 29 September (that is to say after the grapes had been harvested) and 30 April. Wine-making, an everyday activity for many Viennese, was at times frowned upon by the Habsburg rulers. Ferdinand I tried to ban wine-presses from the city altogether on hygienic grounds. Work in the vineyards was done mostly by labourers and itinerant workers. Wine was produced both for domestic consumption and to be served in local taverns as well as for export. The rulers made a considerable amount of money from the consumption of alcoholic beverages, because they were taxed at an average rate of 30 % . To check that this tax had been paid, collectors provided each barrel destined for sale with a « dispatch certificate » (« Passierungspass ») and a special mark. It is not surprising that there were numerous conflicts between landlords and tax-collectors. In addition, functions held in taverns were also taxed : for example, in Vienna, a levy of 15 Kreuzer was charged for each musician.

Gradually, beer replaced wine as the population's favourite drink. But inns and taverns remained as popular as ever. There was an ever-increasing gap between the price of wine and the price of beer. The beer consumption also increased for social reasons. Price changes in the 19th Century often led to « Beer riots » .

Alcoholic drinks were served in inns (« Gasthäuser ») , which specialized in either beer or wine and also offered additional services such as beds for the night and fodder and stabling for horses. Taverns (« Schenken ») , some of which also served as staging posts for mail-coaches, were important meeting-places for the inhabitants of both towns and villages : they were where information was exchanged, assemblies held and all kinds of occasions celebrated - weddings, baptisms, dances and so on. Because inns and taverns were also places where people might discuss politics and the ruling classes in a critical manner, they were regarded with suspicion by the authorities. They suspected that taverns were places where people gambled, dealt in stolen goods and indulged in immoral behaviour, while making use of the inns as places to recruit soldiers. The main-concern of the authorities was to bring « order » to the inns and taverns and to the towns in general : landlords were required, among other things, to check the passes issued to beggars and strangers, and to report people attending Protestant church services.

Towards the end of the 1850's, the beer production was revolutionized by the arrival of Anton Dreher's lager beer of Kőbánya, Hungary, and the spread of the Czech « Pilsner » beer. The « Pilsner Urquell » , the « Schwechater Lager » and the « St. Marxer Abzugbier » were considered high-quality products.

Pope Leo XIII was prescribed « Pilsner Urquell » by his doctor to facilitate his digestion.

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**1637** : Construction of a brewery in Linz.

**1854** : Peter Schmidt founder of « Kőbányai Serfőző Társaság » produced the first « Kőbányai Ser » .

**1862** : Anton Dreher, the « King of Beer » , bought the « Kőbányai Serház » .

**1870** : Anton Dreher junior takes-over the leadership of the company. He developed the technology and capacity of his

factories, and Kőbánya soon became the largest brewery of Hungary.

The Dreher Brewery and Tavern played an important role in the Social-Democrat movement of Vienna following World War I, also known as « Red Vienna ». In the middle of the 19th Century, Anton Dreher senior had purchased 2 small, adjacent restaurants and combined them into one « Gasthaus » with a big garden. « Dreher's Établissement » opened on 25 December 1859 and was an immediate hit as a hot Beer Hall. It had not only the garden and the tavern, but also a restaurant and a dance-hall. Between 1918 and 1933, it became the un-official meeting-place of « Landstraßer » Social-Democrats of Vienna.

The history of beer in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, goes back further than the creation of « Pilsner Urquell » in 1842. Beer was made in the Czech lands even before the Slavic migration in the 6th Century.

### Anton Dreher

The Austrian brewer Anton Dreher was born on 7 May 1810 in Schwechat near Vienna ; and died on 27 December 1863 in Schwechat. He was an important figure in the development of pale lager.

In 1840, Dreher introduced a beer that combined the crispness of lager with the paler hues of the English ale ; this new style of beer became known as the Viennese style and was called « Schwechater Lagerbier » .

When Franz Anton Dreher died of marasmus in 1820, his 10 year old son was too young to manage the brewing business. Dreher was apprenticed to the brewer Meichel, in Simmering, and later undertook a study tour, a journeyman's tour, through Germany, where he studied at the Sedlmayr brewery of Munich, in England, where he studied at Barclay and Perkins in London, and in Scotland. In 1836, he partnered with his mother, and with the help of his wife's marriage portion, he experimented with the English malting process, which produced a caramelized, crystal malt ; he was able to buy his mother out by 1839. Here, he was the first brewer in the European continent to use the English malting process. He owned acres of land throughout Austria and Bohemia, and grew his own hops and barley, which allowed him to save on costs. When he died suddenly in 1863, he was worth 10 million Gulden.

Starting in 1836, Anton Dreher took-over the brewery and developed the bottom-fermented beer (« Schwechater Lagerbier ») which he presented in 1840-1841. It was a new style of beer, methodically bottom fermented to produce a brew that was coppery reddish-brown in colour. It required steady, cool temperature for maturation and storage, and this requirement gives the beer its name : « lager » (in German, « Lager » means storehouse or warehouse) . Originally, he called the beer « Märzen » (March-Beer) , because it was brewed in March, when the water was cold, and ice was still available. Eventually, the name « lager » became the accepted name ; it was also called Vienna « Typ » , or Vienna Style Beer. In 1858, Dreher's lager won the gold medal for excellence at the Beer Exhibit in Vienna. The greater honour occurred on 26 November 1861 when Emperor Franz-Josef I visited the brewery and awarded Dreher with the Knight's Cross of the Franz-Josef Order. In 1862, he received the Gold medal with Diploma from the World Exhibition in Paris. In 1869, his « Lager » beer won the High First Prize.

The Danube river provided the water needed for unlimited beer and malt-making. The attention turned to Kőbánya because of a beer made by Peter Schmidt, a brewer Master from Pest who studied in Munich. Schmidt stored beer in his rock cellar in Kőbánya. The water in the wells, made by deep drilling technology, is perfectly suited for beer-making ; the cellars of Schmidt's brewery provided the steady cool temperature needed for maturation and storage. It was the ideal warehouse, or, in German « Lager » , for storing the beer.

The surge of the Kőbánya beer production attracted Dreher's attention, in part because Schmidt's beer was competition for him. He visited Pest-Buda on several occasions between 1856 and 1860 ; by 1862, he was able to buy the Kőbánya Brewery Company. He purchased further plots of land and prepared for expansion, but died suddenly in 1863, leaving his 14 year old son to implement the plans.

In 1873, the beer won another Gold medal at the World Exhibit in Vienna ; in 1878, in Paris ; in 1879, in Sydney ; in 1878, in Melbourne ; in 1882, in Trieste. On June 4, 1883, Emperor Franz-Josef visited the brewery for the second time, and honoured Anton Dreher junior with the Knights Cross of the Order of Franz-Josef. In 1897, Dreher received the Commander's Cross ; and later, the Great Cross of the Order ; and, in 1902, the Order of Iron Cross, 2nd Class.

After his father's death in 1863, Anton Dreher junior continued the work on the brewing process. He started to export this beer first to the Netherlands, then to Triest (now Trieste) , where it was known as « Birra Dreher » , and then, to Germany. In 1871, known as the winter without ice, Dreher constructed a cooling machine to process the beer. He continued to develop the brewery, the mechanization, and the fields, and by 1897, the brewery was producing 739,639 Hectoliters of beer, which was more than double the amount produced under his father in the company's most productive year.

### Regulars' table : the « Stammtisch » tradition

Max Graf :

The neighbour who talked with a Czech or Hungarian accent was just as much a Viennese as he who was born there. One did not laugh at his pronunciation and his peculiarities as at a foreigner, but one saw in him a man like oneself. Thus, sprang-up the spirit of friendliness, companionship and popular humanism which brought Viennese together, caused them to gather in the smoky coffee-houses and inns and made them become friends.

...

A « Stammtisch » (German for regulars' table) is an informal group meeting held on a regular basis, and also the usually large, often round-table around which the group meets. A « Stammtisch » is not a structured meeting, but rather a friendly get-together.

Traditionally, the meeting-table is marked with a somewhat elaborate sign reserving it for regulars. Historically, such a meeting might involve socializing, card-playing (such as « skat ») , and often political or philosophical discussions. The

words « Stammtischpolitik » (« Stammtisch » politics) and « Stammtisch-niveau » (« Stammtisch » level) , describe the simplified nature of « Stammtisch » discussions, and have an established metaphorical usage in describing simplified political and social discussions beyond the « Stammtisch » itself.

Especially in rural areas and smaller villages, being part of the « Stammtisch » was often related to a certain social status. In the second half of the 19th Century, a « Stammtisch » typically consisted of local dignitaries such as the mayor, doctor, pharmacist, teacher, forester or wealthy farmers. Inviting a stranger to take a seat at the « Stammtisch » was a sign of extraordinary appreciation. This was similarly the case with types of regulars' tables in « cafés » consisting of writers and artists.

### What happens at a « Stammtisch » ?

It is a table in a restaurant or a « Gasthaus » (inn) , which is reserved for regular customers who gather on certain days of the week to talk, play cards or hold meetings. The « Stammtisch » is usually at its most influential in the country-side, in villages where the « Gasthaus » still is the focal-point of social life.

Here, typically, the « Bürgermeister » (Mayor) , the farmer, the shop-keeper and many others will sit together frequently after church on a Sunday (known as « Frühschoppen ») and on at least one week-day evening to play cards and discuss the affairs of the village. Their table is marked with a metal sign marked « Stammtisch » (sometimes soldered on to a now-redundant ashtray) to signal the un-suspecting visitors that they should sit elsewhere. Many a tourist has made the mistake of sitting at the « Stammtisch » without permission.

All topics are discussed here over a glass of wine or beer - the annual village festival is planned. In Austria, it is still largely a male activity though women often have their own « Stammtisch » . In cities, women come together in the week to play cards and chat.

The « Stammtisch » is still is the focal-point of social life in Austria. It is a meeting of people, a great opportunity to talk, to share and to have a good time together.

But the custom is not confined to Austria. Wherever there are German speakers there are informal gatherings where they can casually speak German to keep their language skills from growing rusty, and to share ideas, poetry, or literature.

### Tradition and Friendship

The Austrian and German « Stammtisch » tradition sometimes confuses the un-suspecting visitor or tourist. Imagine - you enter the inn, see a wonderful empty table in the most exquisite location. You settle down and enjoy some beer and a small snack with a few friends.

Suddenly, someone approaches your table and starts « shouting and gesturing » at you while pointing vigorously at a

sign that says « Stammtisch » .

If you think that the waiter will come to your rescue forget it, conveniently he turns a blind eye.

What's wrong ? Well, you have sat at the reserved table only for regulars and members of the « Stammtisch » . Beat a hasty and humble retreat to some far off corner.

Almost every Austrian inn/restaurant has a table that is set aside for regular customers. You will find a sign on or over the table indicating its status.

Usually, this is the biggest table with the best location. The table is always laid immaculately and is certainly the largest table in the room.

If, however, you are one of the regulars, you know you will always have a place in the inn no matter how busy they are. And you know that some of your friends and colleagues will eventually show-up, so there's no worry about drinking or dining alone.

If no one is sitting at the « Stammtisch » , you may be able to sit there, but don't be surprised if you are told to move.

If one of the regulars comes to sit down, you should, out of respect, offer to vacate the table. Most of the time, this sign of politeness and respect will be met with an offer for you to remain where you are.

Sunday mornings are a favourite and popular time for the « Stammtisch » to meet and gives the opportunity to bane the ear of 1 or 2 influential village characters.

### Wallsee-Sindelburg : « Bruckhof »

The oldest documented ancestor of Anton Bruckner is mentioned in the register of the Wallsee-Sindelburg region. If you go from CEd (near Amstetten) to Sindelburg, you will pass through the fertile hill of Teufelsberg, and then, cross the Sommerauerbach bridge. At about 200 meters from there, a peasant named « Jörg hueb au prugk » (George, near the bridge) was living in a house in 1449.

Today, the Lampersberger family (who produces local cider) runs a rustic restaurant-tavern inside the « Bruckhof » - the house of the peasant ancestors of Bruckner.

A commemorative plaque on the « B(P)ruckners » adorns the façade of the building since 1999 :

Haus der Urahnen

## ANTON BRUCKNER's

1400-1625

Gemeinde  
Wallsee Sindelburg

### Neureug bei Œd : « Gasthof Redl »

Josef (Josephus or Josepha) Pruckner « senior » was born in 1749 in Œd near Amstetten, in the region of Upper-Enns, Lower-Austria. He learned the trade of cooper (barrel-maker) in the work-shop of his father (who also made brooms) . However, his ideal was to become a teacher - and he did.

Not yet 16, Josef leaves his father's work-shop and goes to Linz for a period of 6 weeks in order to receive a formal training at the Imperial-Royal Academy (« Kaiserlich-Königlich Präparandie ») , located at « Hofgasse » Number 23, to become a teacher. This profession was the most noble after that of the priesthood.

The rise of the « servile farmer » to the ranks of the bourgeoisie was due to his marriage in 1765 with Maria Theresia Perger, the daughter of a wealthy stonemason of the town of Perg. The religious ceremony will be held in the town of Œd at the house Number 8.

For years, the couple will operate a renowned « Schankhaus » (inn) in Neureug near Œd : the « Gasthof Redl » . Today, a commemorative plaque adorns the façade of the establishment.

(The Pergers were, from generation to generation, inn-keepers by trade.)

Oed 8, 3312 Oed bei Amstetten - <http://www.gasthof-redl.at>

### Sierning : « Zum Krößwang Inn »

Sierning lies between Steyr and Bad Hall. This old town has been able to develop a small iron and steel industry.

The parish of Sierning is one of the oldest in the District of Steyr-Land in Upper-Austria. It was founded in the year 777. It will be mentioned between 985 and 991, at the Synod of Mistelbach.

The parish church of St. Stephen (« Pfarrkirche Heilig Stephan, St. Stephanus ») is located in the town-centre, on « Kirchenplatz » . It is a Gothic church with 3 naves. The construction started in 1288 and was completed in 1487. The square in front of the church sits on the site of a former multi-confessional cemetery, the « Friedhofgasse » .

The « Neuzeug » Tavern (« Taverne zu Neuzeug ») , right next to the parish church, was the childhood home of

Theresia Helm (Anton Bruckner's mother) . The beer-hall is still there at « Theresia-Helm-Straße » Number 28.

The building was gradually adapted from an « old and new » ensemble to a residential complex totalizing 11 residential units.

...

The ancestors of Theresia Helm are, on record, in Sierning and / or Sierninghofen, from the 17th Century. The name Helm is recorded in this part of Upper-Austria from, at least, as long ago as 1650 and had its own coat-of-arms. Bruckner's maternal grandfather Johann Ferdinand Helm, a Master knife-maker resident in Sierninghofen, soon became the owner of what the documents call the « tavern at Neuzeug » , where he led the life of a publican and bailiff of the manor at Gschwendt. Theresia Helm was born in that « tavern » (« Zum Krößwang Inn » located at « Neuzeug, Nummer 1 ») , on 6 April 1801. She often stayed at the rectory in nearby Wolfarn, where her aunt Rosalia Mayrhofer was the house-keeper. Theresia was a member of the church choir. In Wolfarn, she met Anton Bruckner senior (Bruckner's father) , a teacher from Ansfelden, in 1823 and married him on 30 September 1823. Bruckner often stayed in Wolfarn as a child visiting his mother's aunt.

...

The mother of composer Anton Bruckner, Theresia Helm, was born on 6 April 1801 in the building of the « Zum Krößwang Inn » at Number 1 Neuzeug Street, in the village of Sierning. (The place is now called the Neuzeug Tavern, at Number 28 on Theresia-Helm Road) . She was baptized on 7 April 1801, at 10 o'clock, in the parish church of St. Stephen (« St. Stefan Pfarrkirche ») . Her father, Johann Ferdinand Helm (an office governor) was the host of the inn ; he also kept the order in the pub which was mainly attended by raftsmen. Her mother, Anna Maria (« née » Mayrhofer) came also from Neuzeug. She died when Theresia was only 10 year old.

Theresia grew-up in a wealthy household. Her father, an administrator (« Amtsverwalter ») disposed of plenty of land property. His position gave him a social standing higher than that of a school teacher. He was an inn-keeper ; received a generous income as Gschwendt office governor in Neuzeug ; and was also a Justice department publisher.

After the death of Anna Maria, Johann Ferdinand married for a second time ; however, he passed away after only few years. In 1821, Theresia's step-mother married for a second time. She had now step-parents.

In 1817, Theresia works as a house-keeper in the presbytery of the parish of Wolfarn. But she must pause for few years to take care of her paternal uncle who became a widower. In 1822, she returns to her job at the parish. There, she will meet her future husband, teacher Anton Bruckner senior, which is 10 years older than her. The couple marries in Ansfelden, on September 30, 1823. Theresia will bare 11 children, but only 5 will survive.

Ansfelden : « Home Sweet Home »



Bruckner's mother and father were very different persons. The mother, extremely religious and very temperamental, sometimes treated the children with harshness. While the father, a school teacher and musician, was a conscientious, tender-hearted, good-natured man, inclined to the joy of life, who always sought peace at home - especially after offering free extra-hours at village dances.

There were not only parents and children at home. There was also the grandfather (who died on April 22, 1831, at the age of 82) and the unmarried aunt Anna Maria (born in Ansfelden in 1784) who was blind. Little Anton used to make fun of her because of this handicap.

The school teacher's apartment was very small at that time and, for us, it is hard to imagine how 7 people (Bruckner's mother gave birth to 12 children, but only 5 survived) managed to live in such cramped conditions.

In 1959, there was still the original furniture as well as a guest-book in Anton Bruckner's birthplace. The school of Ansfelden is located in the immediate vicinity of the church. Mentioned for the first time in 1600, it was originally a wooden structure ; this was replaced by a stone building in 1665. Adaptations in 1705-1706 and 1783 put the finishing touches to the building as Bruckner knew it in his childhood in the 1820's and early 1830's.

At that time, there was a close link between church and school, that is why teachers were not only under obligation to behave properly and as good Catholics, but they also had to serve as vergers and organists.

### Theresa Helm

According to her own words, Theresa Helm was « a resolute person » .“ Tonerl “, the first-born, was her favourite child.

According to Anton, his mother was a strong and determined woman, very musical in spirit, but often confronted with attacks of depression. The biographer August Göllerich junior has repeatedly emphasized the recurrent melancholic state in this family. At the end of his life, the composer will remember his mother's love but also the moments of tension where she completely lost control.

It was then that the father intervened wisely and said :

« Come “ Tonerl ”, mother is nervous. »

And they left the room together.

Infant, the young Bruckner was highly-receptive to music. He was always quick to be appeased by a few chords struck by his father on the home spinet.

« Tonerl » picks apples

The 6 year old « Tonerl » had 2 pairs of shoes : one pair with thin soles, and one pair with thick soles.

One day, the young boy was supposed to wear the hard pair of shoes to pick apples. But he wanted to take the more comfortable and light ones, feeling that the others were much too heavy for him.

The mother tried at first to use good words to dissuade him. Finally, her patience was exhausted :

« I will make the shoes fit easier for you ! » , she cried angrily, and administering a correction to the unruly boy.

Later, Bruckner recalled that he was very proud of his early stubbornness ...

### The siblings

Anton Bruckner is the eldest of a family of 11 children, 5 of whom will die at an early age. He is followed by 3 sisters (one of whom is blind) and a slightly handicapped brother (half-minded) .

**First child** : Anton Josef Bruckner (1824) had extremely polite relations with his parents (use of « vous ») .

**2nd and 3rd children** : The mother will give birth to 2 other boys (1825-1826) who will die soon after their birth.

**4th child** : Birth of Therese on March 23, 1828. She will be mortally infected by pertussis towards the age of one.

**5th child** : Birth of Rosalia (known as « Sali ») (bride's name : Hueber) on February 17, 1829, named in honour of aunt Rosalia Mayrhofer (the sister of Theresia Helm and godmother of little Anton) . She died in Vöcklabruck on May 5, 1898.

**6th child** : Birth of Josefa (known as « Pepi ») (bride's name : Wagenbrenner) on March 13, 1830. She died in St. Florian on July 3, 1874.

**7th child** : Birth of Ferdinand Alois in 1831. He died shortly after.

**8th child** : Birth of Ignaz (known as « Nazi ») on July 28, 1833, grappling with violent convulsions. He will eventually survive, but not without consequences.

**9th child** : Birth of Maria-Anna (known as « Nanni ») on June 27, 1836.

### « Tonerl's » singing lessons

« “ Papa ” noticed when Anton arrived (too) late from his singing lessons. Furious, he tried to grab him by the hair, but was only partially successful. My brother escaped without being hurt. »

(Ignaz Bruckner)

### Ignaz Bruckner

Ignaz Bruckner : Younger brother of Anton. The only other male-sibling to live past childhood (he was the 9th child of the family) . He will inherit a weakness in the eyes and will be considered all his life as a half simpleton. In 1851, Ignaz will act as a gardener at St. Florian until his vision begins to deteriorate. After which, he will be transferred as a servant, inside the monastery. One of its main functions is to be responsible for the operation of the bellows of the Abbey pneumatic organ (build by Josef Mauracher) , which is located in the Marian Chapel (« Marienkapelle ») . Ignaz always remained close to his brother. After the death of the composer, inheritance and payments related to copyright works will be bequeathed in equal parts, to Ignaz and his sister Rosalia (« Sali » Hueber) : which is worth about 10,000 Guilders. Ignaz Bruckner will die in St. Florian, on 4 January 1913.

### Bruckner's father failing health

The period of Carnival and private family celebrations were golden opportunities for Bruckner senior to increase his income. Despite failing health, he often taught late in the evening and spent sleepless nights playing the violin. Getting prescribed stimulants did not counteract his states of exhaustion and nervous fever, which became more and more frequent. He had to resign himself to stay in bed very often. It was already obvious that he could not overcome his malady. He was a victim of what was locally known at the time as the « School Masters' illness » , which consisted of over-work, alcoholism, sneaky tuberculosis and nervous exhaustion. He fought for his life for more than 6 months.

Ignaz Bruckner :

« I don't remember anything about “ papa ” when he felt well. But I do remember him when he was very sick. On one occasion, he called me by my name and I immediately fled. I remember him lying in bed ... »

« Mother often compared my brother Anton to “ papa ”. Years later, my brother became physically stronger than him. »

### Death of Bruckner's father

Seeing the gravity of the situation, the priest (the personal confessor of the sick, Father Karl Schneeweiß, 1808-1887) was summoned to administer the last sacraments. The pain of little Anton was so intense that he eventually fainted at his father's bedside. Exhausted, the 46 year old man passed away on Wednesday June 7, 1837. A diagnosis of « consumption » was mentioned on the death-certificate.

Ignaz Bruckner :

« When “ papa ” died, he was wearing a black cassock and a night cap - which was also black. »

Although a new cemetery had just opened outside the centre of Ansfelden, Anton senior will be buried in the courtyard of the parish church. This event will have a significant impact on the life of the young musician in the making.

« I liked the music at “ papa's ” funeral. I was laughing a lot. The lady officiating as a grave-digger said to me :

“ You must not laugh, it is your father who is dead. ” »

« I still remember the food that was served at the funeral. Because it was a day of fasting, we were allowed to eat “ Grießschmarrn ” (semolina pancakes) . There were also bread dumplings, horseradish, rice and grapes ! »

According to the law, Theresia Helm has 2 weeks to leave the function apartment at the old school of Ansfelden. She moves with her few belongings to the house Number 11 in the town of Ebelsberg where she will remain for the rest of her life - accompanied by her blind sister-in-law, Anna Maria, and the other 4 children - Anton's younger brothers and sisters : Rosalia (8 years old) ; Josefa (7 years old) ; Ignaz (4 years old) ; and Maria-Anna (1 year old) . She will hardly survive, becoming an assistant house-keeper and laundress. Luckily, her husband had already paid his due to the Linz Teachers' Association before his death. Theresia also had the support of family members except for her cousin Anton Helm who resides in the parish of Neuzeug. Anton still managed to spend a few days with his mother before his final departure for the monastery of St. Florian.

### The young Bruckner at St. Florian

**Summer 1838** : Anton Bruckner always enjoyed good food and plenty of it, as we know from an amusing story of his earlier days. In St. Florian, he once played the organ so strangely during the service that the Prelate called him at once and asked him, rather resentfully, for an explanation. Bruckner explained that at dinner, since he sat at the end of the table, he got only the remnants of meat which the others had left. With so little food, he could not play better. The Prelate promised improvement, and we hear of no further complaints on that score. Bruckner's thirst was as keen as his appetite.

...

« Anton Bruckner performed his task with highest Mastery, especially in his varied use of the organ stops and, with this, his appointment was assured. His achievements in Linz are well-known. I should only add that, during a conference of local teachers, he delighted us in church with his playing. Later on, I was a regular guest at St. Florian on holy-days and attended his organ recitals ; in later years, these became more obscure because of his growing absorption in the music of Richard Wagner. He was a diligent worker and a hearty eater. His appetite was well-catered for by the monks. His favourite dish was strudel and, for his sake, it often appeared on the table. At St. Florian, everyone went to their rooms after the evening meal ; but Bruckner would go and spend a few hours at the “ Gasthaus ” (Inn) , drinking rough cider with his old friends. » (Franz Gräßlinger)

...

Max von Oberleithner on Anton Bruckner :

As a boy in the monastery of St. Florian, Anton Bruckner heard lieder by Franz Schubert ; under the influence of what he heard, Bruckner made the decision to become a composer. The comment of a religious instruction teacher whom he, as he stressed, « very much revered » :

« If he wishes to realize his decision, he must keep away from women. »

According to the further record of this conversation, his self-understanding as a composer was irrevocably tied to the renunciation of sexual fulfillment. His confession to Oberleithner, that he « feared he would perish in this struggle » , is not, as usual, to be dismissed just as an anecdote ; rather, it brings-out into the open (in the doubtless multi-factorial genesis of his sickness) a participating factor : his sexual abstinence. His outlook on life was first and foremost strictly ethical and religious, according to which sexuality is only legitimized by the sacrament of marriage. In addition, Bruckner's strict and consistent adherence to this sexual-ethical requirement corresponds to the extreme development of personality traits that probably occupy the upper-levels on the societal rating scale but they are, on the other hand, found above average in compulsive personalities : excessive conscientiousness ; moral scrupulousness ; rigidity ; and conservatism - traits that in Bruckner's personality are undeniably pronounced.

For the formation of these personality traits, it requires an inherent potentiality in the person for their development, for whose actual development however (that is, whether developed less or more extremely) promoting or restraining factors are decisive.

One of these promoting factors of Bruckner's personality traits immediately suggests itself :

For if the climate of the monastery was well-meaning for him, one that encouraged his gifts, it was also an upbringing and lifestyle of regulation of everyday life, of strict observance of the laid-out orders and prohibitions. This structure, constituted of rules, orders and prohibitions that determined Bruckner's life there, allowed him to experience them also as support, as order, orientation and in part also as release from personal responsibility and, thereby, also serve the function of emotional relief.

...

As a young chorister, Bruckner kissed the hands of the canons in St. Florian and when the school teacher addressed his Superiors. Official formalism within the hierarchy of the Church and within the Monarchy had left inextinguishable traces on the boy.

**Windhaag : The assistant school teacher**

**1842** : Having attained certification as an assistant teacher, Anton Bruckner was sent to the small border village (approximately 35 houses) of Windhaag near Freistadt, in the Mühlviertler (located in the extreme north of Upper-

Austria) .

The old school-house (« Alte Schulhaus ») was given its present look in 1853-1854. Run-down and dilapidated during Bruckner's time, the building consists of only a single room at the ground-floor level.

Therefore, the 70 registered students were divided in 2 smaller groups : one class takes place in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. Bruckner's dedication and kindness will be emphasized by all of his students.

In 1895, the choral Society « Frohsinn » of Linz (whose director Bruckner had been intermittently between 1860-1868) had a memorial plaque affixed to the building.

The critical lack of space will force the authorities of St. Florian monastery to look for new premises.

Given his status as an assistant, Bruckner was to teach only children of the elementary level on a weekly basis. By religious conviction, he will not fail to speak to them of the « Celestial Bodies » !

However, he will take the risk of teaching reading, writing, religion, science (arithmetic, geography) and natural sciences (appearance of day and night, drawing the spherical shape of the earth on the black-board) during Sunday school - something unusual for the time.

Like his father, Bruckner supplemented his income by playing the violin at community festivities. (Out of this paltry sum, the young boy, already remarkably cautious, paid his first contribution to an insurance policy for old age.) The musical resources of the church were even more meagre than those at Ansfelden ; the organ and a few amateur singers and instrumentalists were all he had to work with.

The Sunday activity was contrary to the regulations imposed by his immediate superior, the irritable school Master Franz Fuchs (1787-1860) . A reprimand will soon follow ...

### Windhaag : The inimicable house-keeper

A man in Windhaag made the following illuminating remark :

« I would rather see my son a shoe-maker than a school teacher. »

Ernst Décsey called the average Austrian school « the village Conservatory » .

Bruckner's immediate superior, professor Franz Fuchs, treated the young man like a slave.

The « not enviable » daily chores looked like this :

Early rise : 4:00 am in the summer (5:00 pm in the winter) .

Taking the job of the sacristan : ring the chimes ; bring some mass-wine, help the priest dress for service ; light-up the lantern, ring the little bell, play the organ ; assist the parish priest in his ministerial duties ; teach the small children ; write notes ; ploughing ; make hay ; digging potatoes ; thresh grain ; ring the church-bell for the evening prayer.

9:00 pm : Ring the bells to mark the end of the day (called : « Huß-Ausläuten » - a ritual in place in Windhaag since the period of the Hussites) .

Once Bruckner intentionally slipped the priest's chasuble the wrong way (the front oriented to the back) . A trick that made « the man of cloth » stumble when walking. The twisted servant received a slap in the face for his bad joke.

On another occasion, Bruckner will enter inside the parish church with his red boots.

Modest as he was, Bruckner had never shown any sort of social pride, but being banished to the kitchen and the society of the maid of all work for his meals was a bitter demand. He hated being considered her equal and the girl, for her part, may have made a fool of this peculiar fellow who was so different from all the men she knew. What a theme for a dramatist a scene presenting a clash between the 2 sharply contrasting characters !

### Windhaag : On the menu

In the morning, Bruckner had to eat, along with the farm servant, the usual sour milk soup (« Säursuppen ») .

At lunch-time, he had to eat along with the house-people (« Dienstboten ») . The menu consisted of flour soup (« Brennsuppen ») , millet gruel (« Brein ») with cabbage or poppy noodles (« Maggnudeln ») , and occasionally also flour dumplings (« Maggnudeln ») .

Only twice a week, there was meat on the menu.

On Sunday, beef was served with horseradish, otherwise pork (« Schweinernes ») or smoked meat (« Gselchts ») with potatoes and cabbage.

### Windhaag : Enjoying oat beer

Occasionally, for supper, 3 large oat beer mugs brought great pleasure to Anton Bruckner :

« My God, with this, I do not have to eat any more ! »

### Windhaag : A haunting spectacle !

Late in the evening, the parish vicar of Windhaag-an-der-Maltsch, accompanied by « Herr » school Master Franz Fuchs and noble guests were sitting at the usual table of the local « Gasthaus » .

Suddenly, the pastoral servant rushed in the inn, shouting with terror :

« Something is happening in the cemetery ! »

The dignitaries hurried-up to the scene of the extraordinary event, and lo and behold :

Among the graves, lasciviously spooky flames are moving back and forth !

The first witnesses reported this horror-story which quickly spread in the village. The crowd of curious but hesitating spectators got bigger and bigger. Finally, a courageous soul dare to walk in the cemetery, and ... the mystery was solved.

The assistant teacher Anton Bruckner had glued sticks of wax candles on the back of a dozen crabs which quickly inflamed their bodies. He then released the poor crustaceans between the graves.

Bruckner finally got his revenge !

### Windhaag : the Sücka family

**1842 :**

Friendship was also offered to Anton Bruckner in Windhaag, for he was a welcome guest at the home of the weaver Sücka, to whose son he became both boon companion and mentor. They enjoyed playing violin duets together, with Anton Bruckner invariably taking the second part. Sometimes, father Sücka assisted them on the trumpet. Occasionally, village doctor Bezei joined them with his flute, and, once in a while, other villagers came with their instruments. They are said to have done fairly well, and this is not hard to believe, as Austria has always been the country for home music-making.

...

An amelioration was the support of a local weaver, Johann Sücka, who placed the family clavichord at his disposal. Although his employer, Franz Fuchs, has often been pictured as unsympathetic, partly as a result of friction with Bruckner over farm-work, he nevertheless provided a glowing reference when it was time for the young man to move on.

...



Like his father before him, Anton Bruckner supplemented his income by playing the fiddle at local dances and inns an obvious drain on his energy as it often kept him up until the early hours of the morning. He played duets with Franz Sücka almost every night. But there were some compensatory benefits, not least the friendship of Johann Sücka, a weaver by trade, and his family. Bruckner gave music-lessons to his 3 children, Maria, Rosalia and Franz, and prepared Franz for the teacher-training course in Linz. By way of recompense, Bruckner enjoyed a regular hearty breakfast at the Sücka household and « Frau » Sücka did his laundry. Johann played both clarinet and trumpet and would join his son (first violin) and Bruckner (2nd violin) in some domestic music-making. Bruckner was delighted when Sücka purchased a 53 key clavichord as he was able to practise on it to his heart's content !

...

Personal and musical contacts with the family of Franz Sücka : Anton Bruckner teaches the children (Maria, Rosalia and Franz) . He plays dance-music along with Josef Jobst, the Sückas, family doctor Bezei, and Anton Preinfalk from Leopoldschlag and Krackowitz.

In 1872, Josef Jobst wrote a « Ländler » which he had played with Anton Bruckner, Franz Sücka, Toni and Johann Maurer.

Possibly in Anton Bruckners' possession (exposed behind a glass in his little room in Windhaag) , five 2-voiced country-dances.

In Windhaag, Bruckner mentions for the first time suffering of a headache (migraine ?) .

...

In a short time, residents of the small town of Windhaag knew that the Sücka family (a family of local weavers) had offered hospitality to this young man passionate about music. Bruckner will deepen the mastering of the organ and the violin during his stay.

The Sückas (Weber and Zázilia) will serve Bruckner a « decent » breakfast (in order to get-back on his feet after playing all night !) accompanied by the usual and so tasty hot malt coffee (he will be happy to go without the horrible morning soup prepared by the maid of school Master Franz Fuchs) .

Maria, the eldest daughter of the family, reported about Anton Bruckner :

« My mother, Zázilia, took care of his clothes and underwear, as well as ensuring his overall decent look. »

Bruckner will feel at home very quickly with the Sückas. In recognition of so much generosity, he will give music-lessons in his spare time to the 2 young girls : Maria, the eldest ; and Rosalia, the younger.

## Bruckner, the enthusiastic swimmer

The Enns River offered great bathing opportunities during summer time. Anton Bruckner was an enthusiastic swimmer !

## Mühlviertel : The « Rocka Roas »

Although it was forbidden for Bruckner to play the violin at weddings or feasts at the local inn (especially on Sundays and holidays) , he never missed an opportunity to participate in order to increase his low incomes (as his father, Anton senior, did before him) . He was given an amount of 3 Kreuzers and the food was served to him for free.

The « Mühlviertel » region in Upper-Austria had a very special tradition : the « Rocka Roas » .

During the period of Carnival, the girls would meet each week in the afternoon on a different farm to sing, to work the cattails, to spin the linen, and, naturally, gossip. In the evening, after work, the boys came spontaneously to join them to dance until very late into the night.

Almost every evening, the young Franz Sücka (1st violin) was accompanied by his good friend Anton Bruckner (2nd violin) . Sometimes, the paternal Weber Sücka (a professional weaver, trumpeter and accomplished clarinetist) decided to join the spirited « fiddling duo » who lent themselves to improvisations. The town of Windhaag also provided a family doctor (Doctor Bezei) who played the flute and a group of young music-school students.

Bruckner always took the time to transcribe in his personal diary the most relevant information concerning his female partners during the village dance of the previous night. He wore relatively short and very loose trousers (not very elegant) which favoured his foot-work at the organ but also his leg movements and his steps on the dance-floor.

His written comments included several nicknames given to the dresses of his charming ladies :

« Zottel » , « Gschnürleten » , « Gigerl » , « Blauen » , « Weichen » .

A peasant once said to Bruckner :

« Let me tell you : My boy won't leave the house unless a village dance is organized by the shoe-maker's ! »

## Bruckner, the agile dancer

Although Bruckner's pocket calendars hide any emotional impulse, the manner of their conduct is, for him, a typical behavioural tendency which, in contemporary terminology, would be characteristic of an anankastic (obsessive-compulsive) personality. Certain pages of the pocket calendar convey the appeal of statistics. Daily, until one day before his death, Bruckner recorded the number respectively each day of prayers performed (separately, by the type of prayer ; each marked by their first letter) with the appropriate number of strokes. Recorded also was the number of dancing

partners, with whom he (an admirer of Johann Strauß) danced during a season. As a singular occurring behaviour, this could be tolerated as a variation of normal behaviour. However, as seen in these and similar behavioural characteristics of Bruckner's, aspects of his personality are occasionally (especially at times of multiple stresses) seized and controlled by an inner personal compulsive dynamic.

...

Anton Bruckner always had been a lively and good dancer. In his hometown, he had gone to gatherings and joined in the country-dances, maybe to the tunes of Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven. In Vienna, the waltzes of Johann Strauß may have inspired him. He loved this Viennese composer's music as much as did Johannes Brahms ; and, vice-versa, Strauß gave him full-recognition as a composer and wired him after the first performance of the 7th Symphony :

« I am deeply moved ; it was one of the strongest impressions in my life. »

Bruckner, for his part, is reported to have said :

« I like a waltz by Johann Strauß better than a Symphony by Brahms. »

Max Graf :

« Viennese women had refined the waltz rhythm, which was originally that of a peasant dance, even by the time of the Schubert waltzes. »

« The Viennese considered himself indestructible even in hard times. He was the born optimist. This quality, along with his sensitiveness and his appreciation of the beauty of Nature, has made him a musician. His unworried, care-free attitude toward life he expressed by singing and playing and dancing, over wine at the inns, at festivals on the village green, on mountain-climbing excursions. One sang or listened to music because one drank, and one drank because one wanted to sing. All this may have been primitive music, even animalistic music, but through the Centuries, it developed the Viennese into a musician and Vienna into a city of music. »

...

In Bruckner's diary, 2 antithetical forces in him can be seen in head-on clash. The same diaries in which he conscientiously lists how many quadrilles he has danced with a certain young lady at the annual « Concordia-ball » , contain strange abbreviations of repeated A's and V's, often heavily under-scored, standing for the daily number of « Ave Maria's » and « Pater nosters » (« Vater unser ») he had prayed. Undoubtedly, there is a psychological link between his unsuccessful love-affairs and the strangely fanatical side of his religious worship.

**The Biedermeier mania for dancing**

A veritable mania for dancing seized the Viennese population during the Biedermeier era : dance-halls accommodating several thousand were opened and regular dances were held.

Traditionally, religious feasts such as Christmas had been celebrated in larger social groupings or institutions such as the Church, the guilds or work-shops. Maria Theresa reduced the number of religious holidays. The trades that had been organized in guilds were increasingly replaced by manufactories, there was a growing separation between work-place and domestic living-space, and traditional bonds within the community started to loosen. As a result, these feasts began to be celebrated within the family circle. Many underprivileged people such as journeymen or female servants, who were not able to set-up a family for economic and legal reasons, now, for the first time, had a modicum of leisure-time at their disposal which they could spend according to their inclinations. They became the « consumers » in the newly-established places of entertainment.

In the suburbs, resourceful entrepreneurs founded large-scale places of entertainment during the 1830's for the diversion of the increasingly « entertainment-addicted » population : the Tivoli in Meidling, Dommayer's Casino in Hietzing and the « Sophiensäle » dance-hall, originally a bathing establishment. Magical pleasure domes were built : the « Apollo-Saal » in the suburb of Schottenfeld had artificial lakes with swans and waterfalls, and, in the « Neues Elysium » restaurant-café on « Johannesgasse » Number 4, one could embark in a horse-drawn railway on a voyage around the world, passing through 5 rooms decorated as the different continents. The ever larger and more spectacular establishments were however no longer visited by all classes, as a majority of the Viennese population could not afford such pleasures. During the « Ringstraße » era, the ball-rooms were a centre of attraction for the middle-classes.

**1830** : The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » invites guests to dance with the establishment of its first Ball.

**WAB 59** : « At the feast » / **WAB 86** : « Table song »

« An dem Feste » (At the feast) , **WAB 59** : Song in D-flat major composed by the 19 year old Anton Bruckner in 1843 during his stay as school teacher's assistant in Kronstorf.

Text incipit :

« An dem Feste, daß uns heute zu dem frohen Kreis vereint. »

(At the feast that united us today to the joyful circle.)

Bruckner composed this youth work on a 5 strophe text of the parish priest of Kronstorf, Alois Knauer. He dedicated it to Josef Ritter von Peßler, the parish priest of Enns. The work was performed on 19 September 1843 in the church of Enns.

...

In his period in Kronstorf, Bruckner very regularly visited close-by Enns, where he studied with Leopold von Zenetti. Alois Knauer was the priest in Kronstorf and wrote the text of this table-song. His colleague Joseph Ritter von Peßler was a priest in Enns and received the composition with a dedication for his birthday :

« Auf das feierlich Geburtsfest des Hochwürden Herrn Dechant und Stadtpfarrers in Enns am 19. September 1843. »

The performance in the parish church of Enns was probably sung by the Enns Social Club. After 50 years, on 22 February 1893, Bruckner revised the composition (only slightly) , and it was given a new text by Karl Ptak. As a table-song or « Tafellied » (**WAB 86**, Volume XXIII/2, Number 36 : 3 stanzas) , Raoul Mader conducted this version at the Viennese Academic Singing Society on 11 March 1893. Later, adaptation followed by Alfred Zehelein and Ludwig Carl Kraus. This choral-piece has also been passed down for 4 part mixed-choir.

Compared to Windhaag, Bruckner felt very comfortable in Kronstorf because he was accepted by most of the people in his entourage. The school Master of Kronstorf, Franz Seraph Lehofer, indulged Bruckner in his musical endeavours. He allowed him to keep Sücka's 53 key clavichord in the school-house (the living quarters were too small) where, according to anecdotes, he often practised (playing Bach and Schubert) until the early hours of the morning which will eventually irritate the neighbourhood but especially his roommate !

« The old but sturdy “ Frau ” (Theresia) Lehofer often tolerated me until 1:00 am. She knew that my intensive practice was essential for my development as a musician. I was really sorry to annoy the others. »

(August Göllerich / Max Auer, Volume 1, page 221.)

### Kronstorf : « Gasthaus Steinleitner »

The « Brucknerplatz » in Kronstorf has been the host since 1838 of a massive column. At that time, it was set-up as a plague memorial by Friedrich Wilhelm, the host of the « Unterer Wirtshausen » (lower-inn) (today's « Steinleitner » Inn, located at Number 54 on the « Hauptstraße ») . In 1934, the column was transformed into a war memorial, but, in 1983, the column was restored to its original function after the creation of a new war monument.

The « Gasthaus Steinleitner » is a 2 storey 4 cornered building dating back to the 17th Century. The street-front shows a fresco painting from the year 1828, which represents the history of the « Egyptian Joseph » . Between the windows, Joseph, his father Jacob and his brothers are depicted as life-size.

### Kronstorf : « Gasthaus Rahofer »

The guest-house « Rahofer » located at Number 56 on the « Hauptstraße » is an imposing 2 storey square building with a court-yard, which formerly belonged to the Count of Lamberg Castle. The interior partly shows a building fabric still preserved from the 17th Century, with numerous architecturally valuable vaults. The façade structure dates from the middle of the 18th Century.

In the course of the Austrian War of Succession, Bavaria and the French invaded Kronstorf in 1741. Napoléon Bonaparte took command of southern Germany in 1805. At the beginning of November 1805, he was coming from Steyr targeting Kronstorf near the Upper-Tavern (« Oberen Taverne ») (today's guest-house « Rahofer ») .

### St. Florian : « Landhotel und Gasthof »

**1833-1967** : The barn (managed by « Herr » Beschäl) is used as a stopping-point for traveller. The horses are quartered at the stable (owned by « Herr » Paura) . From February 1 to June 30, breeding season, the site is fully-occupied by stallions - in order to cover the mares of private breeders.

**1858** : Erection of a new house to replace the previous wooden structure - already owned by « Herr » Johann Dannerer and « Frau » Juliane Dannerer.

**1887** : The installations are mentioned for the first time in the « Land » register as a guest-house ; formerly, the « Schneider-Sailer-Haus » .

**Around 1890** : A picture (photo) of the site is taken from the church tower of St. Florian-am-Inn.

**1893** : Another barn and horse-stable are built.

**Wednesday, 2 May 1945** : The inn is under heavy Allied artillery fire. A shell shot from a tank hits several walls.

**1951** : The property (up to now owned by the Dannerer family) is handed-over to « Herr » Josef Moritz and « Frau » Hildegard Moritz. Under this new administration, the inn will increase its popularity - locally and abroad.

According to the older residents of St. Florian, the inn had a nickname : « Gasthaus zum Geißpitz » .

**1958** : Building of a hall above the stables.

**1989** : Expansion work to the inn - addition of an entire floor ; rooms are also enlarged.

**Since 16 July 2004** : The « Landhotel Hotel & Gasthof » of St. Florian is owned by the brewery « Josef Baumgartner GmbH » .

**June 2008** : Inauguration of the « new » « Landhotel und Gasthof St. Florian » . « Frau » Azer (with the help of family members) takes over the lease and continue to manage the inn in the great family tradition.

**2011** : Some renovations are carried-out in the hall, the Schärtinger lounge, the dining-room and the kitchen.

...

**1833-1967** : Diente das Anwesen als Beschälstation ; Von Stadl Paura wurden die Pferde hier einquartiert ; Bedeutung für Beschälstation : Es handelt sich um eine Pferdezucht an dem die Zuchthengste (Beschäler) während der Deckzeit (1. Februar bis 30. Juni) aufgestellt sind, um die Stuten der Privatzüchter zu decken.

**1858** : Wurde das Haus erbaut, vorher stand bereits ein Holzhaus Besitzer waren Herr Johann Dannerer und Frau Juliane Dannerer.

**1887** : Erstmals im Grundbuch als Gasthaus registriert ehemaliges « Schneidersailerhaus » .

**Um 1890** : Aufgenommen vom Kirchturm aus St. Florian am Inn.

**1893** : Folgte noch ein Bau von Scheune und ein Pferdestall.

**1945** : Am 2. Mai stand das Gasthaus unter Beschuss der Artillerie, eine Panzergranate durchschlug mehrere Wände.

**1951** : Wurde das Anwesen an Herrn Josef Moritz und Frau Hildegard Moritz (ehem. Dannerer) übergeben. Unter dem Gasthaus zum « Moritz » war es weit und breit bekannt und beliebt.

**1958** : Folgte der Saalbau über dem Stall.

**1989** : Erfolgte der Umbau - das Gasthaus wurde mit einer ganzen Etage aufgestockt und es wurden lauter Zimmer ausgebaut.

Laut Angaben der älteren Bewohner von St. Florian hatte dieses Gasthaus einen Spitznamen und hieß « Gasthaus zum Geißpitz » .

Seit **16. Juli 2004** ist das Landhotel Hotel & Gasthof im Besitz der Brauerei Josef Baumgartner GmbH.

Im **Juni 2008** die große Neueröffnung für das « Landhotel und Gasthof St. Florian » .

Frau Azer, gemeinsam mit der Familie, übernimmt die Pacht seit **2008** und führt es bis heute in alter Tradition und familiärerer Atmosphäre weiter.

Im Jahre **2011** wurden noch einige Renovierungsarbeiten in der Gaststube, Schärldinger Stüberl, Saal und in der Küche durchgeführt.

**Linz : Jörger Freihaus (Landkanzlei, Handelsakademie)**

At the age of 16, Anton Bruckner studied Latin and attended a 2 year teacher's training course at the « Präparandie » College in Linz (located at « Hofgasse » Number 23) for his social advancement, while continuing his development as a musician.

The students of the Institute were actively involved in Linz's musical life ; in particular, at the « Minoritenkirche » (Friars Minor Conventual Church) where Viennese Classics such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Franz-Josef Haydn could be heard.

### Linz : « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof »

Karl Seiberl :

« Bruckner became cathedral organist in Linz. At that time, we ran into each other only by chance. All I know about him is that he was continuing his Latin studies with a student in the upper-part of the grammar school. His social life centred on the “ Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof ”, where he had his lunch, and where he was able to meet lawyers, whose company he preferred. »

Bruckner was so well read in the Bible that he could hold his own against many theologians. He also showed a lively interest in Christian literature, such as David Friedrich Strauß's « Das Leben Jesu » , a very controversial book at the time.

### Bruckner unleashes his power

Anton Bruckner ended his training in Linz with excellent grades, but ...

**Friday, 30 July 1841** : Public organ examination. Bruckner only receives the mention « good » .

The teenager who was much in the mood for trials and testimonies, regarded this result as disgraceful. So, he did not rest until this stain was eradicated from his « dossier » .

When he took the final examination in 1845 in front of senior teachers from major schools of Linz, he asked his former (and strict) St. Florian organ teacher, Johann Nepomuk August von Dürrnberger, to submit a difficult theme to develop. He performed so masterfully in the form of an improvisation, that the delighted Dürrnberger, who had been quite dismayed by the average note of his pupil, assigned the mention « very good » .

### Bruckner starts teaching

In **September 1845**, the young Anton Bruckner signed a contract of employment with the Seminary and Market School of St. Florian, thereby returning to the school that he had attended as a boy-chorister. He taught at the school for a decade, first as an assistant-teacher, and later, as an Upper-School teacher. From 1850, he also served provisionally as the monastery's organist. Although, in addition to his duties at school, Bruckner also taught the boy-choristers singing and violin, he still found time to give private lessons to his piano pupils. Bruckner gave piano lessons on a valuable « Bösendorfer » grand piano which he had inherited (with an harmonium, a small table and few chairs) from his friend and patron, the monastery clerk Franz Sailer (Bruckner's brother Ignaz's godfather) after the latter's death. (It seems



that Sailer bought it during an exhibition held in a country house in Linz, in 1848.)

Among his pupils were the 3 children of the notary Josef Marböck, the daughter of the diocesan magistrate Ruckensteiner and a 16 year old girl, Aloisia Bogner, who was the daughter of his former teacher, Michael Bogner.

### St. Florian : School House

The Baumberger Café and Pastry-Shop at « Marktplatz » Number 4 is located in the building of the former St. Florian school house (which was first mentioned in 1561) where Anton Bruckner taught for a decade (1845-1855) .

The specialities of the house : St. Florian and Bruckner tarts !

### Aloisia Bogner : Bruckner's first flamme

Aloisia (aka : Aloysia, Louise or Luise) Bogner is the eldest daughter of St. Florian's monastery music-teacher Michael Bogner (the former voice professor and immediate Superior of the young Bruckner, also in charge of the boys' choir) . Bruckner has lived in this « home of adoption » since 1845. He returns 5 years later. The new assistant-teacher aged 26 falls in love with Aloisia, his young and charming 16 year old piano student. This will become his first idyll.

Bruckner will offer his most beautiful « love songs » by sneaking them under her bedroom window. The « Steiermärker » , a stylized « Ländler » from Styria (in A-B-C-A form) in G major for piano (**WAB 122**) is an example.

One day, he will confess to Aloisia his deepest feelings but in a most unorthodox and clumsy way :

« Wann Sie meine Frau werden möchten, tät i lhna einsperren ! Da mag i Eahna nimmer ! »

(« If you ever have the idea of marrying me, I would have to locked you up ! »)

She will briskly express her refusal and marry another man the following year.

During a mass celebrated in St. Florian many years later, Bruckner, the organist, will reconnect with Aloisia.

He will go to meet her in a friendly way, saying with a smile :

« You are the sand that extinguished my first flame. »

Bruckner will express his profound disappointment by composing the cantata in B-flat major entitled « Entsagen » (Renunciation, **WAB 14**) - scored for SATB choir or quartet, soprano or tenor soloist, and organ (or piano) .

### Tragic death of Johann Baptist Weiß

**Wednesday, 10 July 1850** : In the morning, a police officer approaches the cottage of Johann Baptist Weiß, uncle and godfather of Anton Bruckner. Terrified, the man fled to the village cemetery where he shot himself in the head. Weiß, under pressure, was forced to pay-off a huge debt for which he was not responsible, which consisted of a misappropriated amount of money belonging to the parish church of Hörsching. Bruckner will try several times, but in vain, to persuade the church authorities to entrust to him the skull of his revered relative.

### The notary of Melk

Anton Bruckner will often go to the abbey-town of Melk to pay a visit to his former St. Florian colleague, the notary Josef Marböck (and his wife Marie) . As for them, the 3 oldest children (Marie, Josef and Moritz.) will have the great privilege to receive private piano lessons from the Master.

(Bruckner came into close contact with Marböck after Franz Sailer's death on September 13, 1848.)

A commemorative plaque (recalling the visits covering the period 1875-1876) can be found near one of the windows on the second floor of the house bearing the Number 12 on the « Hauptstraße » . The Melk basilica is one of the first pilgrimage destinations in Austria for obscure reasons for miraculous cures ...

The 3 Easy Pieces (G major ; G major ; and F major) (« Drei kleine Stücke ») (**WAB 124**) were composed for the children of Josef Marböck, to be played on their father's birthday on March 19.

**Saturday 19 March 1853** : Marie junior and Josef junior play for their father Josef Marböck senior the first of the three 4 hands piano pieces (**WAB 124**) . « Frau » Marie Marböck senior notes the event on the music-score's cover-page.

**Sunday, 19 March 1854** : Marie junior and Josef junior play for their father Josef Marböck senior the second of the three 4 hands piano pieces (**WAB 124**) . « Frau » Marie Marböck senior notes the event on the music-score's cover-page.

**Wednesday, 12 September 1855** (Mary Name-Day) **or Sunday, 16 September 1855** : Marie junior and Josef junior play the third of the three 4 hands piano pieces (**WAB 124**) . « Frau » Marie Marböck senior notes the event on the music-score's cover-page.

### Emma Krenn (born Thaner)

Anton Bruckner was madly in love all his life. One of his former pupils from Linz, Emma Krenn (born Thaner) , reports that he inevitably took fire for any well-turned young girl, « as long as she was 16 years old » !

His sincere but crude manners « vis-à-vis » his young conquests were for them an incentive to quickly scamper-off.

He never knew how to find « the » appropriate attitude.

While in his youth, he used unbelievable detours to declare himself, saying, for example, to a young girl :

« Wann Sie meine Frau werden möchten, tät i lhna einsperren ! Da mag i Eahna nimmer ! »

(« If you ever have the idea of marrying me, I would have to locked you up ! »)

He then fell into the other extreme, and began to speak of marriage at the first encounter. This approach was less successful as the age of those whom he met did not vary, ... so to speak.

...

Emma Thaner, one of his former pupils at Linz, where he was Cathedral organist for many years, has given us this picture of the rustic swain, for even though he lived in cities, first Linz and then Vienna itself, Bruckner's peasant upbringing never deserted him. His speech was provincial, his clothes unpressed, his table manners atrocious. Her pathetically amusing sketch of the always courting, always frustrated Bruckner is given us in Max Auer's « Anton Bruckner » :

« Love played many a prank upon him. I believe he was in love with everyone of his girl pupils who had passed her 16th year, though it was the dark-eyed, black-haired ones whom he preferred above the others (...) »

« I can still see him before me, telling about his experiences and enlivening his stories with expressive gestures, while he would cast frequent side-long glances towards a large mirror. He loved to talk about his “ conquests ” (as he called them) which were in reality only his pursuit of this or that girl (she might have been a servant girl for all he cared, so long as she was pretty) . How happy he was when at a turning of the way, his “ victim ” would finally bend her head nervously in answer to his effusively “ polite ” greeting, giving him (as he called it) “ a smile full of meaning ”. Invariably, he would end these stories in a voice raised to an exultant pitch, exclaiming triumphantly, “ I'm a regular devil !! ” Then, he would gaze at himself in the mirror with frank admiration. »

...

Emma recalled her years of study with Bruckner, describing him as a « strict teacher who took a great deal of trouble with his pupils » and mentioning, « inter-alia », his occasional vanity and keen eye for feminine beauty. She was, by her own confession, not a particularly talented pupil and never learned to play « Stille Betrachtung an einen Herbstabend » (WAB 123) which she found too difficult.

**Saturday, 10 October 1863 : WAB 123** - « Stille Betrachtung an einem Herbstabende » (Quiet meditation on an autumn evening) , a touching character piano-piece of 58 bars in F-sharp minor (sketch) .

Written in Linz, this composition with its reflective underlying mood (the title which accompanied the clean copy of the sketch was « Herbstseufzer », or « Autumn Sighs ») was dedicated to Emma Thaner, who took weekly lessons during the years 1857 to 1863. According to her testimony, the « unavailing anticipation of the beloved » served as an underlying programmatic idea for the work.

According to Walburga Litschauer, the « Venetianisches Gondollied » (Venetian Gondola Songs, a paraphrase of the « Lied ohne Worte »), Opus 30, No. 6, by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (« the Mozart of the 19th Century » as Robert Schumann called Mendelssohn) clearly served as a model for Bruckner. To a great extent, these 2 lyrical works share common grounds in terms of key, tempo, rhythm and realization.

A remarkable feature is the persistence of Bruckner in a densely constructed cadenza prior to the repetition :

Bruckner's individuality here makes itself felt, an individuality which could now (after the conclusion of his studies with Otto Kitzler and his official « absolution » in June 1863) express itself in « free creation » .

« Bruckner Gesamtausgabe », Volume XII/2, No. 4.

### Antonie Werner

Texts and dedications of several lieder and piano pieces by Bruckner, composed in 1850, reveal the appearance of another « flame » :

« Fräulein » Antonie Werner (the 16 year old daughter of a tax-collector) which he met shortly after his appointment as teacher in St. Florian.

The sparks will be short-lived in the heart of the young man as this new proposal led to another refusal. To aborted love-affairs were added difficulties with regard to the free development of his musical ambitions.

Loneliness, lack of confidence and the disengagement of the monastery authorities marked the second half of Bruckner's 10 years in St. Florian - which could bring him to a human and artistic crisis.

But fortunately, his thirst for knowledge and social advancement managed to sweep-away all other personal considerations.

### Isolation of Bruckner

The tragic suicide of his beloved cousin (and godfather) , composer Johann Baptist Weiß, surely had serious repercussions on the lack of self-confidence of the young Bruckner. The uncertainty about his situation as an organist in St. Florian also complicated things. As evidence, he will refuse during this period many lucrative offers.

Anton Bruckner had to face some isolation. He was frustrated not to be appointed titular organist at St. Florian, but also not to be able to marry. The monks were the only persons he could lean on, sentimentally and sensitively. Only there was he accepted with understanding, being a deeply neurotic person.

This melancholy was characteristic for many of his ancestors, his 3 sisters and his mentally retarded brother, Ignaz, and he felt very lonely.

On **March 19, 1852**, he wrote to his old friend from St. Florian, the singer and organist Josef (Eduard) Seiberl (1836-1877) now attached to the « Marienkirchen » :

« I am always sitting alone, being poor, lost and melancholic, in my little room. Give me your news soon. »

(August Göllerich / Max Auer, volume 2/1, page 134.)

Regardless of the complaints, Bruckner has not ceased to study, to work assiduously to guarantee his income and to gain a certain social stability.

### **WAB 83 : « Toast » Fanfares**

**1851** : The « Toast » Fanfares are miniatures that Anton Bruckner composed as gifts to choral Societies. The « Sängersprüche » (Singers' Mottos) No. 1 in D major (« Ein jubelnd Hoch in Leid und Lust ») and No. 2 in A major (Lebt wohl, ihr Sangesbrüder) for male-chorus « a cappella » (**WAB 83**) were written at St. Florian, in 1851, at the request of old friend from St. Florian, the singer and organist Josef (Eduard) Seiberl, « Kapellmeister » of St. Marienkirchen an der Polsenz, and the Liedertafel « Eferding » for performance at the Passau « Sängerfest » .

Motto No. 1 :

« Ein jubelnd Hoch in Leid und Lust dem deutschen Lied aus voller Brust »

(A full-breasted jubilant high, with both sorrow and lust, in honour of the German song.)

Motto No. 2 :

« Lebt wohl, ihr Sangesbrüder, lang noch ertönen eure Lieder »

(Farewell, my singing brothers. Your songs will resonate for ever.)

### **St. Cecilia's Day**

As a musician, Anton Bruckner made sure he always honoured St. Cecilia's Day.

Especially, in **1852** :

« I made a colossal idiot of myself then. »

The drink was punch and, in proposing a toast to the Saint, Bruckner held forth on her life and works without knowing much about either. But, on the way home, he lost the key to the great organ, and he was to play the next morning at 7 o'clock. How could he find it again ? There was nothing for it but to get the boys up early and set them looking ; fortunately, they found the missing key with time to spare.

### Prelate Michael Arneth

Anton Bruckner seems to have spent rather more time in lively company in those early days :

« The Prelate Arneth used to like me a lot, but he changed his tune. »

He once said that if the visits to the tavern didn't stop soon, he would have Bruckner and the organ thrown-out. « It struck me that if the " Herr " Prelate had thrown both me and the organ out together, things would have been all right. I wrote a Cantata for the " Herr " Prelate's Name-Day and he arranged for me to get 30 Florins holiday money in return. But I wasn't able to thank him ; he never let me. »

### St. Florian : « Gasthof Zum goldenen Löwen »

« At the Golden Lion » Inn (« Gasthof Zum goldenen Löwen ») is located at « Speiserberg » Number 9, right next to the entrance of the Augustinian monastery of St. Florian and the historic Fire Brigade Museum.

The guest-house was first mentioned in official documents in 1742.

This true village inn offers a magnificent view of St. Florian's market-place.

An Upper-Austrian delicacy, the « Anton Bruckner dish » , complete with smoked meat and « sauerkraut » (pickled cabbage) , which was the composer's favourite, is not exactly what we can called ... light cuisine !

### Vöcklabruck : Bruckner's second home

The village of Vöcklabruck and its surroundings are closely linked to Anton Bruckner. In addition to St. Florian monastery and the cities of Linz and Vienna, this little town must be particularly proud of its role in the destiny of the composer.

**Sunday, 14 January 1855** : Pastor Thomas Herz from Ebersberg announces that nobody opposed the wedding of Rosalia Bruckner (the 5th child of the family, born on 17 February 1829) with Johann Nepomuk Hueber (the former gardener

of St. Florian monastery, born in 1827) .

**Tuesday, 16 January 1855** : Rosalia Bruckner marries Johann Nepomuk Hueber at St. Ulrich parish church in Vöcklabruck. We do not know if Anton Bruckner played the organ during the ceremony. The old historical instrument (in very bad shape) was affectionately baptized « Kletzentruhe » .

The couple will establish a local nursery and garden centre (which is still in operation today !) : a first for the town of Vöcklabruck.

A memorial plaque can be seen on Johann Nepomuk Hueber's Gardener House (« Hueber-Gärtnerhaus ») located at « Graben » Number 15.

**Saturday, 9 June 1855** : Anton Bruckner's niece Johanna Hueber is born in Vöcklabruck.

**Saturday, 13 June 1857** : Anton Bruckner's nephew Anton Hueber is born in Vöcklabruck.

**Saturday, 19 May 1860** : Anton Bruckner's niece Monika Hueber is born in Vöcklabruck.

**Saturday, 4 April 1863** : Anton Bruckner's nephew Theodor Hueber is born in Vöcklabruck.

**Thursday, 9 August 1866** : Anton Bruckner nephew Gustav Hueber is born in Vöcklabruck.

**Tuesday, 5 August 1884** : Laura Hueber, daughter of Bruckner's niece Johanna Hueber, is born in Vöcklabruck.

Anton, the eternal bachelor, was « attracted » by Rosalia's cooking skills : she was a real « cordon bleu » !

Bruckner will maintain an abundant correspondence, marked by tenderness and brotherly love. Over the years, he will send her many gifts. (Today, the descendants of Bruckner's sisters and sisters-in-law treasure these numerous artifacts.)

Over a period of 40 years, he will spend part of his annual vacation in Vöcklabruck with the Huebers. He will feel at home each time.

Bruckner was not only a familiar figure in this town (he had a lot of friends) but also a key-element of its musical life. He founded the « Vöcklabrucker Liedertafel » (Vöcklabruck Choral Society) .

...

**1855** : St. Florian's organ, violin, piano, voice, harmony and counterpoint teacher Johann Nepomuk August von Dürnberger was particularly helpful in encouraging Bruckner to apply for the vacant position of cathedral organist in Linz.

## St. Florian : « Gasthaus Sperl »

Following the death of Michael Arneith, Friedrich (Theofilus) Mayr was appointed new abbot of St. Florian.

For the occasion, Anton Bruckner wrote his most ambitious work to date, a « Missa solennis » in B-flat minor. (WAB 29) for 4 part mixed-voice choir, soloists, orchestra and organ.

**Thursday, 14 September 1854** : The Mass is premiered at the abbey church during the induction of Bishop Friedrich I (Mayr) .

« Bruckner's " Missa solennis " is a musical summa of the first 30 years of his life. »

Robert Führer saw the score and suggested to Bruckner to study with Simon Sechter. Bruckner showed Sechter the Mass and Sechter accepted him as a pupil. The « Missa solennis » was the last major work Bruckner wrote before concluding his studies with Sechter, who did not allow his students free composition while studying with him.

Having worked furiously to prepare the Mass, for the first performance, Bruckner was deeply hurt when he was not included among the distinguished guests invited to the banquet following the ceremony (perhaps, because it would not have been appropriate in terms of the « étiquette » of the day for a mere artisan to be at the table with such notables) . For this reason, he will be angry with the servers.

August Göllerich junior records that he finally booked a table for himself, at one of the local inn, the « Gasthaus Sperl » , ordered a 5 course dinner with 3 kinds of wine, and began his lonely celebration with the words :

« The Mass deserves it ! »

(« Mess' verdient's ! »)

Bruckner's personal situation at St. Florian did not seem to suit him anymore. He became increasingly frustrated about his material conditions, partly because of the provisional status as organist. That is why he will start to project himself beyond the walls of the monastery.

## Gmunden : « Gasthof zur Goldenen Sonne »

When he was in Gmunden, Anton Bruckner always stayed at the « Golden Sun » Inn and Tavern (« Gasthof zur Goldenen Sonne ») located at « Theatergasse » Number 4 (originally, an old salt warehouse) .

A commemorative plaque, placed in the inner court-yard, recalls the many personalities who stopped there :

« Since 1596, this Hotel has seen the passing of many important personalities such as Franz Schubert, Nikolaus Lenau,



Anton Bruckner, Karl Goldmark, Johannes Brahms, Johannes Evangelist Habert, Friedrich Hebbel, Joseph Victor von Scheffel et Peter Rosegger. In 1779, the German Emperor Josef II of the Holy Roman Empire lived here. In 1618, this was the baker's house ; in 1641, the butcher's house. In 1966, Ernst Hartleitner resurrected the arcade court-yard as part of a renovation project. The site is now accessible to the public through a new access. »

(Today, you will find the « Sonnenhof » Chinese Restaurant on ground-floor.)

### Bruckner in Linz

Anton Bruckner left St. Florian to settle permanently in Linz, in order to assume his full-time responsibilities.

For Bruckner, who was brought-up in the country-side and was afraid of the « big city » , the capital of Upper-Austria. meant « noise and hazard » .

He found completely different life conditions : an urban agglomeration with a « bourgeois milieu » and fixed rules of social conduct.

In spite of shyness and reserve, the gregarious Bruckner will still visit carnival evenings and dances as an eager participant.

Beside his activities as organist, Bruckner took time to visit Linz's rich burghers and poor families.

He will earned extra-income from private piano lessons, gathering a circle of pupils around him (the « Linz Circle ») , and, thus, accessing to the city's public life.

### Linz : Remedies for Bruckner

The accounting book, entitled « Cathedral Church Accounts 1850-1860 » (« Domkircherechnungen 1850-1860 ») , mentions at pages 32 and 123 the lists of « disease remedies » for organist Anton Bruckner.

### Linz : Bruckner's apartments

Anton Bruckner will reside at 4 different places in Linz :

**1840-1841** (« Präparandie » period) : « Wohnhaus » located at « Pfarrgasse » Number 11. Commemorative plaque offered in 1914. The original building no longer exists. It was demolished in 1951 after serious damage due to WWII bombings.

**Tuesday, 13 November to Saturday, 22 December 1855** : Back in Linz, Bruckner found a place to live near his previous apartment of 1840-1841 : « Pfarrgasse » Number 7. Commemorative plaque offered.

**Monday, 24 December 1855 to October 1868** : The official residence of the Sacristains, located at « Pfarrplatz » Number 164. The building is demolished (now, « Pfarrplatz » Number 5) .

Anton Bruckner visits his new place of residence (where he will not have to pay rent) : the service apartments of the Sacristains' official residence (called the « Mesner Häusl » , « Meßnerhäusel » , « Musikantenstöckl » or « Mesnerstöckl ») to the right of the parish church : Bruckner occupied apartment Number 162 on the second floor, which consisted in 2 rooms and a kitchen. This will become his accredited home. « Regens chori » Karl Zappe and Wenzel Lambl, a cathedral singer, were his room-mates.

During his stay in Linz, Bruckner often visited the Imperial and Royal Teacher-Training College (« Kaiserlich-Königlich Präparandie ») located at « Hofgasse » Number 23, close to the « Mesnerstöckl » .

**1869** : The « Florian-Haus » (« Florianer Stiftshaus » or « Freihaus des Klosters St. Florian ») , the residential home in Linz of the monks of St. Florian located at « Landstraße » Number 22, became Bruckner's « pied-à-terre » after he was officially appointed in Vienna.

The actual corner-house consists of 3 storeys, an attic, and a round cornered bay-front composed of 4 windows on each floor. There is a total of 6 window-axes on the street-sides, including a 4th one, from the right, with double windows above the main-portal which shows an irregular round-arched entrance. The portal is flanked by 2 Tuscan pilasters made of granite blocks. The ones on the top bear the year « 1616 » . There is 6 unevenly distributed axles at the « Spittelwiese » .

Already, in 1492, a small house was mentioned on the property ; 2 smaller ones followed. In 1615, Provost Leopold of St. Florian monastery acquired the dwelling and the garden owned by Josef Fellenschlager. After buying another piece of land, the Provost decided to erect a new and spacious building (1615-1618) designed by architect Marx Martin Spaz. In 1644, the place was liberated by Emperor Ferdinand III.

Under St. Florian's Provost David Fuhrmann (1667-1689) , the « Freihaus » (communal residence) was decorated with stucco and paintings. In 1785, it was confiscated by the religious fund. But, in 1792, it was fully-returned to the authorities of the monastery. The ground-floor was largely devalued to accommodate commercial activities.

...

Das Eckhaus mit drei Geschoßen nebst Dachgeschoß besitzt einen dreigeschossigen, runden Eckerker mit vier Fenstern in jedem Geschoß. An der Landstraße sechs Fensterachsen, darunter die vierte Achse von rechts mit Doppelfenstern über dem Portal. Sechs ungleich ausgeteilte Achsen an der Spittelwiese. Das stattliche Hauptportal zeigt einen rundbogigen ungegliederten Eingang. Er wird von zwei aus Granitquadern gefügten toskanischen Wandpfeilern flankiert, die mit dem Schlussstein des Tores das gerade Gebälk tragen, bezeichnet 1616.

Bereits 1492 ist ein kleines Haus auf dem Grundstück erwähnt. Weitere zwei kleinere Häuser folgten. 1615 erwarb

Propst Leopold von St. Florian von den Josef Fellenschlagischen Erben deren Behausung samt Garten. Nach einem weiteren Grundstückserwerb ließ der Propst 1615 bis 1618 ein neues, geräumiges Haus errichten.

Architekt war, wie der Stilvergleich vermuten läßt, Marx Martin Spaz.

1644 erfolgte die Hausbefreiung durch Kaiser Ferdinand III. Unter Propst David Fuhrmann (1667-1689) wurde das Freihaus mit Stuck und Gemälden ausgestattet. 1785 wurde das Haus vom Religionsfonds eingezogen, doch 1792 dem Stift zurückgegeben. Das Erdgeschoß wurde durch Geschäftseinbauten größtenteils entwertet.

### Emilie von Binzer

Having made the break with St. Florian, Anton Bruckner now embarked on a career as a professional musician. It would appear that he had no difficulty in quickly becoming involved in Linz's social life and, certainly in the 1860's when his first important large-scale compositions were written, becoming a highly-regarded member of the community. Elisabeth Maier gives credence to the possibility of a musical post for Bruckner in the Court of Emperor Maximilian (Emperor Franz-Josef I's younger brother) in Mexico in the 1860's, inasmuch as Maximilian had a strong connection with Linz. He was a close friend of Emilie von Binzer, who had a salon in Linz which Bruckner occasionally frequented. This certainly explains Bruckner's interest in Maximilian's ultimately tragic « Mexican adventure » .

Emilie von Binzer (born von Gerschau) .

Pseudonym : Ernst Ritter.

Birth : Monday, 6 April 1801 in Berlin.

Death : Monday, 9 February 1891 in Munich.

### Family

Daughter of Peter von Gerschau et Karoline Henriette von Gerschau.

Sister of Maria von Flotow.

Wife of August Daniel von Binzer.

Mother of Klara Louise Georgine von Colomb ; Karl Heinrich Friedrich von Binzer ; Alexandrine von Binzer et Marie Charlotte Friederike von Binzer.

**Tuesday, 22 July 1823** : Aged 22, Emilie gives birth to Klara Louise Georgine von Colomb Flensburg, in Schleswig-Holstein (Germany) .

**Ugh !**

Anton Bruckner was madly in love, once again. This time, it was with a nice girl from Linz. A delicate, sweet and smart blond girl coming from a good family. She became his private student. When the Master was playing at the piano (and liked to do so very much) , she sat patiently at his side, for hours, with great admiration. She sensed the future greatness of her teacher and asked him for a vast number of hand-written sketches, drafts and similar trifles. For his part, Bruckner believed the love was mutual ; he was actually floating in heaven ! But one day, he was quickly brought back to earth.

Here's the story :

He had just presented his most beautiful new themes to her admirer. She listened respectfully, and then, she bluntly told him that she was about to marry a wealthy citizen from Linz. Bruckner stood-up, slammed the top of the piano, went to the door, and expressed a loud : « Ugh ! » . He was never seen in this house again.

**Vienna : Bottom-fermented lager**

**1856** : « Pilsen » beer makes it to Vienna for the first time.

An even 65 buckets are delivered to « Herr » Josef Šedivý at « Salvatorstraße » Number 379.

The Burghers' Brewery later becomes the official supplier to the Imperial Court.

**Friday, 1 July 1870** : A storehouse opens in Vienna.

This quality fermented lager also conquered other european cities :

In 1853, it was already served in 35 inns of Prague.

In 1862, he was even found in Paris.

**Bruckner at the restaurant**

Anton Bruckner preferred the companionship of his friends and pupils in a modest inn, where « Gemuetlichkeit » (tranquility) was the mood and where polite behaviour and fashionable dress were of no consequence. There, at his « Stammtisch » (regular table, habitually reserved for him) , he was Lord and King, whom nobody dared oppose. There, his sense of humour came into play, sometimes at the expense of his enemies. There, he felt care-free and young, and enjoyed life, forgetting trouble, sickness, and even the doctor's diet prescribed when his ailment grew worse. It was extremely hard for him to follow the diet, for he was very fond of Austrian food, good but rather « heavy » .

One must have lived in Vienna to appreciate what a cozy restaurant means to bachelors. The customer enjoys special privileges ; both the host and the waiter vie with each other to satisfy the guest in his individual desires.

When Anton Bruckner entered his favourite place, he would tell the waiter :

« Bring me 3 portions of smoked meat with dumplings. »

And he was sure of getting his favourite dish in ample quantities.

Anton Bruckner had an original way of speaking in his quaint Upper-Austrian dialect. In the German biographies of the composer, his remarks are related in this « patois » . Richard Wagner, as is well-known, spoke Saxon dialect ; Johannes Brahms could not conceal the accents of North Germany. But their remarks are not quoted in their own particular idioms. With Bruckner, it is different. Transposed into High-German, his speech loses the characteristic Bruckner flavour. His steadfast nature, firmly rooted in his homeland, made him use his native dialect to the end of his days.

Anton Bruckner's style of speaking was straight and simple ; he was not given to good words or remarks sparkling with wit. When he addressed persons in influential positions, he spoke with a humility quite incompatible with his rank as musician. He was profuse with « Your Honour » , « Your Grace » , and the like. He did not realize that Richard Wagner was embarrassed when he told him : « Master, I worship you ! » Bruckner used forms of address and expressions of devotion which did not always apply to the person addressed. For instance, he called Johannes Brahms : « Mister President » . Once, when he met Brahms in a restaurant, he served him with beer, perhaps remembering that Wagner had done the same for him at « Wahnfried » .

### Bruckner's favourite food

As a bachelor, Anton Bruckner was lifelong dependent on guest-house catering. In accordance with his simple nature, he always preferred the Upper-Austrian local home-made cuisine (« Hausmannskost ») . House-smoked preparation with semolina dumplings and sauerkraut (« Hausgeselcht mit Grießknödeln und Sauerkraut ») was his favourite food. This was so widely known that he was once entertained for 3 days in a row in private homes in Steyr.

In the various restaurants of Linz, he was served the specialities of the house. Bruckner ate little during the day, but, in the evening, the portions were never large enough for him :

His excuse was :

« When I am supposed to work, I must also be fed ! »

In another Linz guest-house, he loved the « Fleckerlspeis » prepared with leg-meat (a gratin of small pasta squares and left-overs from the Sunday roast) . Once, he ate 16 large portions of plum-pudding for dessert !

His other Linz favourites :

Munched pasta noodles, potato dumplings, plum dumplings (each filled with 2 fruits) , « Apfelschlangel » (buttery, soft and crumbly layer of short-crust pastry wrapped around tangy sweet cinnamon-spiced apples) , « Apfelradeln » (baked apple rings) .

As a table beverage, he preferred the homeland apple-cider, or the « Landlbirne » \* fruit-wine or, most of all, the Viennese « Pilsner » beer.

(\* A perry pear known as « Landlbirne » in Lower-Austria, « Green “ Landlbirne ” » in Upper- and Lower-Austria, and by other names in Upper-Austria and Istria. Fruit small to medium, globular or turbinate and very even in contour, leaf-green changing to greenish-yellow when ripe, densely sprinkled with very fine russet spots ; flesh whitish, fine-grained, juicy, astringent, saccharine, addulous ; good for transportation ; end of October to December.

\* A pear used for perry in Lower-Austria. Fruit small, turbinate to ovate, very regular in contour, yellow when ripe, covered with cinnamon-russet and finely dotted with green specks, some red on the sunny-side ; flesh white, tolerably fine, juicy, highly-saccharine, only slightly astringent, very aromatic ; September.)

Bruckner used to arrive at the guest-house late in the evening. But then, he still stayed for a long time with his friends.

If, at an advanced hour, someone in the group was ready to go back home, he replied :

« Come on, stay for a little while, it's so much fun ! »

After saying yes to Bruckner, the poor fellow fell asleep and started to snore loudly.

### Flirting from the tavern's window

« After a meal, the Master of the organ and I would sometimes look-out of the window and, on one occasion, some comely wenches were obviously eyeing us with amusement from the tavern opposite. Bruckner was very eager to find-out who these “ ladies ” were. But when, to his alarm, he discovered that they were girls of very easy virtue, known as “ Flitscherln ” (hookers) in Linz, he indignantly stepped-back from the window. »

### Linz : « Gasthof Goldener Anker »

The « guest-house of the Golden Anchor » (« Gasthof Goldener Anker ») is located at Number 5 on the « Hofgasse » , in the centre-part (« Innere Stadt ») of Linz. This is the oldest restaurant in town, serving local cuisine. There is a traditional dining-room and a garden terrace where beer is served. The roots of the « Golden Anchor » go back to 1670. At that time, the guest-house was called « Zum Grünen Kranz » . Since 1730, it has been known as the «

Goldener Anker » . In 1834, it came into the hands of the Traxlmayr family, to which also the coffee-house of the same name goes back. In 1919, Franz and Antonia Pilsl bought it. They are the grand-parents of Franz Pilsl, who managed the house for a period of 32 years. He sold it to Walter Mayer in 2013.

### Linz : Hotel « Wolfinger »

Anton Bruckner was a regular guest at the Hotel « Wolfinger » , located on the main-square of Linz. The site possess a rich history that extends back to the 15th Century. The hotel with its peaceful interior court-yard was originally built as a monastery, and the first recorded owner was Christoph Waiß, in 1533. In 1585, Christoph Canevale rebuilt the house for Peter Waiß, who was later to become mayor, and who owned the building, from 1568 to 1616. The building was a guest-house from 1646 ; known as the « Golden Lion » , from 1771. Leopold Wolfinger was the long-serving head-waiter there and, in 1894, he leased the building, becoming the owner 3 years later. The name « Hotel Wolfinger » has appeared on the hotel's façade since that time. In 1974, the hotelier family Dangl acquired the renowned building, which has been heritage protected since 1940. A number of famous people have lodged at Hotel « Wolfinger » , including Prince Metternich (1841) , His Royal Highness Archduke John of Austria (1843) and Hans Christian Andersen (1869) .

### Linz : Hotel « Zum Roten Krebs »

Anton Bruckner looked at me distressed and reproachfully said :

« But, “ Herr ” Doctor ! The “ Rote Krebs ” enjoys a great popularity in Linz ! »

**Wednesday, 3 September 1856** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » accompanied by chairman Josef Hafferl will entertain the members of the Vienna Men's Choral Society (« Wiener Männergesangverein ») , which has just arrived at the « Zum Roten Krebs » inn. The famous choristers will then continue their tour. Next stop : the town of Lambach.

...

A thriving inn-restaurant in Linz at the time of Bruckner was the « Zum Roten Krebs » - located at Number 11 « Obere Donaulände » in the city-centre. The terrace offered a fine-view of the rushing waters of the Danube and the gentle slopes of the Mühlviertel. In seasonable weather, the terrace would be packed with people laughing and carousing.

The site was first mentioned in official documents in 1595. It became a guest-house around 1680. The place was named « Zum Roten Krebs » in 1771. On the first floor (second axis) , there is a house-sign : a stone tablet with the relief of a crayfish with the inscription : « Gast Hofe zum Krebsen des Seb(astian) Vogl 1837 » (« At the Crayfish » Inn owned by Sebastian Vogl, 1837) . With time, alterations were made to the Biedermeier style 5 storey corner-house which is composed of 15 architectural axes : 10 on the « Donaulände » side, and 5 on the « Hofberg » side. First, it was stripped of its original ornament. Then, in 1845, a porch at ground-level (originally rounded, but now beveled) was

added by Johann Rueff, next to the neighbouring house (Number 13) . On the first floor, another porch including a terrace and a « salon » was built by Michael Lettmayr in 1872. The terrace stem, dating from that year, still exists. The west-sided firewall collapsed in 1931. The façade was modernized by Carl Magnus Pader in 1936. The small arcaded court-yard stayed intact from the Renaissance period until 1945. After Allied bombings damaged the upper-floors, only the glazed corridors survived. A granite column was preserved on the ground-floor. On the Hofberg's side, a bay-window situated on the first floor (second axis) is ornated by a granite crest composed of a grotesque mask dating from the 16th Century. After the disastrous flood of 2013, the hotel was forced to close. It was fully-renovated and transformed into luxury apartments.

### Linz : « Gasthaus Zur goldenen Kanone »

The « Gasthaus Zur goldenen Kanone » , located at « Landstraße » Number 18-20 in Linz, was a restaurant-inn frequented by Anton Bruckner and his friends.

The builder Max Ortner (born on 27 September 1882 in Linz ; died on 28 September 1956 in Linz) gives a new façade to the guest-house and renovates also its interior.

Alois G. (born in Lower-Austria in 1919) stole a bicycle in front of the « Zur goldenen Kanone » Inn. He is arrested. As an « enemy of the nation » , he will be sentenced to death and executed.

### Linz : Soup and pretty waitresses at the « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof »

The whole city of Linz knew Anton Bruckner, and they all gladly stopped to watch when he stepped briskly through the streets. He made copious use of a snuff-box, while an exceptionally large blue handkerchief formed a bulge in his coat pocket. He enjoyed a cigar and a glass (or several glasses) of wine in the company of friends of an evening. On Fridays, he made tracks for the « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof » (the Guest-house of the Bavarian Court-yard - now, « Zaininger ») , where he would pay no attention to the salutations of his loyal supporters, going straight-up to the waiter and asking anxiously :

« Is there any crayfish soup, Josef ? »

If the obliging Ganymede said there was, Bruckner would call to him :

« Quick, Josef, bring me 3 helpings ! »

He invariably wanted 3 helpings of his favourite dishes, which were lamb lights with dumplings and mutton with turnips.

...



After a performance of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn », Anton Bruckner often brings his fellow-singers to celebrate at the famous Bavarian-inn called « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof » - especially because of the large number of pretty waitresses !

**Thursday, 6 October 1864** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » celebrates the 80th birthday of Albert Methfessel at the « Zum Bayerischen Hof ». He is appointed honorary member for the occasion.

## History

The « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof » (the former home of Emperor Franz-Josef II) is a typical Renaissance town-house which includes an arcaded court-yard. It is located at « Hofberg » Number 4 in the city-centre (« Innere Stadt ») of Linz (in the immediate vicinity of the Danube) . Franz-Josef visited the Bavarian pub of the « Bayerischen Hof », incognito, on 2 occasions under the pseudonym « Graf Falke » !

The building, occupied by an inn since 1650, also housed the Guild of the barrel-pullers of the city of Linz. In 1771, the place was called « Gasthof zur Weiße Gans » (the White Goose Inn) . The « Hofberg » (Court hill) leads on a length of about 70 meters from the Upper-Danube River Bank to the Court alley.

The 4 storey building consists of 5 linear architectural axes and a partially pre-dazzled attic. The main-portal on ground-floor, which bears the year 1578, consists of 2 ornated curbstone pillars and 4 flat arched openings with plastered grooving. The façade was restored in 1957. Attempts to solidify the structure by concreting the cellar were undertaken in 1959-1960.

Under the middle-window on the second floor, a commemorative stone plaque bears the following inscription :

« In memory of the unforgettable Emperor Josef, who lived in this house in 1783 and 1786. Provincial capital, Linz. March 13, 1870. »

The original building is considered the oldest historically documented house in Linz :

On January 23, 1273, Pope Gregory X confirmed the freedoms and rights of the Nonnberg Abbey in Salzburg (the « Office of the Danube ») as well as the possession of the « Linzer-Haus » .

As early as the 13th Century (1273) , the Nonnberg Abbey of Salzburg (a convent of nuns) , as well as the other Salzburger abbey (monks) installed in Linz, shared a building to store their Wachau wine. The product was first transported by ship from Wachau to Linz ; then, the sender used the best (ground) road from Linz to Salzburg. The Nonnberg Abbey owned a manor located at the entrance of the Haselgraben, the most important route to Bohemia. This strategic site facilitated greatly the commercial operations.

In 1579, the Abbess granted the dilapidated storing-house, as a perpetual succession right, to Jobst Schmidtauer who

had already begun the construction of a new house, a year earlier. Schmidtauer reports in 1582 that he started to demolish the old structure affected by bad masonry and rotten wood. A prison for the subjects of the Nonnberg Abbey still existed inside the storing-house in 1635 - but this was contrary to the interests of the City of Linz. It was not until the middle of the 17th Century that the legal dispute between the Abbey and the municipality was settled by a money payment.

...

Bereits im 13. Jahrhundert hatte das Salzburger Stift Nonnberg wie auch die anderen Salzburger Stift in Linz ein Haus zur Einlagerung seines Wachauer Weins. Von der Wachau bis Linz wurde der Wein auf Schiffen transportiert, von Linz nach Salzburg wählte man den einfacheren Landweg. Das Stift Nonnberg besaß die Grundherrschaft über Häuser am Eingang des Haselgrabens, des wichtigsten Weges nach Böhmen. Somit konnte der Handel nach Böhmen kontrolliert werden.

Im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert verkaufte das Stift Nonnberg sein Haus, behielt sich aber noch gewisse Kellerrechte und einen Raum als Gefängnis für seine Untertanen vor. Ab dem Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts befand sich hier die Zunftlader der Fasszieher.

...

Im Kern handelt es sich um ein renaissancezeitliches Haus mit Arkadenhof. Die Schauseite von vier Geschoßen und teilweise vorgeblendetem Dachgeschoß und fünf Achsen zeigt im Erdgeschoß Putznutung, in die das Hauptportal und 4 korb- beziehungsweise flachbogige Öffnungen eingesetzt sind. Das Hauptportal besteht aus zwei verzierten Pfeilern auf Prellsteinen. Es trägt die Jahreszahl 1578.

Unter dem Mittelfenster des zweiten Obergeschoßes ist eine Steintafel mit Inschrift angebracht :

« Dem Andenken des unvergesslichen Kaisers Josef welcher in den Jahren 1783 und 1786 in diesem Hause wohnte. Die Landeshauptstadt Linz am 13. März 1870. »

Ältestes historisch nachweisbares Haus in Linz : am 23. Jänner 1273 bestätigte Papst Gregor X. die Freiheiten und Rechte des Stiftes Nonnberg in Salzburg sowie den Besitz des Linzer Hauses. 1579 verliehen Äbtissin und Konvent das baufällige Haus zu ewigem Erbrecht an Jobst Schmidtauer, der schon ein Jahr vorher mit dem Neubau des Hauses begonnen hatte. 1582 berichtet er, daß er das alte Haus mit schlechtem Mauerwerk und verfaultem Holz abgerissen habe. 1635 bestand im Haus noch das Gefängnis für die Stiftsuntertanen des Nonnberger « Amtes enhalb der Donau » . Dies lief den Interessen der Stadt zuwider. Erst in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde der Streit durch eine Geldzahlung bereinigt.

Seit 1650 beherbergt das Haus einen Gasthof, wo sich die Zunftlade der Linzer Fasszieherinnung befand. 1771 als « Zur weißen Gans » bekannt, später in « Zum bairischen Hof » umbenannt.

Die Fassade wurde 1957 restauriert, Versuche zur Festigung des Hauses durch Betonieren des Kellers wurden 1959-1960 unternommen.

Quelle : Österreichische Kunsttopographie, Band XLII « Die Altstadt » , herausgegeben vom Institut für österreichische Kunstforschung des Bundesdenkmalamtes und der Stadt Linz.

### The Vienna Lager beer

The « Vienna lager » beer was named after the city in which it originated. A traditional « Vienna lager » is brewed using a 3 step decoction boiling process. Munich, Pilsener, Vienna toasted and dextrin malts are used, as well wheat in some cases. Subtle hops, crisp, with residual sweetness.

This direct ancestor of the pale « Pilsner » style Lager was first brewed in 1840 in the town of Schwechat, near Vienna. The local brewer, Anton Dreher, used an indirect method for drying his malt : kilns. This method left the malt much paler than ever before. The beer was brewed using the German brewing method and also used bottom-fermentation. The resulting product was a darker beer of copper red colour containing traces of a caramel-nut taste from the slightly roasted malt.

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In 1820, Franz Anton Dreher dies leaving the Klein-Schwechat Brewery to his 10 year old son, Anton Dreher ; but Anton is too young to take-over operations. Instead, the late-1820's finds Anton starting his brewing education in anticipation of taking-over the brewery at a later time. So, he undertakes an apprenticeship journey, visiting a series of breweries around Europe.

At the same time, another young brewer, Gabriel Sedlmayer II, son of Gabriel Sedlmayer, owner of Spaten Brewing Company, is also making the same journey of learning. Somewhere along their travels, the two meet, become good friends, and even make much of their remaining travels together.

At this time, early in the 1830's, a new kilning technology has come into use in England. Up to end of the 1700's, malt was kilned directly over fire, creating a malt dark in colour, with a strong toasty, sometimes smoky, profile. But by the early-1800's, the British are refining a way to dry malt using hot air instead of direct heat, imparting a lighter colour to the malt and a more delicate profile.

Dreher and Sedlmayer learn of this new technology while visiting English breweries. It seems they may have even gone as far as stealing samples of wort and yeast from some of the breweries for later analysis. They take what they learn, legally and illegally, back to their respective home cities ; and, in 1836, Dreher takes his place at the head of his father's brewery.

Using his newly-gained knowledge, he starts experimenting with the English way of kilning and creates an amber malt

that is just slightly caramelized. He calls it « Vienna malt » and promptly combines it with lager yeast, brewing a reddish-copper lager with a delicate slightly bready malt profile. He releases the beer in 1841 as « Lager Vienna Type » or « Vienna » style lager.

Meanwhile, Sedlmayr is doing his own experimenting with hot air kilning. His creation is a malt kilned to a slightly higher degree. Not to be outdone he, too, combines his new malt with lager yeast and the well-known Munich « Märzen » is born.

« Märzen » was a term first used in Vienna, not Munich, to describe beers made in March and then cellared in caves. Also, Sedlmayr decides to market the new beer as « Märzen gebraut nach Wiener Art », or « March beer brewed in the Viennese way ». These 2 pieces of information seem to indicate he may have been imitating these earlier Viennese « Märzens » and it was only his new malt, and maybe the times, that made his beer famous instead of these earlier Viennese renditions.

The 2 beers have very similar, to the point of being expected, idea among many brewers that to make a Munich « Märzen » out of a « Vienna lager » recipe really all that is required is to switch the Vienna malt for Munich. Though not quite so simple, it does illustrate how closely related the 2 beers are. The Munich « Märzen » is slightly sweeter on the finish, carries less of a hop presence, and is generally slightly higher in alcohol.

In 1861, Napoleon III invaded Mexico after President Benito Juarez refused to continue to pay interest to European powers. The invasion and subsequent occupation brought about the Second Mexican Empire, and installed in 1864 Maximilian I (the brother of Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef), from the Austrian Imperial Palace, as a puppet ruler.

Maximilian brought a few Austrian brewers with him and they started making « Vienna lager » in Mexico. Of these brewers, a man named Santiago Graf seems to have had the largest influence.

But the reign of Maximilian was short ...

He was executed by a firing-squad in 1867 (the same year as the Austro-Hungarian compromise) .

World War I left Austria in economic tatters and « Vienna lager », its popularity already fading, completely disappeared from its mother-country.

Fortunately, the « Vienna lager » has been preserved in Mexico.

In 1890, a consortium of German- and Spanish-speaking brewers would establish the Cuatémoc Moctezuma Brewery in Monterrey. Arguably, their most distinctive product, « Dos Equis » (amber), would prove to be one of the world's most enduring examples of a Vienna-style lager.

In 1926, « Cerveceria Modelo » opened in Mexico City, and soon, it was producing its own adjunct-laden example of

the style, « Negra Modelo » . (Adjunct cereals, especially corn, started making-up more and more of the grain bill, creating a beer with far less of the defined but delicate malt back-bone found in the original examples.)

Other iterations of the « Vienna lager » style would make an appearance and have great popularity in post-prohibition America.

In recent decades, even the authentic « Vienna lager » has found a new bastion of burgeoning fame among the American craft beer movement.

### Linz : « Gasthof Zum schwarzen Bock »

Anton Bruckner calmly spooned 3 plates of crayfish soup, and settled for 2 portions of stuffed veal breast « At the Black Goat » Guest-House (« Gasthof Zum schwarzen Bock ») in Linz (established in 1771) .

Before 1595, the bourgeois residence was called the House of Maschgowitz. In 1595, inn-keepers are registered as owners. A fire destroyed the roof structure and the whole rear-section in 1800. The building was completely demolished in 1946 after a heavy allied bombing. Between 1956 and 1958, a new building reminiscent of the old original appearance was erected by Karl Schneider. The guest-house, located at Number 22 « Altstadt » in the centre-part of the town, re-opened in 1959 under the management of Peter Dimmel. Today, it is occupied by the « Café Aquarium » .

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Der viergeschossige Neubau in Anlehnung an das alte Erscheinungsbild hat nur am Erker ein Putzrahmen-system, das jedoch durch die technische Ausführung, die veränderten Fenster-proportionen und nach Wegfall der Gesimse kalt und starr wirkt. Auch die Erkerschalen sind neu. Die übrigen 2 Achsen in der Altstadt und die elf Achsen der südlichen Seiten-front sind ungegliedert, drei davon mit Terrassen im 3. Obergeschoß. Weitere sechs Achsen in gleicher Ausführung schließen über einer Hofeinfahrt und sind mit eigener neuer Haus-nummer Nummer 22a versehen.

### Cholera Epidemics in the 19th Century

First appearing in Europe and North America beginning in 1817-1818 and presumed to have come from India, epidemic cholera returned and travelled around the world many times through the end of the 19th Century, killing many thousands. Causing profuse and violent cramps, vomiting and diarrhea, with dehydration so rapid and severe the blood thickens and the skin becomes death-like and blue, cholera victims can die in a matter of hours. Because 19th Century transformations in industrial, urban, political, and cultural life were intimately connected with discussions of proper public health practices and causes of disease, attempts to explain epidemic cholera involved every part of society.

### Causes of Cholera

For much of the 19th Century, most European and American physicians believed cholera was a locally produced miasmatic disease - an illness brought about by direct exposure to the products of filth and decay. Climate and geographic location were also factors. It was a common assumption that those who engaged in morally and physically intemperate behaviour or who had inferior cultural practices were more likely to get cholera when exposed to these miasmas and environmental conditions. Observations that the poor, who lived in densely populated urban slums, suffered from cholera in greater numbers than the rich, who were much differently housed, were used as evidence for this assertion. The germ theory, developed in the later 19th Century, placed less emphasis on social and environmental factors, although the issue of individual predisposition and susceptibility due to personal behaviour lingered.

### Was Cholera Contagious ?

For most of the 19th Century, most scientists, physicians and sophisticated lay people believed cholera was not contagious. The observation that a doctor could have daily contact with cholera patients without falling ill led to the conclusions that cholera was not transmitted from person to person. This was an accurate observation given that cholera is usually transmitted through contaminated drinking water, as John Snow first demonstrated in 1855.

Until Robert Koch identified the cholera bacillus in 1883, science continued to favour anti-contagionism. Leading anti-contagionists or contingent contagionists included Max von Pettenkofer and Southwood Smith. According to the contingent contagionist perspective, cholera could be contagious, but only under particular circumstances.

The existence of the cholera bacillus did not necessarily prove cholera's contagiousness either ; some argued that the bacillus was the product of the disease, not its cause. Another issue was how to explain the existence of healthy carriers - people who had the cholera bacillus in their bodies but who were not sick. In practice, public health measures often involved a blend of contagionist and anti-contagionist views.

The International Sanitary Conferences, predecessor to the World Health Organization, were first convened in Paris, in 1851, to discuss cholera's contagiousness ; Europe's most important scientists and public health officials attended the meetings. Quarantine, intimately related to contagion, was another important topic at the Conferences, since it was of central concern to government officials and those involved in commerce. For if cholera was not contagious, there was no reason to submit to the significant personal and economic sacrifices involved in quarantines.

### 19th Century Treatments

Despite the continued discussion about the cause of cholera, over the course of the 19th Century, the actual treatment of the disease did not change much. Patients with families were cared for at home. Physicians, when called, would use such characteristic treatments as bleeding or opium. Homeopathic methods were popular among the middle- and upper-classes, as were other eclectic treatments, and all manner of dietary and hygienic regimens were promoted in newspapers and books. Those without families might find themselves in charity hospitals, which could become grim places indeed during an epidemic. Preachers gave sermons on the meaning of cholera for both individuals and society. Riots ensued due to popular revolt against mass burials.

## The Epidemics Subside

By the end of the 19th Century, cholera epidemics no longer appeared in Europe and North America. The reasons for this are uncertain, but standards of living had risen and many communities had made major changes in sanitation practices and established permanent boards of health. As part of the transformation to the germ theory, medical thought had changed in many ways as well. In 1831, most physicians believed cholera to be a non-specific, non-contagious miasmatic condition that favoured the morally and physically predisposed. By the end of the 19th Century, although the miasmatic interpretation still had influence, cholera was primarily understood to be a specific contagious disease caused by a particular microscopic organism.

## Vienna and cholera

Cholera is in Moscow in September 1830, then, Vienna in August 1831. By September of that year, the Viennese public « has given itself up so entirely to dread, that already several persons have died with fright or become mad ». From Vienna, the cholera also advanced towards the West, gained Brünn and Linz, crossed the Bohemian frontier, and, on reaching the banks of the Moldau, it was not long before it invaded Prague. It has been in operation since the beginning of December 1831. To sum-up, the mortality rate was small and the progress was not very rapid during the last months.

## Vienna's Sewer System

With the construction boom after the second siege of Vienna by the Turkish army, in 1683, the city's sewer system continued to grow as well. Most new buildings were connected to the city's sewers. As a result, Vienna became one of the most advanced cities in terms of sewerage in Europe in the 19th Century. In 1739, Vienna was the only city to be fully-sewered within the city walls.

Other cities of a similar size did not start planning and building their sewer systems to this extent until decades later. Despite this, the city was often swept by deadly plagues because the residents of the communities on the periphery of Vienna not only discharged their waste into the open brooks flowing through the Vienna Woods but also used the contaminated water for washing and drew drinking water from well houses located close to the brooks.

The most tragic event occurred in 1830, when an unusually large ice-jam on the Danube caused the brooks and rivers around Vienna to burst their banks. The resulting cholera outbreak cost over 2,000 lives.

Immediately following this disaster, the decision was made to cover all important streams in the city and its environs. Additionally, 2 main-collector sewers were built parallel to the River Wien, which led to the Danube (referred to as River Wien main-collectors or « cholera sewers »). By 1850, Vienna had a well-functioning sewer system.

After the city-walls and the outer-fortification, which had been built around the surrounding communities, were torn-down and 33 suburbs were incorporated into the administrative territory of Vienna, comprehensive and uniform urban

planning became possible. In 1893 and 1894, construction of additional large collector sewers to the left and right of the Danube Canal began.

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The history of Vienna's sewer system goes back to about 100 A.D. when the Romans built a highly-sophisticated sewer system in their military camp « Vindobona ». In the Middle-Ages, Vienna was no different from any other European city as far as hygienic conditions were concerned : garbage landed in the streets and sewage was simply allowed to flow into the many free-flowing tributaries of the Danube, causing repeated outbreaks of epidemics.

It was not until the middle of the 18th Century that Vienna, at that time covering the area corresponding approximately to the present 1st District, had a well-functioning sewer system well before other European cities. Conditions in the suburbs, however, were still far from ideal. In 1830, exceptionally high-waters and ice on the Danube dammed-up the tributaries, which caused widespread flooding and the contamination of ground water. The ensuing cholera epidemic killed over 2,000. It was only then that the city started tunnelling and integrating the water courses in the western districts of the city into a combined storm and sanitary sewer system and building sanitary sewers on either side of the River Wien. Until then, the River Wien alone had taken the raw sewage from countless industries as well as almost 4,000 tenement blocks along its banks. A first step had been taken and the city could pride itself on having one the most advanced systems of sewers in Europe, years if not decades before other major cities.

As Vienna's population grew exponentially until World War I, to cope with the burgeoning waste waters, further improvements were necessary, namely the construction of sanitary sewers on either side of the Danube Canal, the partial construction of vaults over the River Wien and the extension of the sewer system into the outer-districts. The precarious economic situation in Vienna during the 1920's and 1930's, however, slowed down further improvements and, during World War II, Vienna's sewer system suffered badly from bombing. 1,800 hits were counted and it was not until 1950 that the last of the War damage was repaired. Today, Vienna continues to have one of the most modern sewer systems and treatment works world-wide.

### Important dates

**Approximately 100 A.D.** : The military camp of the 13th Legion in « Vindobona » has a modern sewer system.

**Approximately 400 A.D.** : With the migration period, the sanitary standards of the Romans are lost for Centuries.

**1388** : Construction of subterranean stone conduits leading to openly flowing channels.

**1683** : Construction boom ; after the second siege of Vienna by the Turkish army, new buildings are generally connected to the street sewers.

**1739** : Vienna is the only city in Europe to be fully-sewered within its city-walls.



**1830** : A cholera outbreak costs more than 2,000 lives. The « cholera sewers » alongside the River Wien are built.

**1837** : Further large collectors are built (for the Ottakringerbach, Alsbach and Währingerbach brooks) . In comparison, the construction of a cohesive sewer system began in Hamburg in 1848 ; in Paris in 1855 ; in London in 1858 ; in Frankfurt in 1867 ; and in Berlin in 1873.

**1851** : Expansion of the sewer system and renovation of old sewers.

**1861** : Sewer construction boom after the city-walls were torn-down, including changes to a part of the covering of Ottakringerbach and the main-collector to the left of the River Wien.

**1881** : Expansion of the sewer system, modifications, smaller construction activity.

**1891** : Construction starts on the collector sewers in the suburbs ; new construction and modifications to the Krottenbach, Währingerbach, Ameisbach and Lainzerbach brooks ; construction of the right and left main-collectors alongside the Danube Canal begins.

**Until 1914** : Constant expansion of the urban sewer system (status in late- 1914 : 923 kilometres of public sewers ; 1,530 kilometres of house sewers) .

**Sunday, 1 July 1923** : Private sewer cleaning companies are bought by the City of Vienna under Mayor Karl Seitz, and their staff is employed by the city. This is considered the founding year of the « Wien Kanal » .

**Until 1930** : World War I and the Great Depression slow-down the expansion of the sewers.

**1948** : A British film team comes to Vienna to shoot the film « The 3rd Man » . Music-score composer Anton Karas and Vienna's sewer system become world famous.

**Until 1950** : Repair of damages caused by Allied bombing (1,765 individual damages on main and secondary sewer lines) .

**1951** : Vienna's first waste-water treatment plant is opened in Inzersdorf (closed-down in 1970) .

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A cholera epidemic gripped Vienna in 1831-1832. High death rates gave rise to intellectual speculation and practical measures.

In the 18th Century, it was not only small-pox but also cholera that claimed the lives of countless people. Vomiting and diarrhoea, dehydration and confusion were the usually fatal symptoms of the disease. Cholera is caused by a

bacterium and is transmitted primarily through contaminated water. Particularly in countries where minimum hygiene requirements cannot be met, it occurs repeatedly even today. A Europe-wide cholera epidemic gripped Vienna, in the years 1831 and 1832. Panic and despair were widespread irrespective of borders and despite the measures put in place which included sanitary cordons, official posts set-up to regulate transit traffic and regulations obliging visitors to stay for a minimum of 14 days to prevent possible epidemics. Contemporaries spoke of « divine retribution » and many besprinkled their houses with holy-water in the hope that it would ward-off the disease. While doctors and social economists accepted the epidemic as « a natural phenomenon », there was talk, from the point-of-view of population policy, of natural selection. As « Nature's police », it would decimate the surplus population and only the strong would survive. This pessimistic diagnosis can be traced back to the English economist Thomas Robert Malthus, who predicted a food supply crisis in view of the growing population. In the years 1831 and 1832, the death-rate among those infected with cholera, in Vienna, was 64 % . Journeymen and domestic servants were as much affected as aristocrats and clerics. Effective protective measures were unknown at this time. Stronger measures were, therefore, taken to halt the spread of the disease : fever hospitals were expanded, regulations were implemented for the disposal of the bodies of those who died of the disease, and circulars with safety precautions were distributed. There were instructions not to dispose of excrement and blood by tipping them outside the house. However, these regulations and suggestions were only partially successful, particularly since urban planning contained no provision for waste disposal. Above all, it was the poorer social strata who were particularly badly affected. In the summer of 1832, the epidemic struck again. However, this time there were almost no victims amongst the nobility. The construction of pipelines to bring water from alpine springs to Vienna, at the end of the 19th Century, guaranteed a modern and hygienic water supply. With similar measures, cholera epidemics were gradually eliminated from the whole of Europe and death rates sank drastically.

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On **Monday, 25 July 1831**, the « London Courier » supplied information that at St. Petersburg, since the first manifestation of cholera to July 7th, the number of persons attacked reached 1,230, with 558 deaths. The report added that the « number of persons recovered was very small, there being on July 8th, in the morning, 665 sick remaining » .

According to accounts from Vienna, on **Sunday, 17 July 1831**, cholera was no more than 44 miles from the capital. Pesth was already surrounded by a cordon, as cholera continued to spread on both sides of the Theiß, with some cases reported at Szelnok, Heves and Erlau. In consequence, it was felt more serious precautionary measures would be needed at Vienna. A sanitary cordon, composed of 36,000 chosen troops, were ordered to protect the capital against cholera ; in order to prevent the scarcity of provisions which might ensue from this form of seclusion, bakers were ordered to lay in corn sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants for 3 months.

To raise spirits, the Emperor resolved that, « whatever may happen » , he was to remain in residence, and he « intimated to the members of the Imperial family to do the same » . Taking a firmer stance with public functionaries, none were allowed to leave their posts, request a passport or take a leave of absence. The establishments « Josephinum » and « Theresianum » were converted into hospitals, while no Jews (« known for their want of

cleanliness and their mode of life » , being « peculiarly susceptible of contagion ») coming from Poland were permitted to pass through Brünn, in Moravia. They were also to be expelled from their closely built quarters in Prague, Pesth and, probably, Vienna while the police « purified » their habitats.

While German newspapers chiefly related news of cholera, « which has been, for some time, a prominent feature in all the Journals of the North of Europe » , foreign ministers in Vienna, dreading the disease, all removed to Baden, a city not known to be infected by any epidemic disease.

In mid-August, a private letter from Vienna painted a melancholy picture :

« The approach of the cholera has filled every mind with alarm. The public has given itself up so entirely to dread, that already several persons have died with fright or become mad. »

The writer indicated that all communication with Hungary, from whence almost all provisions arrived, had been severed, greatly augmenting prices.

Precautions in Vienna included dividing the city and suburbs into 50 districts, each with 4 physicians under the supervision of a doctor who had been practising in Warsaw. Because people did not know how cholera was contracted and, thus, presumed it was contagious, a commissary was appointed to every 4 houses, bound to visit them daily, in order to prevent more than 3 persons from sleeping in the same room. Every house was furnished with a quantity of chlorate of lime and fumigated every day with vinegar. It was also recommended that the mouth be washed every morning with vinegar and that a drop of the essence of chamomile on a piece of sugar should be taken while fasting. Houses were also required to be supplied with a quantity of vinegar, herbs, tea, flannel and heated sand.

The Emperor gave 2,000,000 Florins toward the establishment of hospitals, for which the most extensive houses and the theatre were appropriated. No one was allowed to go 3 leagues from the capital without a certificate of health, but, at the same time, numerous carriages set-off « in crowds » for Switzerland and the Tyrol. By August 16, all theatres were to be closed and all unemployed foreigners were ordered to leave within 8 days. The Emperor went with his Court to Schönbrunn, where the outside-walls and windows were closed with planks. The young king of Hungary, Prince Metternich, and the foreign ambassadors joined him there.

Notices from the German newspapers, up to **September 1st**, indicated that the sicknesses in Vienna « were to be classed, according to the medical report, not under the head of oriental, but of sporadic, cholera » . Cholera continued to rage in Lemberg, where 50-60 daily deaths were recorded. In Frankfurt, preemptive measures included a house of quarantine for strangers coming from suspected places and a hospital to care for those attacked by the disorder. A separate report indicated that greater exertions were being made at Stockholm to prepare hospitals for cholera patients.

In what may be viewed as germ warfare, a correspondent for the « London Courier » wrote the following in a letter dated **July 18** :

« One of the feats of the Russians must be observed. In Sienpic, they broke open the church, robbed it, and left the cholera in the place. »

He added :

« The cholera, here, is treated as a tangible article : something to be laid hold of (and, yet, we are completely in the dark as to the precise situation, in the church of Sienpic where the alarming personage was secreted) whether in the reading desk, in the folds of the parson's surplice, or in the belfry. »

He added the disease was making great ravages in St. Petersburg : on **June 29**, the total number of cases was 3,418, with 1,479 deaths.

Adding to the confusion, a letter from Pesth, dated **July 21**, noted :

« We know nothing of the cholera, here, except some cases of sudden-death which, at another time, would not have been regarded, but which many persons immediately took to be the destructive Indian disorder. The cases of death, in other parts of Hungary, appear also, as many assert, not to be caused by the Indian cholera, but by a kind of dysentery, not uncommon in these parts. However, the question must soon be decided, and, at all events, the precautions adopted by the government deserve to be gratefully acknowledged. »

Precautions included placing placards on street-corners announcing that quarantine was re-established, « but that the pontoon bridge is not to be taken down again » . Doors of all private houses were to be closed at 9 pm, and all coffee-houses and hotels shut at 10 pm. In case of disturbances during hours of darkness, nightlights were to be put in all windows facing the street. Due to the fact that several cases of « incendiarism » had occurred, city magistrates of Pesth were authorized to sentence persons convicted of this crime to a rapid execution. The final order warned all citizens that in case of public disturbances they were to keep their distance from the rioters, « lest they should suffer with them for their disobedience of the lawful authority » .

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Professor Rolleston talks of cholera to the editor of the « Spectator » :

« SIR,

There is one sentence in your last week's exposition of Pettenkofer's views as to cholera, which I do not feel sure that the Professor himself would agree to. It is this :

“ It comes, then, to this, that any town which will go to the expense of having all its streets and houses well scoured, and securing for its citizens a constant supply of pure drinking water, can thus secure for itself, according to Professor Petteukofer's theory, perfect immunity from the attacks of cholera ? ”

A town which has taken all these precautions may, I think, according to Pettenkofer, still be amenable to an attack of cholera ; for if its sub-soil is porous, it may still retain in its superficially placed strata much of the impurity with which the anti-sanitary arrangements of our forefathers saturated their surroundings. According to Pettenkofer, 5 conditions, 2 of which depend on personal and 3 on local causes, are necessary for the spread of cholera. The first personal condition is the presence in the place in which cholera is to spread of the particular and specific cholera poison, cell or ferment, which originates in the “ rejeetamenta ” of choleraic patients, and also in the “ excreta ” of healthy persons who have come from choleraic districts. The second personal condition is the receptivity or susceptibility, often self-superinduced, of the person to be infected. The first local condition is a porosity and permeability to air and water of the subsoil. The second is the presence at a greater or less depth from the surface of this porous subsoil of what Pettenkofer calls “ Grundwasser ” (though he tells us that his opponents will not use his nomenclature) and what we call “ springs ”, and also “ handsprings ” or “ sub-soil water ”. This second local condition is specially deadly when the level of the “ springs ”, or of the “ land-springs ”, as the case may be, has just fallen unusually low, after having been previously unusually high. The third local condition, without which the diffusion of cholera is impossible, is the presence, more or less diffused, in a sub-soil of the character specified, of those organic matters which modern sewage whirled away from our precincts, but which ancient slovenliness left to fester all around its houses in cesspits and iniddens. Now, in this, as in many other cases, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and soils may retain for almost indefinite periods the taint of organic impurities which were allowed to soak into them even generations ago. A greater greenness in the growing grass or corn enables us to recognize even now the graves at Culloden, and indeed the burial-places of yet, older British warriors, who knew as little of the broadsword as they did of the bayonet. Now, it is possible that in extreme cases such as these, the greater exuberance of vegetation may depend upon other conditions than that of its finding putrefiable organic matter to feed upon in the soil ; but it is impossible to escape from the evidence which goes to show that animal, and specially human, life may be seriously affected by the disturbance of organic matters which have lain in the earth undisturbed for very long periods. We have the excellent authority of Vicq d'Azyr for saying that an epidemic was caused in Auvergne by the opening of an old cemetery, and similar histories are not wanting in the records of our East-Indian medicine. The facts that Loudon church-yards help to destroy life by their exhalations, whilst vegetable life may remain dormant, yet, alive for ages when buried in the earth, may seem unlike enough to each other, but they are really alike, inasmuch as they both show that the earth beneath and around our houses may harbour and preserve organic agents in a condition from which they may arise and prove potent for mischief for periods which are practically indefinite. Finally, Pettenkofer's own words are :

“ A considerable time, even many years, must pass before the organic matters in the soil are so changed and decomposed that the cholera germ can no longer develop itself when the other necessary conditions are present. ”

The sewerage of Vienna and Munich, he goes on to say, is a most desirable thing ; but he advises us, in the contingency of the impending of a cholera epidemic, to put our trust in means which starve the cholera germ by destroying the alkalinity of the sewage. Let us, he might say, by all means, avoid any further impregnation of the earth around our dwellings with sewage ; but it would be as foolish for us to expect that by putting sanitary measures and sewage in force on the spur of the moment we can nullify the impurities which years of neglect have accumulated and infiltrated all around us, as it would be for a repentant drunkard to expect that his fluids and

tissues would become instantaneously renovated on the instant of his taking the pledge to total abstinence. Much good may, it is true, be done even at the moment by abating local nuisances ; but they can only be abated at the moment, they cannot be nullified ; whereas the personal element of a specific poison can be nullified and destroyed in the “ rejectamenta ” by the employment of acidifying disinfectants. Sanitary measures and systems of the kind specified in your article may or may not prove, ultimately, to be omnipotent against epidemics ; but if they are to have this power, they must have time allowed them to acquire it in. The best case may be injured by an over-statement ; and I think it is an over-statement of the virtues of sanitarian reforms to say that towns perfectly sewerred and supplied with perfectly pure water are perfectly safe against cholera. But the over-statement may become a just statement of the case when we add to it the qualifying clause, “ if these arrangements have been at work for a sufficiently long time ”.

I take this opportunity of saying that Pettenkofer's views, of which, as expounded in his own “ Zeitschrift für Biologie ”, a sketch appeared in the Standard of Monday, August 6, are now accessible to the reader of German in a shilling pamphlet, published in Munich, under the joint editorship of himself, of Doctor Griesinger, of Berlin, and of Doctor Wunderlich, of Leipzig, 3 names of very high-rank and authority in German and, indeed, in all medical literature.

There is little added in this pamphlet, and nothing that is contradictory to the views which are put-out at much greater length in Pettenkofer's Memoirs in the “ Zeitschrift für Biologie ”, but the following 4 or 5 points, specially insisted upon in the smaller publication, deserve notice at the present crisis.

In the pamphlet, which bears we may say the title Cholera Regulations, special stress is laid on the importance of employing for the disinfection of sewage some one of the different metallic salts, and particularly for several economic as well as chemical reasons the sulphate of iron, which will keep-up in it an acid, in preference to the chloride of lime, which possesses and produces an alkaline reaction. For actual experience has shown that a particular atmosphere is necessary for the life of the cholera germ, and this particular atmosphere is furnished by the alkaline exhalation of decomposing human sewage. The establishment of “ Observirungs-spitals ” for persons afflicted with premonitory diarrhea is recommended in the pamphlet, as well as in the papers published in the “ Zeitschrift ”. 4 % only of persons so affected and so removed to “ Houses of Observation ” were found to pass on into confirmed cholera - a result sufficiently confirmatory of the recommendation. But, in these days, when English doctors and doctrines differ so widely as to treatment, it is important to say that the Germans, like most of our East-Indian practitioners, recommend small doses of opium as the best medicine for precursory symptoms.

That it is now universally allowed that choleraic “ excreta ” are the source of the specific cholera germ may be seen from the literary fact that a dispute as to the first discoverer of the all-important fact, “ a Prioritals streit ”, as the Germans call it, has been raging for now more than 10 years on the Continent. The safety which, by acting on the obvious corollary of this result and disinfecting their “ excreta ”, we can insure to ourselves, is as great as that which a complete (and impossible) quarantine would have secured, or as that which a non-porous, non-springy, non-contaminating subsoil does actually confer.

The language of the German Professors seems intended to convey the impression that drinking water may, when it is

impure, favour the spread of cholera rather by its general anti-sanitary powers than by becoming the vehicle for the specific cholera germ. But they do not positively declare themselves, at least in this pamphlet, to be opponents of Doctor Snow's explanation of such facts as those put on record by the " Registrar-General " in the papers of this day.

Of season and of temperature, as influencing the progress of cholera, our Professors say nothing. But it is obvious that, according to their views, the influence of heat and of cold, which latter we are now hoping for, can count but for little except indirectly. Heat promotes evaporation of moisture, and so will in many soils lower the level of the " Grundwasser ", and it favours certain decompositions which render the soil alkaline, whilst cold works in precisely the opposite direction. And so far, but not farther, our common opinion is correct. In chilly, and therefore, by virtue and help of the Gulf Stream, rainy England, cholera and typhoid fever are summer and fine autumn diseases ; but this seasonal distribution does not hold good in by any means all other countries, nor even in this always.

I am happy to be able to say that the system of disinfection so strongly recommended, and carried-out with such gratifying results in Germany during the severe epidemic of last year, is being put into operation throughout this city, under the superintendence of Doctor Child, the Medical Inspector of our Local Board of Health. A somewhat similar system of disinfecting has been carried-out and, I presume, is still being carried-out in Bristol, during the present month, and the cholera which broke-out there at the beginning of this month seems, according to the " Registrar-General's " Report of this day, to have ceased there. It is very probable, though possibly not a matter of demonstration, that the attainment of this result has been due to the labours and energy of the 2 well-known medical advisers of Bristol, Doctors Budd and Davies. And it is well to say that both the theory and the practice of the former of those gentlemen have been laid before the public in a small pamphlet, a perusal of which, by showing the almost entire unison and harmony of the advice given by Doctor Budd, in the West of England, and by Professor Pettenkofer, in the South of Germany, ought to prompt the dullest and the most sluggish to follow their recommendations.

For as it seems to me, the system of disinfection as a means of prophylaxis against cholera has, at once, the strongest scientific and the strongest moral claims upon our attention at the present moment. As to its scientific claims, the theory upon which it is founded reconciles and explains much that was previously obscure, confusing, and contradictory in the otiology of the disease, and in the few cases in which it has as yet been found practicable, either in Germany or England, to put it to the test of actual experiment, the results which it was predicted would ensue upon its application have actually occurred. In a moral point-of-view, it has even stronger claims upon our attention in a world in which and in a matter in which " probability is the very guide of life ". At the present moment, no other practicable means for prophylaxis on the large scale has even been hinted at.

The otiose scepticism which is content to deny and disbelieve overtly and genially enough, everything which it has never chosen to examine into, becomes at a crisis like the present simply a public offence.

There is a larger and less amusing class of men whose minds are just active enough to make them good at objections without making them good at anything else. On the present, as on most other occasions, such men content themselves with making suggestions in the helpful negative shape familiar to them, and they warm into sympathy with investigation only so far as they hope to see our present means for doing good superseded in the progress of

discovery, and those who have availed themselves of such imperfect light as they could at the time obtain discredited thus as clumsy bunglers. Such persons are more powerful just now than under ordinary circumstances for provoking anger ; in a population which knows itself to be mortal, they are fortunately less powerful for producing mischief.

I am, Sir, your obedient. »

### Cholera epidemic in Upper-Austria

**Monday, 25 June 1855** : The beginning of a cholera epidemic in Upper-Austria. It will last until 25 September 1855.

**Mid-July (or Monday, 25 June 1855 ?)** : A cholera epidemic breaks-out in Linz, which later ramped-up in St. Florian, and subsided in Linz until mid-September. After what a statue of Mary is erected on St. Florian's Market Square.

**Wednesday, 8 August 1855** : Anton Bruckner's blind aunt Anna Maria (the sister of Theresia Helm) dies at 70, presumably due to the consequences of cholera.

The song festival (due to begin on September 9th) which brings together all the Upper-Austrian « Liedertafel » choirs is cancelled because of the cholera epidemic (which is still prevalent in Linz) .

**Wednesday, 26 September 1855** : The cholera epidemic is declared extinct. A member of the Schiedermayr family is among the 56 victims in St. Florian.

**August 1858** : A new cholera epidemic in Linz makes 450 deaths.

**Thursday, 2 September 1858** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » temporarily ceases its activities.

### Bruckner, the Choir-Master

The information that has come-down to us shows that Bruckner was a demanding Choir-Master, meticulous in his approach and particularly picky about dynamics. He will emphasize the quality of the breathing, the pronunciation and the relationship with the piano accompaniment. (During some performances of the Liedertafel, he will bring his help as a leading pianist, which will be acclaimed by the critics.) He detects the slightest mistake. Often carried-away by the euphoria of the moment, Bruckner takes time to re-concentrate. The choir must sometimes resume calm passages until it gets the right tone.

Satisfied with the result of a pianissimo, Bruckner exclaimed :

« That's precisely what I want ! »

(He had finally heard what his inspiration demanded.)



This shows Bruckner's strength of concentration, that ability to forget everything that happens around him. Besides, he always left the rehearsals of the Liedertafel all soaked !

These interventions are often coloured. If he judges that the piano plays too hard, he will say :

« It sounds rather like a trumpet ! »

...

Anton Bruckner is probably the most famous member but also the most famous Choir-Master in the history of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » of Linz. As a singer, Bruckner was of no importance. He was a second tenor because he did not have a nice voice. But as a choir-boy in St. Florian, he had a magnificent soprano voice. His accomplishments as a Choir-Master were all the more important. He succeeded in imposing a strict magisterial discipline, studying meticulously, paying great attention to clear pronunciation, proper breathing and being particularly attentive to balanced voices.

He was mostly concerned with the quality of the bass-section. For him, it represented a constant misery.

« I cannot hear the bass-voices. They must be clear ! »

But the biggest challenge was the piano (p) produced by the choir.

If it appeared to him to be too fragile, he rebuked :

« It sounds no longer like a trumpet ! »

To obtain a pianissimo (pp) , his bottom was so low that he almost sat on the floor.

When he was conducting in shirt-sleeves, his whole body was feverish. He was then in perfect harmony with the music. During the most beautiful moments, he became so extatic that he needed some time to return in the rehearsal-room, in front of the singers, to continue his work.

Once, Bruckner was not satisfied with the placement of a pianississimo (ppp) by his singers. He knocked again and again. So, angry, they simply decided to stop singing just at this point, not a single note was produced, tricking their pedantic conductor.

« Said and done ! » , he exclaimed.

How astonished and concerned, however, they all stood there when Bruckner quite enthusiastically cheered :

« Yes, now it was beautiful ! »

His inner-ear had given him, pure fool, the perfection.

### Bertha Barghesi

Anton Bruckner will often visit the couple Karolina Barghesi - Karl Schiedermayr in Ottensheim (Upper-Austria) .

Officially, Josef Schiedermayr (1821-1874, himself an illegitimate child, who became lawyer) had in 1855 an illegitimate daughter with Karolina Barghesi (Bargezzi) . Her first name : Bertha.

**Tuesday, 7 August 1855** : Church of Maria Treu (Piarist Church) in Josefstadt, Vienna. Parish register entry :

Birth of Bertha Barghesi. Mother : Karolina Barghesi ; Father : Josef Schiedermayr.

She was adopted in Vienna by Josef's brother, the physician, botanist and choir-Master Karl Schiedermayr who lived for some time with Karolina. The couple married in 1874.

Bertha Barghesi married the teacher and choir-Master Alois Weißgärber senior (1845-1914) , with whom she had 5 children : 2 sons and 3 daughters. Because of certain facial resemblance to Anton Bruckner in the 2 sons, the suggestion has been made that Bruckner was Bertha's father !

Alois Weißgärber junior became an officer in the Austrian army and one of the leaders of the Vienna Philharmonic.

Maximilian Weißgärber (born on 21 October 1884 in Ottensheim near Linz, Upper-Austria ; died on 30 November 1951 in Vienna) played with the Vienna Philharmonic and was also a member of the Weißgärber String Quartet.

Bertha Barghesi-Weißgärber died in 1923.

According to an « uncertain » DNA analysis, Anton Bruckner is ruled-out as the father of Bertha Barghesi.

### Works

BEATRIX WEIßGÄRBER-FRÖHLICH : Vorfahren meines Vaters.

RENATE BRONNEN : Die Weißgärber-Geschwister. Ein Kapitel aus dem Leben Anton Bruckners ?

### Simon Sechter worries about his best student

Anton Bruckner regularly spent some time in Lent and Advent each year, with Simon Sechter. He also used a large

part of his summer vacation to complete, in **1859**, the second stage of the course in Vienna. On **Friday, 3 June**, he wrote to Sechter to confirm that he would be spending 6 weeks in Vienna and, on **Monday, 6 June**, he informed Rudolf Weinwurm that he would be travelling from Linz to Vienna, by Danube steamer, on **Thursday, 30 June**, and asked him to reserve a room for him in a suitable hotel near Sechter's house - « as quiet and cool as possible and ideally looking on to a garden ». The fruit of Bruckner's intensive studies, in the summer heat of Vienna, was a certificate from Sechter.

6 months later, on **Friday, 13 January 1860**, Sechter informed his industrious pupil that he was more than satisfied with his progress and counselled him not to over-stretch himself :

« I have read through your 17 work-books of double-counterpoint exercises and am amazed by your industry and the progress you have made. So that you are in good health when you come to Vienna, I entreat you to take more care of yourself and give yourself the necessary rest. In any case, I have absolutely no doubt about your industry and eagerness and do not want you to damage your health by over-stretching yourself intellectually.

I feel constrained to tell you that I have never had any student as industrious as you. »

The warning will be in vain. In addition to his official duties as organist, Bruckner spent an average of 7 hours daily practising counterpoint. The sleepless nights were the norm. Thousands of pages of exercises, from 1855 to 1861, survived. It recognizes the meticulousness and the method of work of the former school teacher.

Anton Bruckner's next study-visit to Vienna was towards the **end of February or the beginning of March 1860**. He had to change his original plan of arriving in Vienna, on **Wednesday, 22 February**, because he had not yet received any reply to 2 letters he had sent to Simon Sechter and suspected that his teacher, who had recently suffered 1 or 2 bouts of ill-health, might be indisposed. He asked Rudolf Weinwurm to visit Sechter and ask him if it was convenient to come.

### The soup of « Frau » Eidenberger

Anton Bruckner never dedicated a work to the ancestral land of Amstetten but an anecdote, transmitted by oral tradition, involves a woman born in the region :

Since Bruckner was organist at the Linz cathedral from 1855 to 1868, he often had the opportunity to go to Lustenau to visit the wealthy company owner « Herr » Eidenberger. In the 19th Century, this town was marked by agriculture before becoming in the 20th Century the centre of the embroidery industry of Vorarlberg.

Bruckner particularly enjoyed the « delicious soup » served by his wife, « Frau » Eidenberger, who was born in the village of Pampl in the peasant region of Ulmerfeld. To thank her, he will send a precious ring bearing the inscription : « The Pearl of Lustenau ». (Lustenau was then a suburb of Linz.)

Persons who inherited in succession the famous ring : the Kriechbaum family, Mrs. Lilly Selker, the Kubasta-Scheinecker

family. Today, it is owned by Mrs. Gertraud Ornazeder.

Until 1806, Lustenau was a free court of the Holy Roman Empire and then, after the dissolution of the latter, an independent State. Until 1830, it was an independent county reigned by the counts of Waldburg-Zeil-Lustenau-Hohenems. After 1830, it became part of Austria. The name Lustenau derives from a document signed by the Carolingian king Charles the Fat with the title « Lustenauua curti regali », meaning « Royal Court of Lustenau ». Lustenau is now the industrial area of Vöest.

### « Ten Pin » Bruckner

Did you know that Anton Bruckner was a frequent guest in the small town of « Luftenberg-an-der-Donau » ? He went regularly at the local tavern (« Gasthaus ») to play bowling along with the local folk music-band !

In 1975, the site housed the Mayrhofer Restaurant (« Gastwirtschaft Mayrhofer ») .

To commemorate those memorable evenings, a plaque was installed on December 5, 1987, on the building (now owned by the Paschinger family) .

Luftenberg-an-der-Donau is a small market-town in the Mühlviertel district of Perg, Upper-Austria. It is located at approximately 13 kilometres southeast of the city of Linz.

Graves, ancient cult sites, a Celtic fort, a town settlement strategically located by the Danube and the mouth of the River Traun, already existed during the Bronze Age. The first documented mention of Luftenberg dates from around the year 900. Transport by boat was first mentioned in 1208. In addition to the salt trade, mining in quarries represents an important economic activity. Historically, Luftenberg has developed a close relationship with the small market-town of « St. Georgen-an-der-Gusen (St. George's Town on the Gusen River) » .

### Vienna : Hotel « Zum Goldenen Kreuz »

**Tuesday, 3 April 1860** : Simon Sechter was able to provide his pupil with a certificate marking the successful completion of the third stage of the course. In order to prepare for the examination, Bruckner had stayed since the end of February at the Hotel « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » , located at « Mariahilferstraße » Number 71a (99) in the 6th District. When he wrote to Rudolf Weinwurm, at the beginning of the following year, asking him, once again, to find suitable accommodation **from the middle of February to the end of March**, he stated his preference for private lodgings :

« There is no peace day or night in a hotel. At the “ Kreuz ” on “ Mariahilf ”, last year, I could never get to sleep before 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning because of unruly neighbours. I cannot and will not put-up with that again, unless absolutely necessary. »

Between 1663 and 1665 (before the erection of the walls) , 3 inns were established in the suburb of Mariahilf (now,

the 6th District of Vienna) . The Hotel « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » was opened in 1665. It was the third oldest wine-house in Vienna.

A very popular tavern, the inn was also a very popular dance-hall. In the 18th Century, theatre « troupes » stopped at the « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » - among others, Franz Pauli (1770) and « Prinzipal » Wenzel (1777) .

At a certain point, the building was owned by druggist M. Wallace.

Michael Kummer, from Bavaria, bought the old Inn « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » in 1870. The building was demolished. Kummer then started the construction of a 5 storey historical style bevelled-edge structure (accentuated by free columns and figures) according to plans by architect Edward Kaiser. « Hotel Kummer » was inaugurated in 1872.

The immediate proximity to the Palace of the great Chancellor Wenzel Anton, Prince von Kaunitz-Rietberg caused the business of the « Hotel Kummer » to be so flourishing that it became a « stately » hotel. Shortly after the birth of Johann, the Strauß family moved there in 1825 (their other son, Josef, was born in August 1827) .

Friedrich Schlägl, one of the founders of the Classical Viennese literature, regularly gathered followers and friends (writers, painters, sculptors, actors) around the « Alt-Mariahilfer-Künstlerstammtisch » (Association of senior native artists of Mariahilf) at the « Hotel Kummer » . They included the Austrian dramatist and novelist Ludwig Anzengruber, the Styrian writer and poet Peter Rosegger (Roßegger) , the German painter and lithographer Jakob Alt, and the Italian actor Tristano Martinelli.

In 1904, the original « Hotel Kummer » was demolished and rebuilt by L. Schwartz in 1905, based on plans by architects Carl Schuhmann and Ludwig Tischler.

During the Allied occupation after the Second World War (1945-1955) , the « Hotel Kummer » was part of the French sector in Vienna. It was used as a French hotel before the « Hôtel de France » located at Number 3 on « Schottenring » .

In February 1955, « Hotel Kummer » became part of Austria Hotels International (« Österreichische Hotelbetriebs-AG ») .

## Geschichte

Hotel « Zum goldenen Kreuz » (6, Mariahilfer Straße 71 A) , beliebtes Einkehrwirthshaus in Mariahilf, als drittältestes Weinhaus der Vorstadt 1665 gegründet. Im 18. Jahrhundert traten hier Wandertruppen auf (unter anderem 1770 Franz Pauli und 1777 der Prinzipal Wenzel) . Zur Zeit Friedrich Schlägls war das Lokal Treffpunkt von Schriftstellern, Malern, Bildhauern und Schauspielern, zu denen Anzengruber, Rosegger, Alt, Strampfer, Preleuthner und Martinelli gehörten. Das « Goldene Kreuz » war auch als Tanzlokal sehr beliebt. Seine Blütezeit erlebte das « Goldene Kreuz » ab 1872, als der aus Bayern stammende Michael Kummer im dem 1870 nach Plänen von Eduard Kaiser neuerbaute Haus ein Hotel

eröffnete (« Hotel Kummer ») . Später kam das Haus in den Besitz des Drogisten M. Wallace. 1904 wurde das Hotel demoliert und 1905 durch L. Schwartz neu erbaut. Während der Besatzungszeit (1945-1955) war das Hotel von den Franzosen okkupiert. 1955 kam es an die Österreichische Hotelbetriebs-AG.

...

Das Hotel Kummer (6, Mariahilfer Straße Nummer 71 A ; ursprünglich « Zum goldenen Kreuz ») , erbaut 1870 von Eduard Kaiser und von Michael Kummer 1872 als Hotel eröffnet ; fünfgeschossiges streng historisches Gebäude, dessen abgeschrägte Kante mit Freisäulen und Figuren repräsentativ akzentuiert ist.

Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg fiel das Hotel Kummer während der Zeit der Alliierten Besatzung (1945-1955) laut dem Zonenabkommen dem französischen Sektor in Wien zu und wurde von der französischen Besatzungsmacht als Quartier in Wien genutzt, bevor es durch das « Hôtel de France » (1, Schottenring Nummer 3) ersetzt wurde.

...

Zwischen 1663-1665, wurden vor den Stadtmauern Wiens drei Wirtshäuser gebaut, wo später der 6. Bezirk entstand : « Maria Hilf » . Eines davon hieß « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » und stand dort, wo sich heute noch das Hotel Kummer befindet. Die unmittelbare Nachbarschaft zum Palais des großen Staatskanzlers Kaunitz ließen die Geschäfte des Einkehrghasthofes so florieren, daß daraus ein stattliches Hotel wurde, in welches 1825 die Familie Strauß einzog (kurz nach der Geburt ihres Sohnes Johann) und längere Zeit dort wohnte, wo am 20. August 1827 ihr Sohn Josef geboren wurde.

1870 wird der Einkehrghasthof abgerissen und nach Plänen von Edward Weiser ein Hotel errichtet. Der aus Bayern stammende Gastwirt Michael Kummer erwarb das Hotel « Zum Goldenen Kreuz » und eröffnete im Jänner 1872 das « Hotel Kummer » , welches in dieser Form vom Architekten Team Carl Schuhmann und Ludwig Tischler geplant und gebaut wurde. Innerhalb kurzer Zeit wurde es ein bekannter Betrieb und alles was Rang und Namen hatte fand sich im Hotel Kummer ein.

Friedrich Schögl, einer der Begründer der klassischen Wiener Literatur, sammelte regelmäßig Anhänger und Freunde beim Alt-Mariahilfer-Künstlerstammtisch im « Kummer » um sich. Nach dem Tod von Michael Kummer, wurde das feinbürgerliche Haus mit 150 Betten von seinen Schwiegersöhnen weitergeführt, bis es im Februar 1955 von den Austria Hotels International erworben wurde, in deren Eigentum es sich bis heute befindet, wie weitere Hotels in Wien, Baden bei Wien, Eisenstadt, Prag und Brünn.

Das Hotel Kummer freut sich seine Gäste aus aller Welt willkommen zu heißen.

...

It is no accident that Bruckner identified (at first, as student ; later, as teacher) so totally with the designated

teaching methods of Simon Sechter, so aptly described by Friedrich Klose as a « relentless strait-jacket system » .

Bruckner's genius was freed from scholastic chains by Otto Kitzler.

### Birth of Gustav Mahler

**Saturday, 7 July 1860** : Gustav Mahler is born in the town of Kalischt (house Number 9) on the border between Bohemia and Moravia (in the Vysočina region) .

Eye colour : Brown.

Father : Bernard Mahler (1827-1889) .

Mother : Marie Mahler-Herrmann (1837-1889) .

Hereditary diseases : Mother and possibly siblings : heart-disease.

Brother Ernst Mahler (1862-1875) died of endocarditis.

### Doctor Josef Kopfstein

Doctor Josef Kopfstein : General practitioner in the town of Jihlava (Iglau) , located at Number 170 « Hauptplatz » (today, Number 25/643 on « Masarykovo » Square) . Kopfstein was the Mahlers' family doctor.

### Liedertafel « Frohsinn's » new choir-master

**Wednesday, 7 November 1860** : During the plenary meeting of the music society, Anton Bruckner, aged 36, was « unanimously » elected choir Master of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » in Linz. His salary : 520 Florins ; including free hosting.

A newspaper of Linz will report the appointment :

« The Liedertafel made an enlightened artistic decision by choosing the highly-cultured “ Herr ” Bruckner as choir Master ! We see in him the man who can lead them to glory and great honours. »

This nomination will significantly increase Bruckner's visibility and reputation among the citizens of Linz.

Under his directorship, despite the disagreements and internal quarrels, the choir will go from a simple amateur group to a semi-professional vocal ensemble.

## Death of Theresia Helm

Anton Bruckner will be able to financially support his mother, whom he loves more than anything else in the world. She had sacrificed a great deal by moving to Ebelsberg to work as a servant so that he could attend school at St. Florian. On several occasions, he will propose to her to move to Linz and live at his side. More he will advance in his career, less the contacts will be frequent.

**Sunday, 11 November 1860** : Bruckner's mother, Maria Theresia Helm, died at the age of 59 years of a lung disease (tuberculosis) at her apartment of « Schmiedhaus » (the Blacksmith's house) Number 70 in Ebelsberg. The building has since been demolished ; the site now corresponds to « Kremsmünsterer-Straße » Number 2 where the local community centre (« Volkshaus Ebelsberg ») was erected.

In a letter addressed to his sister Rosalia, he said :

« My dear “ Sali ” ! I am deeply sorry to inform you that the situation has taken an unexpected turn. Our beloved mother has just left for a better world (11 November, at 4:00 pm) . The funeral service will take place on Tuesday morning. I hope you will be able to attend, along with the brother-in-law. »

When his mother died, Bruckner restricted himself to 2 key-words on the edge of a pocket calendar page :

« Mother died. »

Bruckner will bring a photographer, named Zinnogger, from Linz specially to immortalize his mother, lying on her death-bed. He will keep the picture in a special place in his room (covered with a green curtain) for the rest of his life.

Her coffin, which was originally at the Ebelsberg cemetery, was relocated in 1924 alongside her husband, Anton « senior » , in the court-yard of the parish church of Ansfelden.

Bruckner referred to his mother on several occasions in his personal correspondence. In a letter addressed to Leopold Hofmeyer (Steyr) in 1882, Bruckner reports that October 15 is a particularly significant day to him. It is the anniversary of St. Teresa of Avila ; a model of holiness for « Theresia » Helm.

## Liberals and Catholics in local Politics : the Hospitals

This constellation (of communes as the last bastion of true Liberalism against the steadily rising ambitions of the Catholic Church) quickly led to conflict. After the Revolution and counter-Revolution in 1848-1849, many of the older « traditional » power structures had been upset, and Liberals and the Catholic Church began battling for influence in the newly emerging structures, institutions and political practices. And the ideological re-alignment of a post-Josephinist Catholic Church was squarely at odds with a Liberal communal administration ardently trying to stretch the boundary



of what could belong in its grasp. This article will now turn to 2 case studies at the local level to explore this conflict in more detail. The first study involves the prolonged attempt by the Liberal medical and political communities in Linz to press for the building of a general hospital in the city, an effort countered by the Catholic Church which, instead, argued for the expansion of existing religious hospitals.

Until the late-18th Century, hospitals tended to be small scale affairs : « Siechhäuser » set-up during or right after an epidemic ; « Bruderhäuser » or « Bürgerspital » erected by artisans or town burghers to care for their peers ; or « Hospitale » erected by religious orders or, sometimes, by communes to serve as multi-functioning quarters for the sick, terminally ill, indigent, and often the insane. In contrast, the idea of the hospital that emerged in the late- 18th and 19th Centuries (the « Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») (41) was set apart from these earlier structures in 2 important ways. First, the « Krankenhaus » aimed to heal the curable sick ; neither charity nor (unless it was for medical research) the terminally ill necessarily interested its doctors. Second, it aimed at universality : to serve all social classes and curable illnesses in one building.

Universality meant, however, that while all patients would enter through the same front-door, they were immediately separated by disease, gender and social class once inside. The medical aspect of this separation was grounded in what Michel Foucault and others have called the emerging « clinical gaze » of the medical profession in the late- 18th and early 19th Century. (42) General hospitals were clinics ; patients were separated by disease, and each disease was treated and studied in isolation. At the same time, aspirations of a universal « clientèle » also meant that the social classes existed together apart : private rooms for an emerging middle-class not rich enough to have a private doctor care for them at home but repelled by the idea of sharing a room with the labouring masses were seen as the most important financial base for the new hospitals.

Within the modernization of hospitals and health-care in the 19th Century Germany, historians of medicine tend to differentiate between 2 phases : a « push » phase, from about 1790 to 1848, as the medical community restructured itself and began lobbying the State for new hospitals, and a « pull » phase, from 1848 until 1914, when an industrializing and increasingly urban population began to make greater use of those hospitals, filling existing beds and demanding more. (43) In the medieval and early modern period, Linz was in many ways a « typical » central European city in the number and type of hospitals contained within the city. (44) Linz and, to a large extent, Austria, however, diverged from the « German » model in the timing and fashion of the transition from Hospital to « Krankenhaus » and, especially, in the role of the Church in this transition. New hospitals in Linz in the middle of the 18th Century were built under the auspices of religious orders (those of the « Elisabethiner » , in 1744, and of the « Barmherzige Brüder » , in 1756) and only ostensibly placed under centralized State control, in 1770, which fostered a certain tension between the Catholic Church and the increasingly « clinical gaze » of the late- Theresian and Josephinian bureaucratic State. (45)

In Linz, the switch from segmented care (specialized artisan, burgher or pilgrim hospices) to universal « Krankenhaus » care, thus, already began to occur in the early 18th Century but, unlike in France or Prussia, it occurred under the ægis of the Church. (46) Anton Knörlein, one of Linz's most prominent medical doctors in the 1850's and director of the city's insane asylum, described the frustration he and many of his colleagues felt when he wrote :

« The scholastic and mystic nonsense must be swept-out of doctors' and hospital administrators' heads, in order to enable a reasoned study of the natural processes of life. » (47)

In Linz, the medical « old order » was tied much more closely to the Church than in France or in Prussia, and the transformation of the « clinical gaze » into modern clinical practice also became an exercise in anti-clericalism : modern medicine needed not just general, but also « secular » hospitals.

In Upper-Austria, no secular hospitals were built before 1848 (in contrast to Munich, Mainz and most other medium-sized towns in German-speaking Europe) with the result that the « push » and « pull » phases of health-care modernization largely took place concurrently. The first « pull » came in the 1830's, as several public-works projects, better methods of transportation, and the establishment of the first textile factories in the Linz suburb of Kleinmünchen drew workers and travelers to the city on the Danube. (48) The often unsanitary working and living conditions brought rates of sickness and disease well-above the capacity of the local hospitals to deal with - a new hospital with 40 beds built under the auspices of the « Barmherzige Schwestern » , in 1842, barely helped. Also, although Linz was spared when Asiatic cholera first appeared in Europe between 1826 and 1837, the medical community, the provincial administration, and the municipalities engaged in a valuable training exercise in cooperation and social-hygienic policing : during the crisis, the entire municipality (including, for the first time, the religious hospitals) was placed under a centralized system of medical supervision. (49) Writing a report, in 1856, for the Ministry of the Interior, Weis von Starkenfels, the General-Inspector responsible for hospitals in Upper-Austria, counted a mere 160 beds in Linz's 3 hospitals : the « Elisabethiner » , 60 beds ; the « Barmherzige Brüder » , 60 beds ; and the « Barmherzige Schwester » , 40 beds. (50) Linz, however, had a total population of 27,000 (with suburbs this figure rose to over 40,000) (51) , which translated into 1 hospital bed per 168 (with suburbs, 1 per 250) inhabitants. By contrast, as Weis von Starkenfels and other Liberals took pains to point-out, when a 400 bed general hospital opened in Munich, in 1813, it had a ratio of 1 bed for every 68 inhabitants. (52) It was time for more (and secular) hospital beds !

The « push » for a new general hospital began in the 1840's and became a focal-point of Liberal demands, in 1848, and the election of Reinhold Körner to the mayor's office, in 1850, gave them a powerful new platform from which to press their case. Already on the eve of Körner's election, on 15 September 1850, the Liberal choral group Liedertafel « Frohsinn » held a benefit-concert in his honour, raising 458 Florins for a new hospital. 3 days later, the newly-elected Linz « Gemeinderat » placed the building of a new hospital on its agenda, as well. Indeed, in 1850, all sides (the government, prominent Liberals and even the Catholic Church) agreed that there was an ardent need for additional hospital beds. The disagreement came over where to put them. The Church and, for some time, the Ministry of the Interior, argued that an expansion of the existing religious hospitals would be the most cost-effective solution ; Liberals and the medical community in Linz wanted to build a new « secular » general hospital. (53) In the midst of this disagreement, a petition for a series of tax-free lotteries to raise money for the project was rejected by the Ministry of the Interior, even though it had included a positive recommendation from the local « Statthalter » . (54)

Town officials decided to press forth on their own. By February of 1852, the city had raised 30,000 Florins for the hospital through the sale of municipal property and an additional 10,000 Florins through private donations. (55)

Feeling optimistic, the mayor's office sent a delegation to Munich, in September, to study the general hospital there. In 1854, the Conference of Ministers finally permitted the municipality to draw funds from the State lottery (56), adding a further 53,220 Florins to the project and bringing the total to 93,220 Florins. This sum represented a solid financial foundation with which construction could begin. But drawing funds from the State lottery also meant an additional review by the Imperial Building Commission, which judged it too expensive and, in early 1856, recommended the expansion of existing religious hospitals. (57)

After the Imperial Building Commissions' recommendation, the religious Orders, now prompted by the diocese administration, began pleading their case. First, Maria Lácilia, abbess of the « Elisabethiner-Orden », wrote to the « Statthaltereii », informing it that their hospital had recently expanded from 60 to 75 beds and could easily fill double that number. A few weeks later, the diocese administration wrote as well, adding that it fully-agreed with the wishes of the « Elisabethiner », but that any plan needed full-approval from both the diocese administration and the « Elisabethiner » so that there would be a « sense of religious community (« geistliche Kommunität») », especially of rules and regulations. (58) The « Statthaltereii » then wrote to Julius Dotter, head of the Order of the « Barmherzige Brüder », asking whether the Order would also want to be included in any expansion plans. Dotter replied positively but, like the « Elisabethiner », expressed concern that the religious character be maintained : a new hospital wing would remain under religious control, never subject to municipal authority - even during epidemics ; the head of the Order was to remain head of the new wing ; all employees would be paid from a « Fond » created to build the buildings so that the expenses of the additional beds would not burden the order ; finally, the Brothers of the Order set the fees but it would be the duty of the secular authorities (who would not be in daily contact with the Brothers) to collect those fees from the patients. (59)

In late-May, an additional report from the Upper-Austrian Building Commission appeared, re-affirming the recommending of the Imperial Building Commission that an expansion of the religious hospitals would help keep-down costs, and, around the same time, Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger of Linz (Bishop from 1853 to 1884) began a small publicity campaign in support of the religious hospitals. In a series of articles in the « Linzer Diözesanblatt » (a small paper printed for the diocese clergy and, thus, aimed at providing content for the next week-end's sermons), Rüdiger emphasized the importance of charity as a principle in hospital maintenance, a principle, he argued, the Catholic Church was better suited to upholding than the State. (60)

The boldness exhibited by the religious Orders, in making their demands, prompted Liberals (who, by the mid- 1850's, had few other outlets for their political energies) to push for their own vision with renewed vigour. The motto of the new general hospital was to be :

« To ensure every sick person access, regardless of nationality, confession, gender or illness, at any time of day or night. » (61)

In a flurry of letters to the « Statthaltereii » and the Ministry of the Interior, officials from the mayor's office and the medical council now began to formulate certain principles that, in their eyes, made a « general » rather than « religious » hospital an absolute necessity, regardless of costs :

- 1) The admission of sick people should take place at every hour of the day and night.
- 2) No person, as long as he or she suffers from a curable illness, should be refused admission.
- 3) For those requesting separated care, private rooms in a separate wing should be available.
- 4) Every institution should remain flexible enough, in its external and internal workings, to enable the progress of the medical arts and sciences, as well as the diverse wishes of the public. (62)

This was the Liberal vision of a general hospital : universal in who it accepted, open at all hours and to all classes (meaning that middle-class patrons could have private rooms) , and managed for the benefit of patients (the public) and doctors (medical science) . This vision stood in stark contrast to the religious hospitals : only open at certain hours of the day, unwilling to treat either pregnant women or those with sexually transmitted diseases while, at the same time, utterly indiscriminate with the patients it did take - everyone, rich and poor, with a broken arm or a contagious fever, shared a room and, when need be, a bed. As the Provincial Medical Commission (63) now reported : to expand the existing hospitals would only « make its weaknesses incurable » . For medical professionals, the question of separate rooms for middle-class patients was not merely an exercise in pampering ; it was a question of public health and of money : What good was a hospital that scared away its only paying clientele ? How could middle-class patients, not rich enough to pay for in-house medical care but, nevertheless, of sufficient social standing to make residency next to common labourers and maids uncomfortable, be treated ? Just as importantly, so continued another petition to the « Statthaltereii » on the matter, the freedom of the medical profession was visibly restrained :

« Under current arrangements, a doctor prescribing treatment is limited to those practices approved by the religious order. »

Research was out of bounds as were new treatments not yet vetted or approved by the head of the religious order. Indeed, the problem of authority ran deep. A doctor in a religious hospital merely made visitations ; he did not reside there. And, most importantly, monasteries had « neither a mandate nor an interest in serving the interests of art, science or humanity ; nor to fund the adoption of modern practices and technologies » . It was public health in general that suffered most when religious hospitals insisted on their independence. (64)

When an outbreak of Asiatic cholera afflicted the region, in the summer of 1855, Liberals saw a new opportunity to make their case. The outbreak of cholera was horrific ; in Linz alone, 1,429 people (just over 5 % of the population) died from the disease in the 3 summer months of that year. (65) Writing to the « Statthaltereii » , in the midst of the epidemic, Vinzenz Fink, then mayor of Linz, argued that the hospital question was not only relevant to the city of Linz but also affected Urfahr and Linz's other suburbs, « many of which are home to large working-class populations » , most of whom were not adequately tied into the local health-care systems. Religious authorities were flatly opposed to any sort of regional or municipal authority structure, Fink argued, thus making municipalities powerless in times of crisis. (66) This argument now convinced the Ministry of the Interior as well : public health was the highest good. In the wake of the cholera epidemic, the idea of expanding the religious hospitals was shelved for good. (67)

The conflict surrounding the building of the general hospital in Linz demonstrates how the idea of health-care, through specific conflicts, shifted away from one of Christian charity toward one of public health and jurisdiction of the secular authorities : the medical professionals, the municipalities, the provinces, and the State. At first, efforts by the municipality to build a general hospital proved unsuccessful, as the government in Vienna and the Catholic Church opposed these efforts on cost and religious grounds. Nevertheless, these early failures forced the medical community to more clearly articulate their vision, with the already mentioned motto :

« To ensure every sick person access, regardless of nationality, confession, gender or illness, at any time of day or night. » , as the result.

The cholera epidemic of 1855, then, made the Liberal principal of health as a public good all the more urgent : a « free » medical community working together with the secular authorities in safe-guarding public health. In this instance, the alliance between the Catholic Church and the centralized Austrian State in the neo-absolutist era lost to an equally powerful coalition of local Liberal politicians and medical professionals as all sides confronted a new, thoroughly « modern » problem : epidemic disease in industrial and urban conditions.

## Conclusion

Despite the powerful alliance between Catholic Church and Austrian State, that emerged in the 1850's, the ability of the Church to turn its vision of an independent and post-Josephinist Church into reality was not always successful. Local Liberals were able to use the levers of local government effectively in pressing their case and the central government was not at all averse to ruling in their favour, even around the time of the signing of the Concordat. Far from exiting the political arena after the failures of 1848, Liberals thus warmed to the possibilities of local government in the 1850's, using the provisional communal law of March 1849 to barricade their municipalities against intrusion by the State and by the Church. Linz and many other municipalities in Upper-Austria had a continual succession of mayors with activist pasts and Liberal agendas. On the ground, such efforts led to a multi-faceted struggle between opposing Liberals and the Catholic Church, as each sought to redefine the « Gemeinde » (here, in the double meaning of commune and parish) through its efforts. Hospitals and health-care, in Upper-Austria the « traditional » domain of various Catholic orders, became a highly-contested area of Catholic-Liberal interaction, as the efforts at professionalization of the medical community clashed with a confident Catholic Church in the midst of negotiating the Concordat with a willing government in Vienna. The clash pitted concepts of modern medicine (of hygienic policing, of having a chief physician and not the Bishop run a hospital, of treating all diseases equally and patients on their own terms, of allowing the city's medical committee to coordinate all hospitals in times of emergency) against the Church's vehement assertions of independence from the State.

The « von Jenny burial case » proceeds in a similar manner. The principles of Josephinist cemetery legislation had been muddled by the dramatic legal restructuring of 1848 and by the communal restructuring under the Stadion administration. This left the door open for both Liberals and the Catholic Church to claim forms of jurisdiction over « their » cemeteries at a local level. Here, the democratic and multi-confessional ideals of the Liberal political community ran-up against the ambitions of a Church seeking to consolidate its power in the aftermath of the Concordat. While a

« victory » is harder to spot here (yes, Fridolin von Jenny was ultimately buried with tombstone in Schwanenstadt, but his son, and many other Protestants, were not as the Church redoubled its efforts to claim jurisdiction over communal cemeteries) , the dynamic is the same.

Nevertheless, the difference between the 2 cases is also important : if the conflict over hospitals emerged as a simple question of old and new (of « outdated » and « modern ») , then, the tenacity with which Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger tried to hinder Fridolin von Jenny's demonstrates that the Church was also in the process of re-making itself. Rüdiger's embarrassment after local officials permitted the funeral to take place resulted from the fact that he was actively engaged in changing existing practice. His vision of a post-Josephinist Catholic Church included a vigorous defense of Church rights still in the process of being formulated during the Concordat negotiations in 1854-1855 - here, with the example of cemetery laws but equally applicable to marriage and censorship laws. The more Josephinist leaning clergy within the diocese by no means accepted Rüdiger's conservative and ultramontane views - Reitshammer's predecessor in Schwanenstein would undoubtedly not have brought the case to Rüdiger's attention. The « von Jenny case » , thus, adds a more sophisticated understanding to the wide array of difficulties that greeted Bishops, even ardent conservatives like Rüdiger, as they sought to implement their vision of a post-Josephinist Austrian Catholic Church in their dioceses. And both cases demonstrate the complex interaction of progressive and reactionary forces that define the era of neo-absolutism.

## Notes

(1) « All sovereignty proceeds from the people » , the delegates in Kremsier had initially declared, whereupon Stadion rose to declare the « dictum » unacceptable to the government. The proclamation was dated : 4 March 1849. On both constitutions, see : Carlile Aylmer Macartney. *The Habsburg Empire (1790-1918)* , New York (1969) , pages 417-425.

(2) Josef Reiter to Jodok Stülz, 8 March 1849. Cited, in : Kriemhild Pangerl. « Josef Reiter Canonici Regulares (1805-1876) » , in : « Kirchengeschichte in Linz. Fakultät - Lehrkanzel - Professoren » , edited by Rudolf Zinnhobler and Kriemhild Pangerl, Linz (2000) , page 185.

(3) See : Alan Sked. *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire (1815-1918)* , London / New York (1990) , page 137.

(4) Lord John Acton. « Notes on the Present State of Austria » , in : *Essays on Church and State* by Lord Acton, edited by Douglas Woodruff, London (1952) , page 341.

(5) « Vortrag des Ministers des Innern Alexander Bach, de dato 18 August 1849, womit derselbe ein Exemplar jenes Rundschreibens zur Ah. Einsicht vorlegt, das er in Folge seiner Ernennung zum Minister des Innern an sämtliche Landes-Chefs in der Absicht mitgetheilt hatte. » Cited, in : Friedrich Walter. « Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung. 3. Abteilung : Von der Märzrevolution 1848 bis zur Dezemberverfassung 1867, volume II. Die Geschichte der Ministerien Kolowrat, Ficquelmont, Pillersdorf, Wessenberg-Doblhoff und Schwarzenberg » , Aktenstücke, Vienna (1964) , page 106.

(6) Oscar Jaszi. *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, edited by Phoenix Paperback, Chicago (1961) , page 100. Further examples : Alan J. P. Taylor. *The Habsburg Monarchy (1809-1918) . A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*, Chicago (1976) ; Eduard Winter. « Revolution, Neoabsolutismus und Liberalismus in der Donaumonarchie » , Vienna (1969) ; Jean Bérenger. « Die Geschichte des Habsburgerreiches, 1273 bis 1918 » , Vienna / Cologne, (1995) , pages 612-617.

(7) A well-crafted counter-argument (the 1850's as turning point) is made in : Georg Christoph Berger Waldenegg. « Mit vereinten Kräften ! Zum Verhältnis von Herrschaftspraxis und Systemkonsolidierung im Neoabsolutismus am Beispiel der Nationalanleihe von 1854 » , edited by Fritz Fellner and Helmut Rumpler, « Veröffentlichung der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs » , Vienna (2002) , pages 33-42.

(8) As a point of comparison : a search in the « Österreichische Historische Bibliographie » yielded only 42 entries when searching for articles related to « neo-absolutism » ; a search for « 1848 » yielded 2,664 entries. Johannes Grabmayer et al. , « Österreichische Historische Bibliographie » (ÖHB) , University of Klagenfurt (2006) - cited 18 June 2006, available from <http://www.uni-klu.ac.at/oehb/>

(9) Friedjung's excellent and immensely readable account is a good starting point for the decade, and is also one of the few works that precedes the 1927 palace of justice fire. Heinrich Friedjung. « Österreich von 1848 bis 1860 » , 2 volumes, Stuttgart / Berlin (1908-1912) . Among the more recent scholarship, there is the dense but rewarding, Harm-Hinrich Brandt. « Der österreichische Neoabsolutismus : Staatsfinanzen und Politik (1848-1860) » , 2 volumes, Göttingen (1978) . Also, see the excellent new study by one of Brandt's students : Berger Waldenegg. « Mit vereinten Kräften ! » Interesting more specialized or regional accounts not included in the next few footnotes include : Waltraud Heindl. « Staat, Gesellschaft und Verwaltung im Neoabsolutismus » , in : « Kultur der Demokratie. Festschrift für Manfred Welan zum 65. Geburtstag » , edited by Christian Brünner and Manfred Welan, Vienna (2002) . Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich in der Zeit des Neoabsolutismus (1850-1860) » , Ph.D. Dissertation, Leopold-Franzens Universität, Innsbruck (1968) . Ronald E. Coons. Kübeck and the Pre-Revolutionary Origins of Austrian Neo-absolutism, in : « Gesellschaft, Politik und Verwaltung » , in : « der Habsburgermonarchie (1830-1918) » , edited by Ference Glatz and Ralph Melville, Stuttgart (1987) . Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig. « Überlegungen zu einer Verwaltungsgeschichte Lombardo-Venetiens im Neoabsolutismus » , in : « Gesellschaft, Politik und Verwaltung in der Habsburgermonarchie (1830-1918) » , edited by Ference Glatz and Ralph Melville, Stuttgart (1987) . Christoph Stözl. « Die Ära Bach in Böhmen. Sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Neoabsolutismus (1849-1859) » , « Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum » , Munich (1971) .

(10) Peter Wozniak. Count Leo Thun : A Conservative Savior of Educational Reform in the Decade of Neo-absolutism, *Austrian History Yearbook*, Number 35 (2004) , page 98. Jeffrey T. Leigh. Public Opinion, Public Order, and Press Policy in the neo-absolutist State : Bohemia (1849-1852) , (1995) .

(11) Thomas Götz. « Bürgertum und Liberalismus in Tirol (1840-1873) . Zwischen Stadt und Region, Staat und Nation, Italien in der Moderne » , Band 10, Cologne (2001) . Other excellent recent works on the 1850's and early 1860's include : Mazohl-Wallnig. « Lombardo-Venetiens im Neoabsolutismus » . Laurence Cole. *The Counter-Reformation's Last*

Stand : Austria, in : Culture Wars : Secular-Catholic Conflict in 19th Century Europe, edited by Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, Cambridge (2003) . Also, see many of the articles in : Peter Urbanitsch and Hannes Steckel. « Kleinstadtbürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie : 1862-1914, Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie » , Nummer 9, Vienna (2000) .

(12) Thomas Götz. « Bürgertum und Liberalismus » , Nummer 23, pages 522-525. Ernst Hanisch. « Der lange Schatten des Staates. Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert » , Vienna (1994) . Hanisch's thesis has not been without its detractors, who argue, rightly, that it reproduces a peculiar and rather static Austrian form of the Sonderweg argument. See, for example : Eduard G. Staudinger. « Ernst Hanischs “ Der lange Schatten des Staates ” : Eine sehr persönliche Gesellschaftsgeschichte in unserem Jahrhundert » , in : « Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark » , Nummer 87 (1996) . Hans Heiss. « Der lange Schatten des Staates » , in : « Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert » , review of : Hanisch Ernst. « Der lange Schatten des Staates, Archiv für Sozialgeschichte » Nummer 35 (1995) .

(13) This point is best made by : Karl Vocelka. « Verfassung oder Konkordat ? Der publizistische und politische Kampf der österreichischen Liberalen um die Religionsgesetze des Jahres 1868 » , in : « Studien zur Geschichte der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie » , Band 12, Vienna (1978) .

(14) Alexander Bach remains a strange « lacuna » in Habsburg historiography. The few extended studies that exist include : Heinrich Friedjung. « Alexander Bachs Jugend und Bildungsjahre » , in : « Historische Aufsätze » , Stuttgart / Berlin (1919) . « Alexander Bach : politisches Characterbild » , Leipzig (1850) . Minna Regina Falk. Social Forces in the Austrian Revolution of 1848, with Special Attention to the Leadership of Alexander Bach » , Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University (1933) .

(15) On Alois Fischer, who held the position from 1849 to 1851, see : « Alois Fischer, Aus meinem Amtsleben » , Augsburg (1860) .

(16) Until 1849, Salzburg was administratively part of Upper-Austria.

(17) As with his brother Alexander, there has been little written on Eduard Bach. See, for example, the often inaccurate : Friedrich Walter. « Beiträge zu einer Biographie Eduard Bachs » , in : « Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs » , Nummer 8 (1964) . A more balanced view can be found in : Harry Slapnicka. « Oberösterreich, die politische Führungsschicht : 1861 bis 1918 » , in : « Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte Oberösterreichs » , Nummer 9, Linz (1983) . Harry Slapnicka. « Eduard Bach (1814-1884) . Kaiserlicher Statthalter in der zentralistisch-bürokratischen Ära » , in : « Oberöreicher : Lebensbilder zur Geschichte Oberösterreichs » , edited by Gerhart Marckhgott and Harry Slapnicka, Linz (1991) . The « official » record is probably closer to the mark. See : Bach's obituary, in the « Linzer Zeitung » (17 February 1884) , page 1.

(18) Kurt Wimmer. « Liberalismus in Oberösterreich : am Beispiel des Liberal-politischen Vereins für Oberösterreich in Linz (1869-1909) » , Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte Oberösterreichs / herausgegeben vom Oberösterreichischen Landesarchiv



» , Nummer 6, Linz (1979) , page 22.

(19) The German term « Gemeinde » denotes a geographical sub-unit of the province (« Land ») and is, thus, equivalent to the English term « commune » . The larger municipalities existed as separate entities and usually enjoyed further privileges, either through their status as « market » or « free » towns, or with a unique set of privileges granted by the Emperor. See : Franz Stundner. « Die Entwicklung des Städtewesens in Österreich im 19. Jahrhundert » , in : « Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 19. Jahrhundert » , edited by Wilhelm Rausch, Linz (1983) .

(20) The reform of the « Gemeindesystem » , like much of the Stadion constitution, became the subject of heated battles between the ministries and within the government. In practice, the constitution was increasingly ignored during the 1850's, but became the foundation for a much more thorough reform, a decade later. See : the « Linzer Zeitung » (29 July and 20 September 1851) , as well as : Werner Ogris. « Die Entwicklung des österreichischen Gemeinderechts in 19. Jahrhundert » , in : « Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 19. Jahrhundert » , edited by Wilhelm Rausch, Linz (1983) , pages 85-90. A good overview of the conflicts within the government can be found in : Friedrich Walter. « Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung. III. Abteilung : Von der Märzrevolution 1848 bis zur Dezemberverfassung 1867 » , volume I : « Die Geschichte der Ministerien Kolowrat, Ficquelmont, Pillersdorf, Wessenberg-Dobhoff und Schwarzenberg » , Vienna (1964) , page 572 ff.

(21) « Die Grundfeste des freien Staates ist die freie Gemeinde. » The « Gemeindegesetz » was issued just 2 weeks after the Stadion Constitution. Article I of the « Provisorisches Gemeinderecht » , « Reichsgesetzblatt » , Nummer 170 (17 March 1849) , pages 203-223. All laws cited from : « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » , Austrian Newspapers Online - « Gesetzestexte » (Online Database) - « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » (cited on 29 October 2004) is available from <http://anno.onb.ac.at/gesetze.htm> . Also, see : Werner Ogris. « Gemeinderecht » , page 86.

(22) Liberal historians and commentators have, of course, pointed to these provisions as « Stadions reifste legislatorische Leistung » . Werner Ogris. « Gemeinderecht » , page 86.

(23) On this point, see : Thomas Götz. « Bürgertum und Liberalismus » , Chapter 4.

(24) The commune became an important setting for Liberal activity in much of Europe in the years after 1848. See, for example : Sudhir Hazareesingh. Religion and Politics in the St. Napoléon Festivity (1852-1870) : Anti-Clericalism, Local Patriotism and Modernity, in : English Historical Review 69, Number 482 (2004) . Gordon A. Craig. The Triumph of Liberalism : Zürich in the Golden Age (1830-1869) , edited in paperback, New York (1988) . Theodor S. Hamerow. Restoration, Revolution, Reaction : Economics and Politics in Germany (1815-1871) , Princeton (1958) .

(25) In the « Vormärz » , Austrian counties and municipalities enjoyed comparatively few rights when compared to their neighbours to the north. As Thomas Nipperdey has fittingly put it, during these years, « die städtische Verwaltung wurde verstaatlicht » . Werner Ogris. « Gemeinderecht » . Thomas Nipperdey. « Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat » , 3rd edition, Munich (1983) , page 339. James J. Sheehan. German History (1770-1866) , Oxford history of modern Europe, Oxford / New York, (1989) , page 489.

(26) See accounts in : the « Linzer Zeitung » (October and November 1850) . Also, see : Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich » , page 8.

(27) From Reinhold Körner's speech upon being elected mayor. Reprinted in the « Linzer Zeitung » (17 November 1850) .

(28) There is some doubt among historians over whether Reinhold Körner resigned in protest or was forcefully asked to resign. More than probably, it was a mix of both. Georg Grill. « Das Linzer Bürgermeisterbuch » , Linz (1959) , page 108. Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich » , page 167.

(29) See the various Chapters, in : « Urbanitsch and Steckel, Kleinstadtbürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie : 1862-1914 » .

(30) On the Ordinances of 18 and 23 April 1850, see : Erika Weinzierl-Fischer. « Die österreichischen Konkordate von 1855 und 1933 » , in : « Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für österreichische Geschichte » , Vienna (1960) , page 59.

(31) On this point, see : Peter Wozniak. « Leo Thun » .

(32) Although this point may sound minor, it represented a major and hard-won concession on the part of the Church. The complete Concordat is reprinted in : Erika Weinzierl-Fischer. « Konkordate » , pages 250-258.

(33) A good overview of the clerical / anti-clerical culture wars in 19th Century Europe is provided by : Culture Wars : Secular-Catholic Conflict in 19th Century Europe, edited by Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, Cambridge (2003) .

(34) Some scholars argue that Josephinism was the Austrian version of reform Catholicism while others emphasize its uniquely Austrian aspects, focusing on the role it played in the Habsburg State-building process. For an example of the former, see : Eduard Winter. « Der Josefinismus und seine Geschichte. Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte Österreichs (1740-1848) » , in : « Prager Studien und Dokumente zur Geistes- und Geisinnungsgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas » , Band I, Brno (1943) . For the latter, see : Ferdinand Maass. « Der Josephinismus » , Wien (1951) . William D. Bowman. Priest and Parish in Vienna (1780 to 1880) , in : Studies in Central European Histories, Boston (1999) . Also, see : Derek Edward Dawson Beales. Josef II, volume I, Cambridge (1987) . Timothy Charles William Blanning. Josef II, Profiles in power, London (1994) . Charles W. Ingrao. The Habsburg Monarchy (1618-1815) , New approaches to European history, Cambridge / New York (1994) , Chapter 6. Charles H. O'Brien. Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Josef II. A Study of the Enlightenment among Catholics in Austria, in : Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 59, Number 7 (1969) .

(35) Adam Bunnell. Before Infallibility : Liberal Catholicism in Biedermeier Vienna, Rutherford, New Jersey (1990) .

(36) See, especially : Gottfried Mayer. « Österreich als katholische Grossmacht : ein Traum zwischen Revolution und liberaler Ära » , in : « Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie » , Band 24, Vienna (1989) .

**(37)** Ultramontanism denotes a strain within Catholicism that emphasizes a strict sense of hierarchy and the primacy of the Pope within the Catholic Church, as a whole. As Nicholas Atkins and Frank Tallett have noted, the term « came to embody an ideology that took in liturgy, devotion, clerical discipline, theology and extended to the realm of politics, social action and culture ». Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett. *Priests, Prelates and People. A History of European Catholicism since 1750*, Oxford (2004) , page 130. In relation to Liberalism, Ultramontanism denotes the idea of a Roman Catholic Church existing apart from (or, on occasion, even above) the (Liberal) State. See the introduction in : Max Voegler. *Religion, Liberalism and the Social Question in the Habsburg Hinterland : The Catholic Church in Upper-Austria (1850-1914)* , Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University (2006) .

**(38)** While it often makes little sense to speak of a « Germany » before 1866-1871 (that is to exclude the German-speaking regions of the Habsburg Monarchy from the historical narrative before that date) , when it comes to Catholic theology and inner-Catholic politics, there was a marked difference between the German-speaking provinces within and without the Monarchy, long before 1871. As the well-known Munich theologian Ignaz von Döllinger commented while speaking in Linz, in 1850 :

« Wir draußen in Deutschland wussten äußerst Wenig von dem, was in dem katholischen Österreich auf dem theologischen Gebiete vorgehe und was uns Österreich selbst auf diesem Gebiete erschien, was für uns andere, ich möchte sagen, so ganz fremdartig, so ganz, wie es schien, auf einem anderen Boden gewachsen, aus einem anderen Geiste hervorgebracht, daß wir es als etwas für uns Unverständliches ganz beiseite legten. »

Johann Friedrich. « Ignaz von Döllinger. Sein Leben auf Grund schriftlichen Nachlasses » , 3 volumes, Munich (1901) , page 82. On this point, also see : James J. Sheehan. *What is German History ? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography*, in : *Journal of Modern History* 53, Number 2 (1981) . William D. Godsey. *Nobles and Nation in Central Europe : Free Imperial Knights in the Age of Revolution (1750-1850)* , Cambridge (2004) .

**(39)** Some historians have argued that the Concordat can be interpreted as a « re-articulation of Josephinist principles regarding the Church-State relationship ». In the scope of its ambitions and its willingness to dispense with existing regulations, it certainly matched the scale of many Josephinist reforms ; but, whereas Josephinism had sought to fuse the 2 bureaucracies together, the Concordat aimed at separating them while giving the Catholic Church jurisdiction over central State functions such as primary education and marriage laws. Josephinist principles, in contrast, were always first and foremost about State jurisdiction. John W. Boyer. *Political Radicalism in late- Imperial Vienna : Origins of the Christian-Social Movement (1848-1897)* , Chicago (1981) , pages 20-21. The above quote is from : Pieter M. Judson. *Exclusive Revolutionaries : Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire (1848-1914)* , in : *Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany*, Ann Arbor (1996) , page 71.

**(40)** Erika Weinzierl-Fischer. « Konkordate » , pages 73-74, 100. Although Liberals were rightly distraught at many aspects of the Concordat, it also created the basis of a separation of Church and State that would make the later transition to religious equality and Liberal constitutionalism much easier. On this point, see the discussion, in : John W. Boyer. *Political Radicalism*, pages 19-21. Gene Burns. *The Politics of Ideology : The Papal Struggle with Liberalism*, in *the American Journal of Sociology* 95, Number 5 (1990) , pages 1130-1132.

(41) I will use « general hospital » to denote the German « Allgemeines Krankenhaus » and « religious hospital » for « Ordensspital ». There are no ready equivalents in English for the words « Hospital » and « Krankenhaus ». Hospice, the nearest equivalent to Hospital, fails to convey the openness of the term - which refers to any institution that took people in and remains in use in Austria and Switzerland (« Spital »), as a synonym for « Krankenhaus ». The very term « Krankenhaus », thus, denotes an attempt of the late- 18th Century medical community to differentiate « their » institution from « Spitale ». Robert Jütte. « Vom Hospital zum Krankenhaus : 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert », in : « Einem jedem Kranken in einem Hospitale sein eigenes Bett » in : « Zur Sozialgeschichte des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert », edited by Alfons Labisch and Reinhard Spree, Frankfurt-am-Main / New York (1996), page 32.

(42) On the transition to the modern clinical hospital in the early 19th Century, see : Michel Foucault. *The Birth of the Clinic : An Archeology of Medical Perception*, New York (1994). Michel Foucault. *Space, Knowledge, and Power*, in : *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow, New York (1984). Erna Lesky. « Das Wiener Allgemeine Krankenhaus. Sein Gründung und Wirkung auf deutsche Spitäler », in : « *Clio Medica 2* », Number 1 (1967). Axel Hinrich Murken. « Vom Armenhospital zum Grossklinikum : die Geschichte des Krankenhauses vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart », Cologne (1988). « Einem jedem Kranken in einem Hospitale sein eigenes Bett », in : « *Zur Sozialgeschichte des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* », edited by Alfons Labisch and Reinhard Spree, Frankfurt-am-Main / New York (1996). Hans Sturmberger. « Vom “ Hospital ” zum “ Krankenhaus ” Zur geschichte des Krankenhauswesens in Oberösterreich bis zum I. Weltkrieg », in : « *Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs* », Number 11 (1974).

(43) On « push » and « pull », see : Reinhard Spree. « Krankenhausentwicklungen und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland während des 19. Jahrhunderts », in : « *Historische Zeitschrift* », Nummer 260 (1995), pages 102-103. Alfons Labisch. « Stadt und Krankenhaus. Das Allgemeine Krankenhaus in der kommunalen Sozial- und Gesundheitspolitik des 19. Jahrhunderts », in : « Einem jedem Kranken in einem Hospitale sein eigenes Bett », in : « *Zur Sozialgeschichte des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* », edited by Alfons Labisch and Reinhard Spree, Frankfurt-am-Main / New York (1996), page 255.

(44) On hospitals in Linz before the 19th Century, see : Anton Knörlein. « Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Heilanstalten und des Medicinalwesens in Linz », Linz (1855). Sturmberger. « Vom “ Hospital ” zum “ Krankenhaus ” », pages 227-241.

(45) The 1770 « Sanitäts-Normativ » created a medical council of government officials and doctors in each province, which met every 8 days to consult on matters of public health. But while this did much to centralize the medical profession, it did little to increase State oversight of Church-controlled hospitals, over which the council had no direct control. See : Anton Knörlein. « *Geschichte der Heilanstalten* », page 15.

(46) The Catholic Church played an important role in health-care throughout the 18th and early- 19th Century, a welcome partner of the State in endeavors such as the vaccination campaign in the late- 18th Century. Michael Pammer. « Vom Beichtzettel zum Impfzeugnis : Beamte, Ärzte, Priester und die Einführung der Vaccination », in : «

Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur 39 » , Number 1 (1995) .

(47) Anton Knörlein. « Geschichte der Heilanstalten » , page 11.

(48) The building of the Maximilian Towers and the Linz-Budweis (České Budějovice) railroad in the early 1830's, as well as the start of regular traffic on the Danube, later that decade, by the « Donau-Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft » brought a steady stream of workers, merchants and tourists to the region.

(49) « 4 Cholera-Spitäler wurden errichtet, die Stadt in Sanitäts-Bezirke getheilt, und Ärzte und Wundärzte zu deren Überwachung aufgestellt » . Anton Knörlein. « Geschichte der Heilanstalten » , page 31. On Asiatic cholera in Europe, see : Richard J. Evans. Epidemics and Revolution : Cholera in 19th Century Europe, in : Past and Present, Number 120 (1988) . In the Monarchy, doctors from all provinces were invited by the government in Vienna to travel to Galicia, in 1831, in order to study the effects and dangers of Cholera up close. Zdenek Hornof. « Josef Škoda als Choleraarzt in Böhmen » , in : « Clio Medica 2 » , Number 1 (1967) . In Upper-Austria, as in most other towns in Central Europe, the results of the expedition were followed quite closely. See, for example, « Berichte des Herrn Doktor Leo aus Warschau über die heilung der Cholera » , Steyr (1831) . As Peter Baldwin has noted, the 1830's epidemic produced « a veritable biblio-cholera » that, in itself, seemed acutely contagious. Peter Baldwin. Contagion and the State in Europe (1830-1930) , Cambridge (1999) , pages 38-39.

(50) Weis von Starckenfels' title was « General-Inspektor für Gefängniswesen » , which also included hospitals. Starckenfels to Alexander von Bach (6 January 1856) . « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371. A rather different estimate is available in : Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich » , pages 474-478. He comes to a total of 600 beds, although he includes institutions that catered to « specialized » groups : the « Landes- Irrenanstalt » , for the insane ; the « Gebär- und Findelanstalt » , for the unwed mothers ; the « städtisches Krankenhaus » , for women with venereal disease ; and the « städtische Versorgungsanstalt » , a poor house.

(51) Figures are for 1857. « Suburbs » includes : Urfahr, Kleinmünchen, Ebelsbergen, Traun, and St. Peter. See : « Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, Geschichte und Ergebnisse der zentralen amtlichen Statistik in Österreich (1829-1979) » , in : « Beiträge zur Österreichischen Statistik » , Nummer 550A, Vienna (1979) , page 13. Michael John and Gerhard A. Stadler. « Zur Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Stadtwachstum in Linz (1840-1880) » , in : « Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz » (1987) , page 121.

(52) In the plans, reports and correspondence of local officials and doctors involved in the planning process, Munich, more often than Vienna or even smaller towns in the Monarchy, such as Brno, was the model for their planning efforts throughout the 1840's and 1850's. Alexander Brenner and J. Kempf. « Das Allgemeine Krankenhaus der Stadt Linz : 1865-1904 » , Linz (1904) . On the general hospital in Munich, see, Reinhard Spree. « Sozialer Wandel im Krankenhaus während des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das Beispiel des Münchner Allgemeinen Krankenhauses » , in : « Medizinhistorisches Journal 33 » , Numbers 3, 4 (1998) , page 251.

(53) In their plea to the « Statthaltereie » , Anton Knörlein and Joseph Onderka called it a « Civilkrankenhaus » , in

order to further distinguish it from the religious « Ordensspitäler » . (Josef Onderka was the head of the medical community, the « Regierungs- und Landes-Medicinalrath » , in Upper-Austria.) Knörlein and Onderka to SHL, Nummer 29 (October 1855) . « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(54) E.B. « Geschichtliche Darstellung der Entstehung des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Linz. Aus Anlaß der Grundsteinlegung am 15. September 1863 » , Linz (1863) , page 6. The following account is based on : Alexander Brenner and J. Kempf. « Krankenhaus » . E.B. « Allgemeinen Krankenhauses, Sturmberger » , in : « Vom “ Hospital ” zum “ Krankenhaus ” » . Anton Knörlein. « Geschichte der Heilanstalten » . Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich » , pages 474-482.

(55) A complete list of contributions can be found in : Alexander Brenner and J. Kempf. « Krankenhaus » , pages 16-19.

(56) « Die Protokolle des Österreichischen Ministerrates. III. Abteilung. Das Ministerium Buol-Schauenstein » , volume 3 : « 11. Oktober 1853 - 19. Dezember 1854 » , edited by Waltraud Heindl, Vienna (1984) , pages 171-172.

(57) Weis von Starkenfels to Alexander von Bach (16 January 1856) ; Christoph Buel to Eduard von Bach (8 April 1856) ; and, Alfred Baumgarten to SHL (27 May 1856) . All letters at : « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(58) Maria Lăcilia to SHL (22 April 1856) ; and, BC to SHL (10 May 1856) - both at : « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(59) Julius Dotter to SHL (9 June 1856) , « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(60) The « Linzer Diözesanblatt » , Nummer 2 (1856) , pages 179, 295.

(61) « Jedem Kranken ohne Unterschied der Nationalität, des Bekenntnisses und Geschlechtes, sowie jeder Krankheitsform zu jeder Zeit zugänglich sein. » E.B. « Allgemeinen Krankenhauses » , page 5.

(62) Vinzenz Fink to SHL (2 November 1856) , « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(63) The « Landes-Medizinalkommission » was established in 1850 as a more « professional » successor to the 1770 « Sanitäts-Normativ » . Franz Kirchmayr. « Oberösterreich » , page 484.

(64) Anton Knörlein and Joseph Onderka to SHL (29 October 1855) , « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

(65) Cholera statistics from Anton Knörlein and Joseph Onderka to SHL (29 October 1855) , « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371. See, as well, the various articles in the « Linzer Zeitung » , from 25 June

until late- September 1855.

**(66)** Vinzenz Fink to SHL (14 August 1855) , « Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv » StPr VII D, Schachtel 371.

**(67)** Bratislava (« Preßburg ») was the only other town to receive lottery funds to build a general hospital in the 1850's, at least of the cases documented in the minutes of the Conference of Ministers in the 1850's. « Protokolle Buol-Schauenstein » , volume 3, edited by Waltraud Heindl, page 171. The conflict over the building of the hospital was by no means over, however, as the municipality and the province soon became embroiled in a prolonged struggle over who would control the new hospital. See : Max Voegler. Religion, Liberalism and the Social Question, page 123 ff.

### No more hotels

**Sunday, 10 February 1861** (Sunday before « Mardi Gras ») : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Rudolf Weinwurm :

Bruckner thanks Rudolf for the correspondence (letters) . He confirms his arrival date (Wednesday 13, at noon) and sends greetings from Alois, his brother. Bruckner will bring the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » . He complains about last year's restless accommodation, and would rather stay in a private apartment than a hotel. He is dissatisfied with the Linz conditions.

### Urfahr : Local tavern

**Saturday, 13 July 1861** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , under the direction of Anton Bruckner, sings at a local tavern in the town of Urfahr, just across the Danube (a borough of Linz since 1919) .

The reason : fine-tuning a selection of choral pieces to be performed during the « Großen Deutschen Sängerkongress » (Great German Singers' Festival) , which will begin in only one week (**from Saturday, July 20 to Tuesday July 23, 1861**) in the city of Nuremberg.

### Nuremberg : Great German Choral Festival

**Friday, 19 July 1861** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , accompanied by some members from other Choral Societies of Upper-Austria, goes by boat to the town of Passau, in Lower-Bavaria - also known as the « Dreiflüssestadt » (City of 3 Rivers) because the Danube is joined at Passau by the Inn from the south, and the Ilz from the north.

**Saturday, 20 July 1861** : Bruckner and the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » continue their trip in direction of Nuremberg by train. Their arrival is scheduled for 2:00 pm. They receive a warm welcome from the citizens of Nuremberg.

Participants who made the trip :

Josef Hafferl, Doctor Anton Stifler, Theodor Zehden, Joseph Hametner (tenor) , Adalbert Markus, Doktor Julius Benoni, Johann August Dürrnberger, Fiala, Doctor Hocke, Franz Hoffelner (tenor) , Josef Kaar, Karl Kerschbaum, Matthäus Kirchberger, Engelbert Lanz, Anton Munsch, Ortner, Franz Reininger, Stupöck, Karl and Josef Weilnböck, Othmar Wessely, and members from Alois Weiwurm's Choral Association.

Bancalari, Baron Andreas von Baumgartner, Bayerlein, Billing, Karl Debrois de Bruyk, Frey, Friedrich, Gehmacher, Kleinecke, Langer, Mannheimer, Carl Ritter von Olschbaur, Georg Pointner, Prix, Karl Santner, Julius Scheda, Franz Schützenberger, August Stradal senior.

### The young Nietzsche

During his school vacations, the young Nietzsche wanted to visit the « Deutsche Sängerkunst » and travelled via Bamberg, Forchheim, Lichtenfels and the monastery at Banz.

Obviously, Nietzsche had arrived by train from Plauen, where he had stayed at his « dear aunts » (and with his wealthy uncle Hermann Friedrich Theodor Nietzsche) . On **Saturday, July 20, 1861**, young Nietzsche received a traveling document that was issued by the Royal Court at Plauen and allowed « the student of the Prince's School at Pforta near Naumburg, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (...) to travel to Nuremberg and to Swiss Franconia for his vacation » (« Zögling der Fürstenschule Pforta bei Naumburg, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (...) zur Reise nach Nürnberg und die fränkische Schweiz, zum Vergnügen ») .

With respect to his stay at Nuremberg, he made the following notes :

« Nightly travel. “ Hof. ” Crowded. Messy. Not feeling well. Bamberg. Better. Nuremberg. Traveling companions : 2 singers, one fat gentleman, a silent man, a lady with a child with a bleeding nose, etc. Discomfort. First impression of the City. Schmidts. Politeness of the Nurembergers. Going-out. General remarks. Festival Hall. Rehearsal. (illegible) . Return. Ägidien Church with wonderful side-chapels. Dürer paintings. “ Jesus auf Gethsemane ”. Frauenkirche. Catholic mass. Colourful windows. Book-store von Schmidt. Noon, the 4 directors. Champaing. Concert. Searched long for the “ Blaue Glöckli ”. “ Kapellmeister ” Tschirch. Komposition. Opera : “ Meister Martin und seine Gesellen ”, is seeking to stage it in Nuremberg. “ Die Schwäne ” (The Swans) . “ Schwanengesang ” (Swan Song) completed. Composed early, works drafts out at night. - Night lodgings. »

(« Nachtreise. Hof. Überfüllung. Unordnung. Unwohl. Bamberg. Besser. Nürnberg. Reisegesellschaft. 2 Sänger 1 dicker Herr, ein stummer Stiller, die Dame mit naseblutendem Kind und so weiter. Ungemüthlichkeit. Erster Eindruck der Stadt. Schmidts. Höflichkeit der Nürnberger. Ausgehen. Allgemeine Bemerkungen. Festhalle. Probe. (unleserlich) Rückkehr. Ägidienkirche mit prachtvollen Nebenkappen Dürerbilder Jesus auf Gethsemane. Frauenkirche, catholscher Gottesdienst, bunte Fenster. Buchhandlung von Schmidt. Mittag, die vier Direktoren. Champagner. Konzert. Blaues Glöckli. Lange gesucht. Kapellmeister Tschirch komponiren. Oper : Meister Martin und seine Gesellen sucht in Nürnberg aufzuführen die Schwäne, Schwanengesang vollendet. componirt früh, arbeitet in der Nacht aus. - Nachtquartier. »)



### Nuremberg : The sister of a wafer-producer

During the Nuremberg Festival, Anton Bruckner was staying at the house of wafer-producer Robert (Franz ?) Zimmermann (his father, a surgeon, was practising not far away, in the town of Fürth) .

Bruckner falls in love with Zimmermann's sister.

### Nuremberg : « Sächsischen Hof »

During the Nuremberg Festival, the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » singers stayed at the Hotel « Sächsischen Hof » .

They performed at the specially erected Festival Hall in « Maxfeld » (a park named after Bavarian king Maximilian II) , which could welcomed between 5,000 to 6,000 singers (5,600) . (This event is reminiscent of a marble vase, erected in 1891, which still stands in the city-park.)

The area originally consisted of orchards and fields. Georg Zacharias Platner, great patron of the municipal parks in Nuremberg, transformed the « Maxfeld » at his own expense, from 1856, into an English landscape park. A small artificial lake was built in the heart of the green area. It became the icon of the 1861 Great German Singers' Festival. Around 1865, city expansion will curve agricultural activity there.

After the concerts, visitors would enjoy the rich gastronomic tradition of the city of Nuremberg.

### Regensburg : « Walhalla »

**Wednesday, 24 July 1861** : After the Festival, on their way back, Anton Bruckner and the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » make a stop in the town of Regensburg to visit the « Walhalla » Temple.

They also stop in Passau before returning to Linz.

### Olga, the provocative waitress

Anton Bruckner took umbrage at a practical joke, played on him by the « Frohsinn » . It involved a restaurant waitress, called Olga, who had caught the composer's eye. She was encouraged by some members of the Choir to dress seductively and pay a visit to the unsuspecting Bruckner who was coaxed into a room, alone. Shocked and distressed, Bruckner escaped by going through the window, in great haste.

Consequently, he resigned his conducting post, in **September**.

**Thursday, 3 October 1861** :

« I was grossly insulted by “ Frohsinn ” and resigned from the Choir, in **September**. Sechter stayed with me for a few days. I am thinking of travelling to Vienna, in the second half of November. Could you please be available and, perhaps, make a few preparations. In any case, I would like to invite (Benedikt) Randhartinger, the Court music-director, and Gottfried Preyer to be members of the examining committee. Write to me soon. Sechter will be in charge of the examination. »

...

Anton Bruckner was at first attracted by noticing smiling women across the street from where he was in Linz, and then, repelled to be told that they were prostitutes. His lifelong crushes on young women and teenage girls seemed to have made him the butt of jokes among his friends and associates, but there is no evidence of any hanky-panky before the girls left him for younger, more handsome suitors.

Compulsive behaviour on the basis of fear of touching, whose sexual accentuation is obvious, is presented in a report from Max Auer. According to this, Bruckner developed this compulsion during his « Vienna years », that he would carry a glove with him on days when confession was imminent.

This was for the following purpose :

Between the granted absolution and the reception of Holy Communion, should there possibly be an encounter with a woman (who might possibly be in a state of « impurity ») he could offer only his gloved hand.

Bruckner internalized this « structure » and sought it in « the world outside », that of authorities that offered the prescriptions that gave him security, that is those that minimized his (subjective) risk of making mistakes.

### Bruckner and Brünnhilde

Although Anton Bruckner was idolizing the music of Richard Wagner, he was completely indifferent to the drama on stage (plot) .

He studied « Tristan und Isolde » from a textless score and, at the end of « Götterdämmerung », someone had to explain to him that Wotan had not cremated Brünnhilde.

« Tell me, why did they burn the woman at the end ? »

Bruckner found it odious to use immoral intrigues in contemporary works. The notion of impurity meant for him to reject anything that could offend the religious sentiment of the Catholic devotees.

### Bruckner and Tannhäuser

Sometimes, when Anton Bruckner came to Vienna, he visited the Opera House. Here, he attended performances of

Wagner's Operas. He was deeply moved when he heard « Tannhäuser » . He stood in the standing-room section when he heard tenor Hermann Winkelmann sing the story of his pilgrimage to the Pope in Rome.

When Tannhäuser related how he was cursed by the Pope, Bruckner began to cry and shouted :

« Why did he not pardon him ! Why did he not pardon him ! »

### Bruckner at the « Burgtheater »

Vienna offered most interesting attractions to anyone concerned with cultural matters. There were the Imperial Theaters, museums, delightful surroundings which had enchanted Beethoven and Schubert, the Imperial Library, and the opportunity of association with outstanding men of science and art. Anton Bruckner, however, made no use of these opportunities.

He asked his friend Friedrich Klose :

« Why do you frequent the “ Burgtheater ”. Do you want to become a poet ? »

Bruckner is said to have attended only one performance at the « Burgtheater » . It was a Shakespearean drama, and it bored him to death. Anyway, he never went a second time.

### Brahms in Vienna

**After 1862** : After he moved to Vienna where he spent the rest of his life, Johannes Brahms lived simply in modest lodgings and enjoyed his food by mostly dining-out.

### Kürnberg bei Linz : « Gasthaus Jäger »

« As our lessons had come to an end and the period of my Linz contract was also drawing to a close, Bruckner asked me, one day :

“ When am I going to be released ? ”

When, I replied, that it could happen at any time as he had already overtaken his teacher who had nothing more to teach him, he refused such an easy way out and invited my wife and me on a coach excursion which took us to the charming hunting lodge of Kürnberg, situated in the woods. There, during a happy meal, the desired “ release ” from “ apprenticeship ” took place. We had an uninterrupted friendship until his death. »

(Otto Kitzler)

Bruckner will note at the end of his last study-book :

« Overture, Symphony and Psalm - completed on July 10, 1863. »

**Friday, 10 July 1863** : Otto Kitzler and his wife invite his graduating student, Anton Bruckner, in Kürnberg (Leonding) to the famous « Hunters' Inn » (« Gasthaus Jäger ») also known as the « Travellers' Inn » (« Ausflugsgasthaus ») , located at « Forsthausstraße » Number 72, in an idyllic surroundings. An hour walk from the centre of the capital, Linz.

Bruckner's friend, Karl Zappe, is also part of this intimate but solemn event.

« Magister » Kitzler takes the opportunity to officially present Bruckner with a certificate in composition and instrumentation :

« “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner, organist at the Cathedral of Linz, studied music theory in composition and instrumentation under my supervision and devoted himself to his studies with such diligence and perseverance that he succeeded in completing the “ cursus ” of a normal duration of 2 years, in only 19 months.

My sincere congratulations accompany this talented aspiring artist, determined to undertake a new career as a composer.

Linz, July 10th, 1863.

Otto Kitzler,

“ Landestheaters Kapellmeister ”. »

Kitzler then left for the town of Brünn (Brno) .

A commemorative plaque, offered by the municipality of Bergham, was unveiled on November 14, 1976 :

« On 10 July 1863, Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) celebrated in this house, in the company of Otto Kitzler, the end of his studies. Thus, began his period of free artistic creation. Gift of the Leonding Choral Society, November 14, 1976. »

Although Bruckner probably never actually said that he felt « like a yard dog, which has broken loose from its chain » (Max Auer probably put these words in the composer's mouth) after his acquittal, he now felt safe in his acquired creative freedom.

Starting around 1500, Imperial hunts (organized, among others, by Emperor Maximilian I) took-place in the forest of Kürnberg, nearby Linz Castle. In 1686, Emperor Leopold I, accompanied by Count Andreas Khevenhüller, organized deer-hunting-games in the presence of more than 1,000 persons. Spectacular demonstrations of this kind also took-place under Emperor Charles VI.

The last Imperial hunts were held in 1732.

Under Empress Maria Theresia, official hunts were discontinued and the hunting-grounds were offered for purchase in order to improved the financial situation of the Empire. Since the 18th Century, the entire forest area of Kürnberg has been owned by the Cistercian monastery in Wilhering, situated at about 8 kilometres (5 miles) from Linz.

### Vienna : « Hotel Kaiserin Elisabeth »

**1863** : During a visit to Vienna, Linz organist Anton Bruckner stayed at the « Hotel Kaiserin Elisabeth » located at « Weihburggasse » Number 3, close to the shopping-streets « Kärtnerstraße » and « Graben » , next to St. Stephen's Cathedral.

A commemorative plaque in tribute to the composer recalls his passage :

Es waren zu Gast in diesem Hause

|                        |             |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Wolfgang A. Mozart     | 1767        |
| Clara Schumann         | 1838        |
| Franz Liszt            | 1856        |
| Anton Rubinstein       | 1859        |
| Richard Wagner         | 1862        |
| <b>Anton Bruckner</b>  | <b>1863</b> |
| Moritz von Schwind     | 1863        |
| August von Pettenkofen | 1889        |
| Adolf Menzel           | 1895        |
| Edvard Grieg           | 1896        |
| Oskar Kokoschka        | 1958        |
| Otto von Habsburg      | 1980        |

### Prominent guests

**1767** : Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

**1838** : Clara Schumann.

**1854** : Cavalry Captain Baron von Mertens ; Count and Countess Schönfeld, from Graz ; Count L. Colloredo, from Milan ; Prince Grimaldi of Tuscany ; Prince Carl von Baden ; Count G. Batthian ; Countess Peyrette de Concorde.

**1855** : Prince Karl Auersperg, from Prague ; Prince Karl of Bavaria ; Princess Hohenlohe, from Baden ; Countess Lützow, from Rome ; Princess M. Cantacuzine.

**1856** : Court « Kapellmeister » Franz Liszt ; Major General Prince Holstein, from Ödenburg ; Count E. Kinsky, from Ischl.

**1857** : Secretary of Embassy Vicomte Félix Arjuzon, from Paris ; Count Nostiz, from Prague ; Lieutenant Colonel Prince L. Hohenlohe, from Prague.

**1859** : Anton Rubinstein ; Count A. Kaunitz ; Duke Nikolaus von Württemberg.

**1861** : Marie, Duchess of Parma ; Prince Robert de Bourbon.

**1862** : Richard Wagner ; H. Rothschild, from Frankfurt ; Duke E. Sforza, from Venice.

**1863** : Richard Wagner ; Court organist Anton Bruckner ; painter Moritz von Schwind.

**1869** : General Count Radetzky ; « Abbé » Franz Liszt.

**1889** : August von Pettenkofen.

**1895** : Adolf Menzel.

**1896** : Eduard Grieg.

**1957** : Olga Tschechova ; Vera Tschechova.

**1958** : Oskar Kokoschka.

## History

**1348** : The founder, Lord Albrecht von Mistelbach, is first mentioned during the era of Rudolf IV.

**1359** : Owned by the armor-maker Herding der Brüner.

**1460** : Owned by His Majesty Emperor Friedrich III ; the building was known at the time as the « Alter Dechanthof » (House of the Old Duke) .

**1472** : Owned by Leupolden Wehinger.

**1487** : Hans Widerstorffer inherited from previous owner Stefan Slyner.

**1542** : Owned by Kaspar Neupeck, Bishop of Vienna. Thereafter owned for a long period by the aristocratic Neupeck family.

**1683** : Owned by Christoph Grappler.

Reconstruction was necessary after the second Turkish siege.

**1795** : Owned by Emanuel von Dorin.

**1804** : Construction and renovation ; henceforth, a 4-story building.

**1809** : Franz Xaver von Buchberg.

**Munich** : « Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten »

**Saturday 26 September to Tuesday 6 October 1863** : Anton Bruckner attends the Music Festival in Munich.

There, he meets the composer and Court « Kapellmeister » Franz-Paul Lachner, who was also a student of Simon Sechter. From 1836 to 1865, Lachner was a major figure in Munich's musical life, directing performances at the Opera as well as various concerts and festivals. He is rightly considered as the most noble, most Viennese and conservative composer in southern Germany.

Robert Schumann regarded Franz Lachner as « the most gifted and scholarly composer in southern Germany » .

Bruckner will have the chance to visit the city on numerous occasions, staying at the luxurious « 4 Seasons » Hotel (« Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten ») located at « Maximilianstraße » Number 17, in the city centre. The building is situated at 500 metres from the « Marienplatz » , the Court Theatre and the English gardens.

This luxury hotel comprises a total of 304 rooms which spreads over 6 floors. With the « Bayerischer Hof » , the « Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten » is the place of choice for statesmen and kings.

Built according to plans by architect Rudolf Gottgetreu, the « 4 Seasons » was inaugurated with great pomp on the famous « Maximilianstraße » (as ordered by Maximilian II of Bavaria !) by « hôtelier » August Schimon, July 25th, 1858. Intended to break all standards set before, it was already equipped in all rooms with gas-lighting. During the First World War, the hotel was at the centre of the nationalist agitation created by the Pan-German Federation. From 1919 to 1924, it was the meeting-place of the Thule Society.

**Ischl** : « Weinhaus Attwenger »

**Summer 1863 to 1890** : As Court organist, Anton Bruckner always went to Ischl for Emperor Franz-Josef's birthday (celebrated on 18 August) and other festive celebrations at the Imperial House (« Kaiservilla ») . Bruckner liked to be called the « Organist of the Emperor » . He always stayed at the inn-tavern « Weinhaus Attwenger » which is owned since 1847 by his old school friend, the teacher and inn-keeper Johann Nepomuk Attwenger who is accompanied by his

charming wife.

Bruckner took his copious meals there.

On the menu, today :

Veal medallions, « schnitzel » (slices) of paprika, breaded pork cutlets, « tafelspitz » (pot roasts) , roast duck served with honey sauce and ginger, fried chicken and several species of fresh fish caught from the lake.

Also, Bruckner selected one of the cosy little rooms (made of wooden panels and decorated with rustic trinkets) . Today, a commemorative plaque decorated with a bronze relief (by artist Franz S. Forster) can be seen at the entrance of the « Bruckner room » - a joint donation by the Ischl Bruckner Association (« Brucknerbund ») and the Attwenger family.

The famous composer Franz Lehár lived in a sumptuous villa, right next door. He had the chance to share this peaceful environment ... and the wine glasses from the Attwenger's « Weinhaus » !

The health-resort of Ischl, which was chosen as a summer residence by the Imperial family since 1849, attracted a lot of prominent guests, and thus, the « Weinhaus Attwenger » became a popular retreat for artists and politicians :

Johann Strauß junior, Johann Brahms (who composed his famous « Lullaby » Opus 49, No. 4, in Ischl as well as several of his later works) , Moritz von Schwind, Ferdinand G. Waldmüller, Alexander Girardi, Karl Kraus, Carl Michael Ziehrer, Emmerich Kálmán, Oscar Straus and Anton Webern.

The singer, actor and playwright Johann Nepomuk Nestroy liked to sit at a table at the « Weinhaus Attwenger » with food and drink :

« A table in the most beautiful area. »

It is one of the oldest and most beautiful houses in the village. It sits in the middle of a shady garden overlooking the right bank of the river Traun. It was built around 1500 (the central part dating from 1540) when a salt paver (the middle-man between the salt-mine owner and the dealer) collected the sale-tax on salt and returned it to the landlord. Since the traders had sometimes to wait for the ships with the salt, the trans-shipment area became a stop-over : for this reason, the house was transformed into an inn, in 1618 : the « Rastl'sche Gastgebsbehausung » .

**Ischl : « Zauner » pastry-shop**

During his stay in Ischl, Anton Bruckner always took the time to sign the guest-book of the famous « Zauner » pastry-shop (« Konditorei Zauner ») founded in 1832, located at « Pfarrgasse » Number 7.



As for Franz-Josef, during his stay at the « Kaiservilla », he visited every morning his mistress, the actress Katharina Schratt, who was living in the neighbouring villa. For fear of missing her home-made « Guglhupf » (a lemon-sponge cake) that the Emperor liked so much, she always ordered a spare one directly from « Zauner » - just in case ! Even today, customers at « Zauner » can taste the original « Guglhupf » of Katharina Schratt according to her own recipe.

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Since 1832, « Konditorei Zauner » has welcomed the people of Ischl and visitors to the « Kaiserstadt » with its sweet delicacies. It is one of Austria's leading cake and pastry-shops renowned for its tradition and quality. « Konditorei Zauner » is a living reminder of the Kaiser's time in Ischl. Alongside an impressive selection of pastries and coffee specialities, the building itself exudes a truly Imperial flair.

### Ischl : The Old Brewery

Anton Bruckner paid visits at the local brewery located at « Grazer-Straße » Number 16. He surely wandered through the 400 year old cellar (376 square-metres !) which served as a refrigerator (its temperature, both summer and winter, is a constant 12 degrees) for both the « Ischlerbräu » and the townspeople. (The so-called « Grieblkeller » was owned by the company until 1908.)

The original cellar was even larger because it was connected to neighbouring cellars.

The remarkable, original medieval structure of the vaulted cellar is largely still intact. This includes the stone pillars, which were spaced to make it easy for delivery carts to turn in order to leave the cellar. The marks from digging in the local sandstone rock are still visible.

In 1971, the Schmalnauer family took-over the property and renamed it « Café-Casino Keller » .

### Beethoven's skull

On the morning of **Tuesday March 27, 1827**, a private autopsy was performed on Ludwig van Beethoven by Doctor Johann Wagner, an assistant at the « Pathologisch-anatomisches Museum » in Vienna. Doctor Andreas Wawruch, Beethoven's primary doctor since **December 1826**, was in attendance. The temporal bones were sawed out and taken away for study. Gerhard von Breuning reported that he had been told they were in the possession of the mortuary orderly, Anton Doner. According to a Viennese rumor, Dotter sold the bones to a foreign physician. (Another unconfirmed rumor adds that the temporal bones ended up in London and were destroyed during a German bombing attack on the city, during World War II.) Whatever the truth of the matter, the bones are now lost. A second saw-cut across the top of the skull is clear in the somewhat gruesome frontal photograph that was taken during the **1863** exhumation.

Gerhard von Breuning reported :

« In addition, the skull had been sawed through cross-wise, as was usual in autopsies. »

The official report of the **1863** exhumation of Beethoven states that « the sawing process must have been handled in a very rough way » because « the seams of the skull bones did not close perfectly since numerous splinters had been lost » . As it is clear from the autopsy report, Doctor Wagner also cut open the thoracic and abdominal cavities. He described the appearance of the lungs, liver, gall bladder, spleen, pancreas, stomach, intestines, and kidneys.

**Tuesday, 13 October 1863** : Ludwig van Beethoven's remains were exhumed, studied and reburied in a more secure casket inside a brick vault ; the proceedings were paid for by the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . At that time, fragments from the back of his skull, which had been separated during the autopsy, were acquired by the Austrian doctor Romeo Seligmann.

Anton Schindler published an infamous biography of Beethoven. Schindler was careful to put in a note for his phrenological audience, including the autopsy's description of the numerous convolutions of the brain and the thick skull, since « it would not be uninteresting to many admirers of Beethoven to learn the conformation of his skull » . Certainly, Beethoven was one of those figures whose genius was not only legendary but highly-specific, and no doubt a thorough study of his skull could afford much insight to the phrenologically inclined. As it happened, in **October 1863**, they got their chance.

While Stephan von Breuning's attempts to keep thieves away from Beethoven's grave had worked, he couldn't keep-out nature and, by **1863**, Beethoven's grave was in disrepair. That year, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (the Society for the Friends of Music) decided to exhume and rebury 2 bodies to « save the earthly remains of Beethoven and Schubert from further decay and, at the same time, to establish their resting places in a deserving manner » .

The Society for the Friends of Music was founded in 1812, in an attempt to stem the decline of music appreciation and attendance in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. In its nearly 200 year history, it has established itself as one of the pre-eminent Classical music organizations and has counted in its ranks dozens of notable composers and conductors. In 1870, construction would be complete on the Society's « Musikverein » , a concert-hall that still ranks among the finest in the world but, even by **1863**, it had become the pre-eminent musical institution in Vienna and, as such, its authority in matters concerning the city's beloved composers was relatively unquestioned.

The exhumation was paid for by a special concert « playing exclusively compositions by the deceased, in order to erect a monument with the proceeds » , and it was decided that the exhumations of Beethoven and Schubert would happen simultaneously. There was a certain poetic quality to this decision since Schubert's death was itself connected to Beethoven's. According to a possibly apocryphal story, on the evening of Beethoven's funeral, a number of his friends and fellow composers had gathered, at a local inn, to celebrate their deceased friend. « To the memory of our immortal Beethoven ! » , Schubert is supposed to have said and, after the first toast, was drunk, he lifted his glass once more and said, « And now, to the first of us to follow Beethoven ! » . He was toasting himself ; of those assembled, he was the first to die, on **Wednesday November 19, 1828**.

Linked in death, they were now to be linked in exhumation. The Society for the Friends of Music could count in its ranks a fair number of doctors, and the Society's board appointed a committee that would be present to handle the treatment of the remains while their new coffins were prepared. In charge of Schubert, was a doctor named Josef Standthartner. In charge of Beethoven was « trouser buttons » himself, Doctor Gerhard von Breuning - because he stuck to him the way a button does to clothing.

In the years after his father died, Gerhard trained as a doctor, attending the Josephinian Military Academy, from which he graduated in 1837. He began his career as a military doctor and, for a time, was the chief-physician at the Imperial Royal Invalids Home before switching to private practice in 1852. His early friendship with Beethoven had cemented a life-long love of music, and he had long since become a member of the board of the Society of the Friends of Music. Even as he established himself as a surgeon of some repute, it is fair to say that Beethoven never left him. Like Rosenbaum, he lived a dual life : one of empirical facts, rational logic, knowable information ; the other the ineffable world of music.

So, he was the immediate and obvious choice to oversee the exhumation of Beethoven : it was, in many ways, a culmination of his 2 life-long obsessions. Breuning was the perfect man for this job - a capable doctor who had a passion for music and who had known Beethoven personally.

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Stephan von Breuning had placed over the coffin. They were unable to finish that day and, once again, an armed guard was posted at Beethoven's grave until the next morning.

The wood of the coffin itself, they found, had disintegrated into white-yellowish chunks. The remains were likewise not in the greatest shape ; bones were missing - some carpal bones from the wrists and tarsal bones from the ankles as well as a few ribs. Beethoven's bones were still a light colour, but Schubert's bones were a deep brownish-black as a result of the damp soil and water leakage where he had been buried. In addition, they noted that around Schubert's skull was a « rather dense covering of his (as everybody knows) very luxuriant hair » which, unfortunately, was now « mixed with a lot of damp soil, half rotten wood shavings, and many hundreds of insect larvæ » . At the exhumation, Schubert's hair (presumably cleaned of wood shavings and maggots) was presented reverentially to his brother. The committee also found numerous decayed pieces of clothing, the sole of a shoe, and 2 pieces of a comb that had been used to hold back the aforementioned « luxurious amount of hair » . The committee's official exhumation report stated :

« All these objects were carefully collected ; the members of the administration took individual parts of the remnants of clothing and the wood of the coffin of Beethoven as well as of Schubert » and, while Breuning kept safeguard over most of them, « parts were given over to the few persons present at this serious act who were visibly moved by strong emotions » .

The hair and clothing were important, to be sure, but, as Breuning later wrote :

« The main-goal was, of course, the retrieval of the skull. »

In that age of skull-stealing, all sorts of rumors were circulating about Beethoven's head. Numerous men on the committee believed that the head would be missing, that someone would have bested Stephan von Breuning and removed the head before it had gone into the coffin. Others assumed it would be there, and the committee had heard another, perhaps more reliable rumor that only part of the skull would be missing. This last rumor turned-out to be true. Beethoven's skull was found to be in pieces ; it had been broken into approximately 9 different fragments by Doctor Johann Wagner and, in decay, they had not held their shape but lay in a pile at the bottom of the coffin. As some had feared, a few important fragments were missing. Specifically, the petrous segments of the temporal bones (the small pyramid-shaped pieces of the skull that contain all the organs of hearing) had been removed « by having been sawed-off vertically » . In other words, when Wagner had segmented the head into numerous pieces, he had deliberately cut-out the single most crucial part of the skull for understanding Beethoven's deafness and, now, it seemed that he had never returned them to the body. This also helped to explain Beethoven's poor appearance while he lay in state because Wagner had patched-up the missing bones with clay, further distorting the face.

It was a crushing disappointment. For someone looking for the answer to Beethoven's deafness, the temporal bones were a conspicuous absence. A conclusive diagnosis on the Mæstro's hearing loss was now all but impossible.

Even with the remains in such sad shape, all present understood that it was a rare opportunity to study the anatomy of the 2 composers and learn something vital about their lives and their deaths. The original intention had been to rebury the bodies that same day, but now that they were unearthed, there was a discussion as to whether to keep them above ground. Casts and photographs, to be sure, could tell a lot, but there was something more to the actual skulls, especially Beethoven's, whose deteriorated condition meant that, as Breuning argued, « important proportions of the skull can only be obtained by comparing repeated measurements of the original skull with its individual parts » .

The Society's board-members agreed with the exhumation committee that, at least for the time being, the skulls need not be immediately reburied. Everyone saw the important scientific opportunity afforded by the exhumation and agreed that photographs and casts should be taken of the skulls. In addition, the board had to decide whether to rebury the skulls or house them in « a worthy place that would closely reflect the grand activity of the spirits that lived in these bony dwellings » .

There was also the problem of the missing temporal bones. « Since 2 essential components of the skull have never been put ...

...

... exacting measurements of the skulls for future scientific research. Known by his friends simply by the nickname « Wonderful » , for his brilliance and congeniality, Romeo Seligmann had taught himself Arabic and Persian while still a high-school student and had become one of the foremost scholars of the history of medicine. In his spare time, he worked-out a philosophical treatise on the relationship between ancient Indian and Greek medicine, and he was

building his own skull collection for his anthropological research. In addition to his medical specimens, he was an avid art-collector, and, through his friendship with Gœthe's daughter-in-law, Ottilie (who was a patient and lavished gifts on him) , he acquired a massive collection of Gœthe portraits and mementoes (which became known as his « Gœthiana ») .

Shepherding the head of Beethoven through the whole process, of course, was Breuning. Indeed, he kept the skull with him at all times ; although work on the skulls was done in a secret location, where there had to be at least 2 people present at all times to prevent tampering or theft, Breuning was allowed to take Beethoven's home with him each night. He was not a phrenologist by profession, nor was he captivated by the New Science, as Joseph Carl Rosenbaum and Johann Peter had been 60 years earlier. But the fact that phrenology had been largely discredited didn't mean it hadn't left its traces on respectable science. As he compared their skulls in the laboratory, Breuning made a pronouncement about the 2 composers that has since become infamous in Classical music studies : He claimed that the skulls « seemed to reflect the characteristics of the composers' works. The walls of Beethoven's skull exhibit strong density and thickness, whereas Schubert's bones show feminine delicateness » .

Breuning also claimed that the fragmentation of Beethoven's skull, combined with the dampness of the grave, had caused the bone to warp and that this explained the rather odd shape that the forehead had assumed. Rather than being a high, well-developed forehead, as could be expected of such a genius, it was sloped back and disturbingly low. Warping, due to moisture, seemed the only plausible reason for this.

While the casts were being made, a quick search for the missing temporal bones was also carried-out. There had been a published report that a certain unnamed « medical celebrity in Paris » might know their whereabouts and, perhaps, might even have taken them. But this inquiry came to no avail ; the medical celebrity in question replied in a letter :

« When I left Vienna, I only had the pleasure to take with me from the Austrian capital the gratitude for my professors and the friendship of my colleagues that I appreciated. I never heard anyone speak about Beethoven's ears. »

As for the items of clothing and other fragments, Breuning ordered special zinc cases so that they could be returned to the new coffins without fear of further disintegration.

Despite his work during this time, Breuning was still upset over the board's decision to reinter the skulls, and he would continue to brood over it in coming years. He wrote, 20 years later :

« How important and how interesting it would be for science if these skulls remained available for further, more thorough investigation. They should be preserved above the earth and accessible in a museum, art gallery, or library. The 2 composers would be better honoured by such action than by the usual interment of their skulls in tombs. »

The board's decision reeked of a superstition that Breuning found indefensible when compared to scientific inquiry.

« Only highly-prejudiced people (who are unfortunately in the majority) would be offended » by putting the skulls in the museum, and « any person with scientific training would certainly not object » .

Breuning concluded :

« I am sure no feelings of piety will be offended if the dry skulls, having long been separated from the rest of the skeletons, should be immortalized in such a way. »

But Breuning's attachment to the head of his father's friend had gone beyond simple scientific inquiry. Each night, he returned home with the skull, placing it lovingly beside his bed to meditate on while he drifted off to sleep.

Breuning later said of those days :

« What stormy feelings passed through my mind, evoking such powerful memories, as I had possession of that head for a few days and kept it by my bedside overnight and, in general, proudly watched over that head from whose mouth, in years gone by, I had so often heard the living word ! »

...

... has been shed rests. »

After he had finished, the new coffins were sealed in the vault and the crowd dispersed. But, as these things go, not all of Beethoven had made it back into the vault.

What was left of Beethoven remained undisturbed for another quarter of a Century, until 1888, when the body was, once again, exhumed. This time, the reason was that the Währing Cemetery was in near disintegration and was to be demolished to make way for new buildings. Along with the other coffins to be moved, Beethoven's remains were to be transferred to the « Grove of Honour » of the Central Cemetery, in Vienna.

When Gerhard von Breuning heard the news, he wrote an essay on the skulls of Beethoven and Schubert, in which he lamented the dispersal of the cemetery's occupants :

« Along with the cemetery's demise, we will likewise have to bury many historical memories that link us to the times and conditions of their lives. »

He recalled the various composers and friends who had desired to be buried close to Beethoven : Stephan, his father, who had wanted to be buried next to his friend and had been laid to rest « a few graves further down » ; Clementi and Ritter von Seyfried, buried on either side of the composer ; the playwright Johann Nepomuk Nestroy and the poet Franz Grillparzer ; and Schubert, whose « longing to be close to Beethoven, often expressed in his feverish dreams, was fulfilled when he was buried only a few graves up from Beethoven » .

Breuning saw the cemetery as a delicate network of old friends and colleagues whose lives had intersected in startling and momentous ways and who now continued their conversations in the grave. A whole history could be unraveled by tracing the connections in the Währing Cemetery.

He wrote :

« All these memories and reference points connecting us with the past are now being destroyed and will be forgotten as these “ famous ” and “ outstanding ” deceased people will be transferred to other cemeteries. »

It's odd that a rationalist like Breuning should care about this so much. He was clearly of 2 minds : he wanted Beethoven's remains transparently available for science for all time ; he even complained that the photos taken, in 1863, had not been made publicly available. But it was hard for him to maintain scientific objectivity, hard not to see the beauty in a cemetery of old friends lying beside each other, hard not to see the mystery in the skull of a friend by one's bedside, the living word now silent.

As with the 1863 exhumation, when Beethoven was moved in 1888, medical experts were allowed access to the composer but, this time, only for a mere 20 minutes - they later complained that the circumstances surrounding this examination « were highly-unfavourable » . Still, they had enough time to find that the plaster casts were accurate enough to be used for future study and that there could be « no real objection to the authenticity of the skull fragments found in the coffin » .

The 1863 exhumation had already revealed the strange way in which, over time, underground, bones simply disappear. Decay, bacteria, any number of factors can cause even something as hard as bone to disintegrate. So, the 1888 doctors, pressed for time, noted only in passing that a portion of the occipital bone was missing, as was a portion of the left parietal bone. These pieces were substantially larger than the petrous bones taken by Doctor Johann Wagner - the occipital bone forms the broad back shelf of the head, and the parietal bones each form half of the roof of the cranial cavity. The missing pieces, each about 4 inches long, seemed too big to have simply disintegrated, especially considering that the express purpose of the 1863 reburial had been to keep the remains in better condition. The committee continued its cataloguing of the bones of the skull, then moved on to its conclusions. Curiously, the members seem to have not found it noteworthy that more of the skull was missing than had been in 1863. Each autopsy, it seemed, led to more bits of Beethoven's head disappearing ; perhaps, this was just the way of the world.

As in 1863, a speech was given at the 1888 reburial, written by Joseph Weilen and delivered by the actor Josef Lewinsky. In his praise of Beethoven, Weilen noted that the composer was to be buried next to the cenotaph of Mozart, « whose grave covers not his bones but the shameful reproach for his contemporaries who, having received his Masterpieces, lacked due regard for preserving his ashes » .

He, then, quoted Franz Grillparzer, whose body was also about to be transferred out of the Währing Cemetery :

« You who have gathered at this place, step closer to this grave the one who lies here was inspired. Striving for one

thing, caring for one thing, suffering for one thing, offering everything for one thing, this is how this man walked through life. If there is still any sense of wholeness in us in this broken time, let us gather together at his grave. This is why there have always been poets, and heroes, singers, and those inspired by God - so that, through them, poor ruined human beings raise themselves up, ponder their origin and their destination.

It is not clear whether either Gerhard von Breuning or Romeo Seligmann was present for this second exhumation. It's not clear whether, if they had been, they would have shared what they knew about the newly discovered missing portions of Beethoven's skull : the occipital fragments. As he saw his own death impending, Beethoven had bitterly remarked to Doctor Wawruch that, if anyone could save him from the oblivion of death, « his name would be “ Wonderful ” ! » . He had been referring to the “ Messiah ” but, in a curious way, his prophecy would yet come true : in 1863, persons unknown had kept-out a few precious fragments of the composer's skull (to save them from the oblivion of decay and disintegration) and given them to Doctor Romeo Seligmann, known to his friends simply as, « Wonderful » .

### Beethoven's doctors

During his lifetime, Beethoven called upon a number of doctors in the hope of finding a cure for his health problems and in particular his hearing troubles which, despite the treatments, progressed to profound deafness. The composer had frequent arguments, with many points of provocation from a refusal of certain practitioners to assume their responsibilities.

### BERTOLINI Andreas

Assistant to Doctor Malfatti, he became Beethoven's friend in 1806 and his medical advisor between 1808 and 1816, when he quarreled with the composer at his lodgings over a difference of opinion on a professional and musical subject. Beethoven appreciated his refined personality, his musical advice, and his quality of life. In 1831, struck by cholera and believing himself doomed, he decided to destroy all his correspondence with Beethoven for, he said, fear of contamination, but more likely from fear of making his personal documents public.

### BRAUNHOFFER Anton

Professor of Natural History and medical technology at the University of Vienna, medical practitioner, adept at dietetics, he cared for Beethoven between 1820 and the start of 1826. He was a strong influence on Beethoven's way of life and took a great interest in the duration and progression of his illness in the spring of 1825. A disagreement arose between them for an unknown reason and Braunhoffer did not respond to the requests of the gravely ill composer's friends to attend his bedside on his return from Gneixendorf at the beginning of December 1826. Beethoven dedicated 2 canons to him : « Doktor, sperrt das Tor dem Tod » (WoO 189) in May 1825 ; and « Ich war hier, Doktor » (WoO 190) in June 1825.

### von BREUNING Gerhard (1813-1892)



While there isn't much to say about Gerhard von Breuning, he was an important part of his friend's life. He was very close to Beethoven from a young age, to which he paid daily visits at his home in the last years of his life, from 1825 to 1827 ; he was not present at the time of his death. He became a private practitioner much appreciated in Vienna. He was the son of Stephen von Breuning (1774-1827) , a childhood friend of Beethoven's, and Constance Rushowitz. In 1874, he published a collection of memoirs on Beethoven titled « Aus dem Schwarzspanierhaus » .

### FRANK Johann Peter (1742-1821)

Originally from Zweibrücken (Sarre) , he completed his medical studies at Göttingen and Pavia, where he was named professor and director of medical studies in 1785. His professional and scientific reputation took on a further responsibility in 1795 with the direction of the General Hospital and health services of the poor in Vienna. His medical works on health-care and preventative medicine date from this time. A victim of hostility and intrigues, he left Vienna in 1805 and accepted a professorial chair at Vilna in Lithuania ; in addition, he was called to St. Petersburg to serve as the private physician to Tsar Alexander Ist, Emperor of Russia. In 1808, he returned to Vienna. Napoléon Bonaparte conquered Schönbrunn and, in 1809, offered him a post in Paris, but he declined. He was Beethoven's doctor from 1800 to 1809.

His son Joseph (1771-1841) , doctor and composer, organized frequent musical « soirées » in Beethoven's honour. In 1798, he married Crisina Gerhards, a talented soprano and enthusiastic admirer of Beethoven's works.

### MALFATTI MONTE REGGIO Giovanni (1775-1859)

Born in Lucca, Tuscany, he completed his medical studies in Bologna and Pavia, and then, in Vienna in 1779, under the tutelage of Professor Johann Peter Frank. On his arrival in Vienna, he was named assistant chief-doctor of the General Hospital, until 1804, the date in which he changed to private practice. He was always greatly appreciated for his knowledge and kindness. He was the personal physician to the Archduchess Beatrix von Este and the Archduke Karl, likewise for the great number of foreign diplomats present for the Congress of Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. His notoriety led to him taking the presidency of the Medical Society of Vienna, of which he was one of the founders. He is the author of many medical works, such as « Entwurf einer Pathogenie » which became a reference work. He was ennobled in 1837. He made the acquaintance of Beethoven in 1797, through their mutual friend Baron Ignaz von Gleichenstein, and became his physician in 1809 on the death of Professor Schmidt. He remained so until a misunderstanding led to a rupture in the friendship in 1816. Doctor Malfatti was called to the bedside of the gravely ill Beethoven at the beginning of 1827. Beethoven dedicated a small cantata to him « Un lieto brindisi » (WoO 103) , composed for his birthday.

### SCHMIDT Johann Adam (1759-1809)

Born in Aub (near Würzburg) , he began his medical career as an army surgeon. He was named Professor of Anatomy at the « Medizinisch-chirurgische Josephs-Akademie » in Vienna in 1789. This institution, created by Emperor Josef II in 1786, was also called the « Josephinum » . He was a Royal and Imperial advisor and a respected doctor, particularly

in the field of ophthalmology. The publication of a number of medical articles contributed to his scientific reputation. A long term friend of Franz Gerhard Wegeler, who later wrote a Beethoven biography, the composer trusted him and appreciated his advice and his care. He cared for Beethoven until his death in February 1809. In his « Heiligenstadt Testament » , Beethoven appealed to Doctor Schmidt to describe his malady to the world after his death. He was also known as a violinist of talent. Beethoven dedicated the Trio for piano, violin and cello in E-flat major, Opus 38 (arrangement of the Septet, Opus 20) to him.

### SEIBERT Johann (1782-1846)

Professor and principal surgeon at the General Hospital of Vienna, he performed the abdominal punctures on Beethoven at his home in the last months of his life.

### von SMETANA Carl (1774-1827)

Renowned surgeon and ophthalmologist of Vienna, he was consulted by Beethoven many times in 1819 in regard to his hearing difficulties, and again, at the end of his life for his sight troubles. He operated on a hernia for Karl, the composer's nephew, in 1816. Beethoven called upon him for advice on Karl's failed suicide attempt in the summer of 1826. He was a State advisor.

### von STAUDENHEIMER Jakob (Ritter) (1764-1830)

Born in Mayence, he received his formative medical training in Paris (and in chemistry under the direction of Antoine Fourcroy) and in Augsburg. He continued his studies in Vienna under the authority of the celebrated clinician Maximilian Stoll. A practitioner of great renown, he was personal physician to Emperor Francis I. It was while staying with the Imperial family in Bohemia in 1812 that he made the acquaintance of Beethoven and gave him health advice. He became his doctor in 1817. Adept at the usage of the baths, he recommended cures in Baden, where Beethoven stayed many times. The frequent oppositions and divergences between the 2 men, rising in particular from Beethoven's non-cooperation in his doctor's recommendations to abstain from alcoholic beverages, dotted all their meetings until the relationship ruptured at the end of 1824. This is the reason for Staudenheimer not responding to the calls of Beethoven's prodigal family to treat Beethoven in December 1826. In 1821, he was attached to the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoléon Ier and Empress Marie-Louise.

### von VERING Gerhard (Ritter) (1755-1823)

Born in Ösede (Westphalia) , he received his early medical training in Germany, France and England. A military surgeon, he became the director of the Health Institute of the hospitals of Vienna from 1797 to 1809. He was medical advisor to Emperor Josef II. He became Beethoven's doctor at the beginning of his hearing difficulties in the summer of 1801. His daughter Julie, a talented pianist, married Stephen von Breuning in 1808, the childhood friend of Beethoven. She died a year later.

## WAGNER Johann (1800-1832)

Assistant pathologist at the Museum of Pathology in Vienna, he performed the autopsy on Beethoven at his home in the « Schwarzschanerhaus » on March 27, 1827, and wrote-up the procedure in Latin. He was named professor of pathology in 1829 but died 3 years later. During the anatomical investigation, he was accompanied by the young assistant Doctor Carl von Rokitansky (1804-1878) who was named professor at the University of Vienna in 1834. The latter achieved fame through his original scientific works which pioneered modern anatomical pathology.

...

Doctor Johann Wagner, an assistant-physician at the Museum of Pathology in Vienna, performed an autopsy on Ludwig van Beethoven the following day. He did not describe any significant abnormalities in the chest cavity but found evidence of advanced cirrhosis in the abdomen :

« There were 4 quarts of a cloudy grayish-brown liquid spread throughout the abdominal cavity. The liver appeared shrunk to half its volume, hard as leather, greenish-blue in colour, and infested with pea-sized nodules on its bumpy surface as well as inside the organ itself (...) The gallbladder contained a dark brown liquid together with numerous gritty gallstones. The spleen appeared twice the normal size, was black and rough ; in the same way, the pancreas also seemed larger and harder, and its excretory duct was the width of a goose feather quill (...) »

Both kidneys contained small stones and showed changes consistent with infection.

Wagner's dissection and description of the auditory apparatus failed to delineate a specific cause for Beethoven's deafness.

He wrote :

« The external acoustic canal appeared covered with shiny flakes of skin, especially toward the hidden eardrum.”  
Wagner further elaborated :

(...) The Eustachian tube [connecting the middle ear to the throat] was very thick, its mucous lining was swollen and somewhat constricted toward the bony portion of the tube. Some pitted scars could be seen at the opening of the tube and by the tonsils. The air spaces of the mastoid process (a part of the temporal bone immediately behind the ear canal) , which was large and not marked by any indentation, were covered with a bloody mucous lining. The entire petrosal bone [which houses the middle and inner-ears] was permeated by a system of large vessels and displayed a similar blood-filled character, especially in the vicinity of the cochlea (part of the hearing apparatus) , whose posterior wall membrane appeared to be slightly reddened.

The facial nerves were unusually thick ; the auditory nerves, on the other hand, were shriveled and unmyelinated and the arteries that ran alongside were extended to the width of a raven's quill and made-up a mass of tissue. The left

auditory nerve was much thinner and emerged in 3 extremely thin gray furrows, the right one in a thicker clear white furrow, out of the 4th ventricle of the brain, whose substance here was firmer and more vascular. The convolutions of the brain, which was otherwise spongy and much softer, appeared to be much deeper and more numerous than normal.

The bone of the skullcap was uniformly dense and had a thickness of about half an inch (...) »

The bones housing the auditory organs were sawed out and placed in the care of a laboratory assistant at the Pathological-Anatomical Museum of the University of Vienna. Strangely, no record of the specimens has been found in the registry of this institution, but observers remembered seeing them there. Rumours circulated that the assistant later sold the relics to a foreign doctor for an undisclosed sum of money, thus removing them from scientific scrutiny.

The Wagner autopsy became an important document from both the processes it described and those it did not include. For example, changes of syphilis, a common, well-defined infection known to most medical practitioners of that time, were not mentioned. The hearing organ was described somewhat but its detailed structure and the tiny bones transmitting sound through the middle ear to this organ escaped comment. This glaring omission and loss of the actual ear parts for further analysis essentially eliminated a chance to determine the specific cause of Beethoven's deafness.

On **Thursday March 29, 1827**, approximately 20,000 people turned out for Beethoven's funeral. His remains were interred in a grave-yard in the Viennese district of Währing and several layers of brick and stone were laid over the wooden coffin to thwart an alleged plot to steal the composer's skull. A little over one year later, the remains of Franz Schubert would be buried close to those of Beethoven, the man he idolized. In 1863, both composers' bodies were disinterred for better preservation in new zinc caskets. Schubert's exhumation was uneventful, but it took 8 hours to remove the layers of brick and stone over Beethoven's coffin. During these activities, the remains were subjected to detailed measurements, and both skulls were photographed and cast. One of the investigators, Franz Seligmann, secreted away 3 pieces of Beethoven's skull, which eventually passed to his son, Albert. A pathological study of these skull fragments by Hans Bankl and Hans Jesserer in 1987 found no significant abnormalities other than slightly increased thickening. In 1888, the remains of the composers were disinterred once more for transfer to the Musicians' Grove of Honour in Vienna Central Cemetery, where they rest today.

### Beethoven's abdominal symptoms

The origins of the abdominal complaints, which Beethoven and others reported during the last 4 decades of his life, were not conclusively revealed by his autopsy. Definitively identifying possible causes would require sophisticated pre- and post-mortem laboratory examinations not available during his lifetime. His 2 exhumations shed no additional light on this complex medical problem. During the intervening years, scholars have proposed many disease processes to include and explain all of his symptoms but none has been convincing.

### Biliary colic and pancreatitis :

The presence of gallstones and an enlarged, firm pancreas documented during Beethoven's autopsy provides a possible, though unlikely, source for the composer's chronic abdominal pain. Colic caused by gallstone irritation or obstruction of the biliary tract usually occurs rapidly, localizes to the right upper-part of the abdomen and may be associated with nausea and vomiting. It tends to last a few hours and subsides just as rapidly, unless complicated by infection or pancreatitis. The pain of associated pancreatic inflammation often is felt in the central or left upper-abdomen with radiation to the back. Pancreatitis can progress to a chronic state with long periods of associated abdominal discomfort that typically does not have a colicky element. Undoubtedly, briefer periods of abdominal pain experienced by Beethoven could have been due to the post-mortem abnormalities seen in his pancreatico-biliary system.

### **Inflammatory bowel disease :**

Crohn's disease (regional enteritis) , an inflammation of the bowel, has no known cause and can affect any part of the gastro-intestinal tract. It tends to develop in the second or third decade of life and may persist for many years. Bouts of abdominal pain, fever and diarrhea can be followed by symptom-free periods, but the disease tends to worsen progressively. Typically, the small bowel shows areas of inflammation with narrowing and resultant obstruction. Complications like perforation and fistula formation (an abnormal communication with adjacent organs or skin) are relatively common. Extra-gastro-intestinal manifestations, such as skin lesions, inflammation of the eyes, arthritis, hepatitis and pancreatitis, occur in approximately 1/3 of patients. In long-standing cases, cancer of the bowel is a distinct threat.

Beethoven's abdominal complaints never included bowel crises such as obstruction or perforation. His eye and sporadic musculo-skeletal complaints, which can be seen with regional enteritis, were non-specific and self-limited. Because characteristic intestinal lesions were not found during the composer's autopsy, Crohn's disease is an unlikely cause of Beethoven's abdominal problems.

Ulcerative colitis, another inflammatory bowel disease, also of unknown origin, often develops during the 3rd and 4th decades. In contrast to Crohn's disease, which can involve many areas of the gastro-intestinal tract, ulcerative colitis affects primarily the colon and rectum. It is characterized by abdominal pain, severe diarrhea and rectal bleeding. Joint inflammation and a type of spinal arthritis can complicate this illness, but Beethoven's musculo-skeletal symptoms do not seem to be compatible with these conditions. Long-standing cases of ulcerative colitis pose a risk for the development of colo-rectal cancer and immediate life-threatening complications such as perforation and bleeding. Beethoven's abdominal complaints do not match the usual presentation of ulcerative colitis, and his autopsy mentioned no colonic lesions.

### **Infectious processes :**

Infectious diseases such as brucellosis, typhoid fever and typhus can produce abdominal complaints like those described by Beethoven, but they usually do not persist for long periods. Although he was exposed to tuberculosis by his mother and brother Casper Carl, he showed no evidence of the disease in life or at the time of autopsy. Manifestations of other infectious intestinal diseases common during Beethoven's time do not match his protracted clinical course.

### WAWRUCH Andreas Ignaz (1773-1842)

Born in Niemczicz (Moravia) on November 22, 1773 (the dates of his birth vary in his biographies : 1771 and 1782) , he completed his studies in philosophy and theology at Olmütz then re-orientated to medicine at the University of Prague. After his medical graduation, he completed his scientific training in Vienna under the renowned clinician Professor Johann von Hildenbrand. In 1811, he received honours in history and medical literature in Vienna and taught Latin. The following year, he was named full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») of pathology and pharmacology at the University of Prague where he was known and appreciated as the most popular teacher. His wide popularity meant that he was called to Vienna in 1829 to become director of a medical clinic and teach pathology and therapy of internal illness at the University. His career continued until his death on March 21, 1842. He has many scientific publications on infectious pathology and parasites to his name. He was a member of the Imperial Medical Society. An enthusiastic musician and cellist of repute, he was a great admirer of the music of Beethoven. He was called to his bedside on December 5, 1826, and lavished attentive care upon the composer until his death. Sometime later, he published a circumstantial report on the Master's illness entitled « Ärztlicher Rückblick auf Ludwig van Beethovens letzte Lebenspoche » . The report appeared in the « Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theatre und Mode » edition of April 30, 1842, and was dated May 20, 1827.

### WEGELER Franz Gerhard (1765-1848)

There is a lot to say about Franz Gerhard Wegeler. Born in Bonn on 22 August 1765, of Alsatian parents, he began his medical studies in Cologne and completed them in Vienna where he was made a doctor of medicine in September 1789. On his return to Bonn, he was quickly entrusted with a teaching position and was then promoted successively to professor, dean and rector. In 1794, on the decision of the occupying French authorities, the university was closed, which led Wegeler to seek refuge in Vienna for 2 years (1794-1796) . After this time, he resumed his teaching at the central maternity school in Bonn which he left in 1807 to begin private practice in Koblenz. Again, he accepted official responsibilities and became medical advisor to the government in 1814, eventually taking his retirement in 1842. He died in 1848, at the age of 83. It was fortuitous that he made the acquaintance of the young Ludwig van Beethoven in 1782. He remained very close to him until 1787, the date of his first departure for Vienna. It was through his mediation that Beethoven entered into the close relationship with the von Breuning family whose daughter Eleanor (called Lorchen) Wegeler married in 1802. Throughout his life, Beethoven maintained regular epistolary contact with Wegeler. In 1838, Wegeler and Ries published their own Ludwig van Beethoven biography under the title « Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven » , followed in 1845 by a complementary volume by Wegeler alone.

### WEISSENBACH Aloys (1766-1821)

Born in Telfs (Tyrol) , he participated in the war against France as a surgeon and was named professor of surgery and chief-doctor at the Hospital of St. John in Salzburg. He met Beethoven in Vienna in 1814 at the time of a scientific residence. Weissenbach published his memoirs and assertions on the deafness of the composer. This particular Ludwig van Beethoven biography was published under the title « Meine Reize zum Kongress, Vienna 1816 » . An amateur playwright and poet, he also eventually became deaf.

## Sierning : « Gasthof Wimmer »

The name « Forsthueb » appears for the first time in 1780 in the « Book of the Passion » (Linz Archives) . « Forsthueb » was the Court domain of Sierning.

Count Lamberg of Steyr will invite Emperor Franz-Josef, Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria-Este and Prince László to participate in hunting-games on his vast domain of « Forsthof » . Military maneuvers of the Imperial Army will take place on 2 occasions on the Count's lands, in the presence of high-officers : General Fieder, Archduke Franz-Salvator and Archduke Charles (the future Emperor of Austria) .

During his frequent visits to Sierning, Anton Bruckner was always glad to stay at the « Gasthof Wimmer » , established on the forest lands of Count Lamberg of Steyr. The building was acquired in 1827 by Ignaz Wimmer, the first mayor in the history of the town (1850-1860) .

Josef Werndl (1831-1889) , the Father of the Steyr workers, was also a frequent guest there.

Bruckner will have a big crush on the inn-keeper's daughter. He would dedicate to her a charming song (now lost) composed around 1885 :

« The Rose » (« Die Rose » , **WAB deest 20**) .

In 1868, August Wimmer, the son of Ignaz, married Maria Quereder, daughter of the owner of the « Gasthaus Maria-Theresien » . August will be himself mayor of Sierning from 1874 to 1876.

In 1898, Franz Baumschlager married the young Augustine Wimmer, daughter of August and Maria. Since then, the Baumschlager family has run the « Gasthof Forsthof » (« Landhotel Forsthof ») .

## Mayors of Sierning

**17 August 1850** : Ignaz Wimmer

**1 January 1855** : Felix Lippert

**2 February 1861** : Franz Wolfsjäger

**13 July 1864** : Gottfried Wimmer

**17 July 1870** : Josef Wegscheider

**13 July 1873** : August Wimmer

**10 July 1876** : Georg Arbehthuber

**13 July 1879** : Johann Bräuer

**18 July 1888** : Johann Bräuer

**1 July 1894** : Karl Wiesner

**9 July 1906** : Karl Wiesner

**16 February 1909** : Friedrich Bauernnebel

### Steyr : Bruckner and Josef Werndl

The Austrian inventor, industrial pioneer and weapons manufacturer Josef Wendl was born on 26 February 1831 in Steyr, Upper-Austria.

He was the son of Leopold Werndl and Josefa Anna Werndl (born Müller) .

Husband of Karoline Antonia Werndl.

Father of Josef Carl Werndl (born on 13 August 1856) ; Caroline von Imhof (born on 14 August 1859) ; and Anna von Lamberg (born on 23 December 1861) .

Brother of Leopold Dominik Seraphin Werndl ; Baron von Buddenbrock (Werndl) ; Roman Werndl ; Eduard Werndl ; Philomena Werndl ; Cäcilia Werndl ; Franz Werndl ; Rosa Gschaider ; Johann Werndl ; Maria Victoria Werndl ; and Ludwig Werndl.

Josef was the son of weapons maker Leopold Werndl and his wife Josefa Müller. He was apprentice-miller in Prague and Vienna before completing a long study-tour across England, Thuringia and finally in the United States, at the Remington and Colt fire-arms factories. On his return in 1855, he and his mother took-over the management of the « Josef und Franz Werndl & Company, Waffenfabrik und Sägemühle » .

Since the 14th Century, the Upper-Austrian city of Steyr is known as an important metallurgical centre and is known for his famous gunsmiths. In the middle of the 17th Century, thousands of muskets, pistols, and rifles were produced annually for the Imperial Army of the Habsburgs. In the second half of the 19th Century, the economic situation in Steyr was considered critical but the arrival of Josef Werndl gave a serious boost to the region.

Werndl built homes, schools, a dispensary and a swimming-pool for his workers (he was the founder of the local swimming school) . The working-class sector was partly preserved, especially in the Wehrgraben district.



Werndl built the first hydro-electric power stations in Austria, and thus, the town of Steyr was the first agglomeration in the Alps equipped with electricity.

Anton Bruckner, who spent many summer vacations in Steyr, met Josef Werndl at the local tavern (they also had the opportunity to meet in St. Florian) .

Werndl was a member of the « Steyrer Liedertafel » which was often conducted by Bruckner (who was named honorary member) .

The town of Steyr was proud to have a « Gesellschaft Musikverein » , a Men's Choir, the « Liedertafel » and an excellent Church Choir (under the directorship of Bruckner's friend, Franz Xaver Bayer) .

The « Stadtpfarrkirche » Franz Xaver Chrismann organ (built in 1772) was often played by Bruckner.

Steyr was the birthplace of the 8th and 9th Symphonies.

Bruckner considered to be buried there (in case this is not possible at St. Florian) .

Hair-dresser and dialect poet Josef (« Sepp ») Stöger collected Bruckner's hair in the hope of ... posthumous fame !

On Good Friday, 1889, Josef Werndl contracted a pleurisy while trying to get to Letten (a commune of the town of Sierning) in an open horse-drawn cabriolet - despite of pouring rain !

He died on April 29, at 5:45 am, in his Villa in Petzengütl. He was buried at the cemetery of Mount Tabor in Steyr.

### Steyr : Mayor Georg Pointner

Steyr Mayor Georg Pointner developed a very special relationship with Anton Bruckner (Pointner was an old school teacher ...) .

When he lived in Vienna, Bruckner was a frequent guest at the Mayor's residence during his summer vacations.

Pointner was President of the Red Cross Society and co-founder of the « Steyrer Liedertafel » . He was also elected as honorary member of many other Societies.

...

Georg Pointner was born in 1819 in the town of Gramastetten, in the Mühlviertel. His father was a linen weaver and small house owner. After attending the local « Volksschule » (Elementary school) , he studied at the Linz « Hauptschule » (Secondary school) , then attended the « Kaiserlich-Königlich Präparandie » (Imperial and Royal Teacher-Training

College) located at « Hofgasse » Number 23. From 1838 to 1850, he taught in various parishes, including the town of Gleink. During a short time, he worked for the municipal services of Losensteinleithen and Gleink. He finally became director of the law firm of notary Franz Kiderle and was elected « Burgmeister » of Gleink. In 1870, Pointner left to become director of a real estate agency in Steyr. He was elected at the Town Council and occupied the post of Chairman of the legal department.

**Monday, 16 June 1879** : Georg Pointner is unanimously elected as the new « Burgmeister » of Steyr after the death of Mayor Moritz Crammer.

Important dates covering his 3 mandates (1879-1888) :

**1880** : Steyr celebrates its 900th Year of foundation. Emperor Franz-Josef attends the festivities.

**1884** : Steyr holds a Great commercial exhibition. Electric lighting appears on the single streets.

**1882-1883** : Construction of the « House for the Poors » on « Sierninger-Straße » .

**1882-1883** : Construction of the school building which will house the Imperial-Royal College and Experimental Institute for Iron and Steel Processing (« Kaiserlich-Königlich Fachschule und Versuchsanstalt für Eisen- und Stahlbearbeitung ») on « Schwimmschulstraße » .

**1882-1883** : Construction of the military barracks (« Jägerkaserne ») and Officers' Pavilion (« Offiziersgebäude ») on « Schlüsselhofgasse » .

**1882-1883** : Construction of the Steyr Valley Railway (« Steyrtalbahn ») from Garsten to Grünburg.

A 760 millimeters (2 feet and 5 15/16 inches) narrow gauge railway in Upper-Austria, which ran along the valley of the River Steyr from Garsten through Steyr, Grünburg and Molln to Klaus, with a branch-line to Sierning and Bad Hall.

...

**Friday, 23 March 1888** : Georg Pointner leaves his post as First Magistrate due to illness.

**Saturday, 20 January 1900** : Death of Georg Pointner. He is buried in a crypt in the oldest part of the Steyr Cemetery.

## Awards

**August 1880** : Honorary citizen of the City of Steyr.

**1881** : Knights' Cross of the Order of Franz-Josef.

**1884** : Imperial Councillor.

### Linz : The Mayfeld's

Anton Bruckner's friends in Linz included the government official (District Governor) Moritz von Mayfeld, whose wife Barbara (« Betty ») , a pianist, helped him in artistic and social matters. Moritz has forged friendship with Bruckner after his appointment as organist at Linz cathedral.

The couple lived in Linz, from 1859 to 1873 ; and they both were very fond of Bruckner, considering him a close friend and a gifted composer. Bruckner often visited them at Schwamenstadt, in Upper-Austria.

During musical evenings at their residence, they will give him more in-depth knowledge of the works of Ludwig van Beethoven, including the late Piano Sonatas.

Bruckner derived great pleasure from listening the Mayfeld's playing the Beethoven Symphonies in piano-duet versions. They gave him immense encouragement when his first truly original compositions began to appear in the 1860's.

One day, in Linz, Moritz von Mayfeld pointed-out to Bruckner that he used too many pauses in his Symphonies.

A little annoyed, the composer replied :

« But look at “ Herr ” Beethoven, who also pause at the beginning of the 5th, and again just after ! »

On one occasion, Bruckner refused to listen to Moritz playing piano pieces from other composers, fearing that it might disturb his « primary mission » .

The couple will also attempt to instill the basics of « étiquette » but Bruckner will remain indifferent. He was proud to speak his Upper-Austrian provincial dialect in social gatherings ignoring the reaction of intellectuals.

### Moritz von Mayfeld

The provincial district commissioner, composer, pianist, painter, writer, journalist and music-critic, Baron Friedrich Moritz (« Maurice ») Franz Edler von Mayfeld was born on 1 February 1817 in Vienna and died on 31 August 1904 in Schwanenstadt, Upper-Austria.

**1839** : Graduates from Law school and he becomes a Government official.

**1840-1850** : District Governor at the Vienna Woods' Regional Office.

**From 1848 until his death** : Lived in Schwanenstadt.

**Monday, 9 October 1848 to Wednesday, 30 May 1849** : Moritz von Mayfeld is elected a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Parliament) representing the 13th electoral District of Enns, Upper-Austria. His constituency office was at the « Hotel Württemberger » (« Württemberger Hof »), in the town of Waidhofen an der Thaya.

**1850-1851 and 1859-1873** : District Governor in Linz.

**1851** : Moritz von Mayfeld married Barbara (« Betty ») (« née » Edle von Jenny), the daughter of a textile manufacturer living in Schwanenstadt. She was a talented amateur pianist.

**1851-1854** : District Governor of Braunau-am-Inn.

**1854-1860** : District Governor of Ried-im-Innkreis (« Kreiskomissar 3. Klasse », in Kreisbehörde Ried) .

**1873-1880** : District Governor of Vöcklabruck, Upper-Austria.

Then, he retired as a Provincial civil servant.

### Barbara von Mayfeld

Baroness Barbara (« Betty ») von Mayfeld (Maiden name ; Edle von Jenny) was born on 15 May 1832 in Schwanenstadt, Upper-Austria ; and died on 13 June 1908 in Schwanenstadt. The daughter of a textile manufacturer from Schwanenstadt, she was an accomplished and talented amateur pianist. She studied composition and also received tuition in piano performance from Bruckner (during his « Linz Period ») . In 1851, she married Moritz von Mayfeld in St. James parish church (« Pfarrkirche St. Jakob ») in Schwanenstadt.

One day, « Betty » will say about Bruckner's over-broad pants :

« Did you make these clothes yourself or did you have them cut by a joiner ? »

But even such pointed remarks seem to have made very little impression on the stubborn Bruckner whose Upper-Austrian dress sense was a source of much amusement.

### Linz : General Hospital

The municipality of Linz faced a series of new challenges : the entire social administration, schools, communal housing construction and the administration of services in a narrower sense. The latter includes the entire city's economic operations and « city technology » . The growth of the city presented a great challenge to the local authorities in terms of hygiene.

Epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhus and tuberculosis, from which Linz was not spared, marked a starting-point. The level of medical knowledge at the time recognized the need for a sewage system and a central water main. Thus, particular emphasis was placed on the construction of sewers and water mains in the second half of the 19th Century.

Gas and, later, electricity provision were further innovations in terms of city technology. The construction of a gas works in Linz, in 1857, was primarily intended to supply public lighting. Electricity, on the other hand, was to power the trams. In this area, too, Linz was at the fore-front of the Monarchy.

The growth in population demanded the construction of new schools on the one hand, and an extension of support for the poor on the other. Barracks were intended to guarantee internal security. A regular police force took-over the register and passport administration in 1866. The city's infrastructure was further strengthened by the construction of the General Hospital in 1863 and the establishment of a voluntary fire force in 1866.

**1863-1866** : Construction of the Linz General Hospital, although it does not become operational until 1868.

**Tuesday, 15 September 1863** : The foundation stone for the Linz General Hospital is laid.

**1865** : 1 doctor and 4 employees take-over.

### The classy and humble high-school teacher

Anton Bruckner was extremely curious and hard-working. As collegiate organist in St. Florian, he had acquired the basic concepts in Latin, in order to fully grasp the meaning of the hymns and to set them accordingly to music. In Linz, he continued his Latin studies.

**1864** : As high-school teacher, he had a very brilliant student in his 7th grade classroom, whose father could be living with ease for years. Nevertheless, Bruckner's respect, here, for spiritual knowledge and his humility before all those who were somehow superior to him was so touching that he, the 40 year old cathedral and famous organ virtuoso, always addressed this 17 year old as ... « Professor » !

### First visit at Kreuzen

**Summer 1864** : 2 local Upper-Austrian newspapers report that Anton Bruckner stays for the first time at Kreuzen (according to the letter of 10 October 1864, Anton Bruckner expected Rudolf Weinwurm in August) .

The first signs of Bruckner's illness (which presented itself with a strong tendency towards recurrence, whose symptoms manifested themselves at a psychological-mental, as well as physical level) appeared, according to various indications, in the year 1864. Commenting on Bruckner's « melancholy » , in his letter of **6 August 1864**, to Rudolf Weinwurm, the biography by August Göllerich and Max Auer speaks of « The beginning of a crisis » , which « several years later, would reach its climax and solution through a severe illness » . According to Max von Oberleitner, Bruckner (being in a « critical state ») sought Kreuzen for cold water-cure in summer of 1864, thus, in the year that Auer says was the

beginning of his crisis.

### Christmas Day : Official Town Hall lunch

**Sunday, 25 December 1864** : (Invitation-card in bold print.) Anton Bruckner is invited on Christmas Day by the Mayor of Linz, Reinhold Körner, for an official lunch at the « Altes Rathaus » (Old Town Hall) on the « Hauptplatz » (main-square) .

« The mayor of the provincial capital of Linz asks his homeland citizen, “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner, to honour him with his presence on the 25th of December, 1864, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

Hôtel Krebs. »

...

A Liberal merchant, Reinhold Körner (born 11 March 1803 ; died 11 February 1873) became the first constitutional elected Mayor (in an extravagant ceremony ...) whose office was laid-down by a constitution.

**30 July 1848 - 11 August 1850** : Provisional Chairman of the Local Council.

**11 August 1850 - 21 March 1854** : Liberal Mayor (first mandate) .

**3 February 1861 - 31 March 1867** : Liberal Mayor (second mandate) .

### Munich : « Tristan und Isolde »

**Monday, 15 May 1865** : The premiere of Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » in Munich will be postponed due to the illness of soprano « Frau » Malvina Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Anton Bruckner stays at the Hotel « 4 Seasons » . Ludwig Speidel and Johann Herbeck were also in Munich for the event.

**After 15 May 1865** : Anton Bruckner meets the Russian pianist, composer and conductor Anton Rubinstein at the Hotel « 4 Seasons » in Munich. He shows him the 1st movement of his Symphony No. 1 (**WAB 101**) , and introduces him to Hans von Bülow. Bruckner is invited each evening by Richard Wagner.

Bruckner informs himself daily of the health-condition of soprano « Frau » Malvina Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

### Snoozing during the B minor Sonata

As a promising young composer, Johannes Brahms was introduced to the great Franz Liszt in Weimar who promptly played Brahms' Piano Sonata in C at a house recital, heaping praise on the young whipper-snapper. Liszt then played

his own Piano Sonata in B minor to which Brahms fell asleep.

### Franz Liszt's bad dental record

Bad dentistry in the 19th Century turned Franz Liszt in old age from the most beautiful man in the world to one of the orcs in « Lord of the Rings ». It also had a drastic effect on what food he could enjoy. While staying with his vegetarian son-in-law for the Bayreuth premiere of « Tristan und Isolde », he was sent a smoked veal cutlet in apricot sauce by Richard and Cosima. Unable to chew, Liszt passed the cutlet to his devoted pupil Lina Schmalhausen, who gave it to her dog while she cooked him some broth. Liszt didn't help his cause by grinding his teeth together when excited at the piano and he got through several sets of dentures. As age took its toll, he became partial to asparagus because he could eat it without putting said dentures in, though even this most amenable of foods became something of an ordeal in the composer's final months - deteriorating vision meant that, at a London banquet held in his honour in 1886, Liszt had to be helped out by Winston Churchill's mother, Jennie (Jerome), as he could not see the plate.

...

Franz Liszt had suffered from chronic dental disease for much of his adult life. He had had a partial set of upper false teeth made in Paris in 1864 by the famous American dentist Thomas Evans. It contained 5 teeth, including the 2 front ones. Liszt evidently had pyorrhoea, and his teeth often loosened and fell-out. His condition was aggravated by the fact that he often unconsciously ground his teeth, possibly because of excitement while playing the piano, and some teeth were impacted. (This first denture came into the possession of Henrik Gobbi in the 1870's.) Liszt's gum-disease progressed, and, during the next 15 years, he lost still more teeth. He had a second upper-denture made, this time in Budapest by Professor József Árkövy, in the period 1879-1880. It contained 8 teeth, including 5 in the front, with a supporting metal brace. Liszt was friendly with the Árkövy family and often visited them at their home in Franciscan Square. According to « Frau » Árkövy, her husband made Liszt a complete set of false-teeth in 1883. It is clear that dental disease was a difficult burden for Liszt to carry with him into old age. It affected many aspects of his daily life and resulted in a highly-restricted diet of soft foods. Liszt's friends and pupils understood his problems, and whenever they entertained him to a meal were careful to supervise the cooking. But there were times, as at Bayreuth, when Liszt was at the mercy of people who were too busy or too indifferent to care. During his last 10 days, Liszt complained of extreme soreness of the lower-jaw.

### Dentist József Árkövy

József Árkövy was born on 8 February 1851 in Budapest and died in 1922. Professor of clinical dentistry at the University of Budapest. He graduated in 1876 from the university of his native city, and then, went to London, where for several years, he practised in the German Hospital. In 1881, he established a clinical hospital at Budapest, which was amalgamated in 1890 with the general clinics as the « Department of Dentistry ». Árkövy is the pioneer of scientific dentistry in Hungary, and the author of several works on the subject, the more important of which are : « A Fogak Gondozása » (1881) ; « A Fogbél és Gyökhártya Bántalmak » (1884) ; and « Diagnostic der Zahnkrankheiten »

(1885) . He has also published several essays in Hungarian, German, and English dental journals. Árkövy has been baptized.

### Bruckner and the « Gugelhupf »

During his last years in Linz, Anton Bruckner taught piano and voice lessons to the daughter of a government councilor. The whole family sometimes joined him in the afternoon during the coffee-break. On such occasions, Bruckner's exaggerated courtesy seemed very involuntary but so very funny. He decided to control every sip of coffee and every piece of delicious refined marble cake (« Gugelhupf ») - otherwise, he would throw himself into the bowl like a voracious glutton. He thought that this restraint behaviour belonged to the « étiquette » of the rich and famous. Bruckner was so overly formal that the children sitting at the table giggled into their napkins.

When he was asked to eat in a more relaxed and conventional way, Bruckner, very embarrassed, finally gave this strange apology :

« Thanks a lot, thanks a thousand times. I was not comfortable, “ Herrin ” Baroness. I was so terrified ! »

A « Gugelhupf » (also « Kugelhupf » , « Guglhupf » , « Gugelhopf » , and, in France, « kouglof » , « kougelhof » , or « kougelhopf ») is a light, yeasted marble cake, traditionally baked in a distinctive circular Bundt mold. It is popular in a wide region of Central Europe, including southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland and Alsace.

In late Medieval Austria, a « Gugelhupf » was served at major community events such as weddings, and was decorated with flowers, leaves, candles, and seasonal fruits. The name persisted through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, eventually becoming standardized in Viennese cook-books as a refined, rich cake, flavoured with rosewater and almond. Many regional variations exist, testifying to the wide-spread popularity of the « Gugelhupf » tradition.

### « Nanni » in Linz

**1866** : Anton Bruckner's sister Maria-Anna, known as « Nanni » (the 11th and last child of the family, born on 27 June 1836) , will join him in Linz. She will act as a house-keeper (without pay) and confidante.

« Our sister Anna went to live with my brother Anton, in Linz, and then, in Vienna. She was our favourite. Mother has prayed a lot for her, even on her death-bed. She told Anton that he must now be responsible for her because she was a very fragile woman. So, my brother took care of her. »

(Ignaz Bruckner)

...



**1866** : Bruckner will attend, for the first time, a performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's 9th Symphony.

### Mahler's migraine

**1866** : Gustav Mahler (aged 6) has been suffering of migraine attacks since childhood.

### Josefine Lang

Neufelden is a town in the District of Rohrbach, Upper-Austria. Anton Bruckner often went there to visit his girlfriend Josefine Lang (1844-1930), the comely daughter of a Linz butcher. During summer cures, he always met her at the local spa where she was working.

Bruckner had first made her acquaintance at the end of the 1850's, when he was employed for a short time as a supply teacher at the local school and she was one of his pupils. He had, then, invited her to join the church-choir, had made friends with her brother Anton, and, eventually, plucked-up the courage to write to her on **Thursday, 16 August 1866**, making a formal proposal of marriage (the brother had certainly already informed her) .

He urged her to be completely honest and to give a definite « yes » or « no » !

« Sehr verehrtes, liebenswürdiges Fräulein ! Nicht als ob ich mich mit einer Ihnen befremdeten Angelegenheit an Sie, verehrtes Fräulein wenden würde, nein in der Überzeugung, daß Ihnen längst mein stilles, aber beständiges harren auf Sie bekannt ist, ergreife ich die Feder um Sie zu belästigen. Meine größte und innigste Bitte, die ich hiemit an Sie, Fräulein Josefine zu richten wage, ist, Fräulein Josefine wollen mir gütigst offen und aufrichtig Ihre letzte und endgiltige, aber auch ganz entscheidende Antwort schriftlich zu meiner künftigen Beruhigung mittheilen und zwar über die Frage Darf ich auf Sie hoffen und bei Ihren lieben Ältern um Ihre Hand werben ? oder ist es Ihnen nicht möglich aus Mangel an persönlicher Zuneigung mit mir den ehelichen Schritt zu thun ? »

(« Respected and lovable young lady ! Not that I wish to alienate you with my questions, dear friend. I take the pen to put an end to my long silence. Far from me, the idea to bother you. I venture to present to you, “ Fräulein ” Josefine, my greatest and sincere request. Your response will be decisive and soothing for my future. May I ask your dear parents for your hand ? Or is it quite impossible because of a lack of love on your part for me ? »)

The Langs declined, saying that, as a 17 year old, Josefine was really too young (20 years younger than Bruckner who will be 43 in September) .

She returned his presents : a prayer-notebook and a gold watch.

But the parents were happy to see their daughter marry, in **1870** , Josef Weilnböck, the son of the wealthy Commissioner of the District of Neufelden, Karl Weilnböck, rather than the penniless music composer ...

Although initially disappointed, Bruckner harboured no ill feelings.

One of Josefine's older sisters, Antonie (?-1863) , married Albert Stadler, a friend of Franz Schubert.

**Neufelden : « Gasthof Weilnböck » (Hotel Scherrer)**

**1217** : Velden Castle (« Schloß Velden ») was erected in Neufelden by the bishops of the diocese of Passau.

**1523** : The Neufelden Brewery was already mentioned as the brewing site of the Diocese of Passau. Parts of the cellar dates from this period.

**Until 1528** : Velden Castle was the property of the episcopal bishop of Velden and the province (« Land ») . Later, the building was transformed into a prison (« Neufelden Burggraben ») .

**Sunday, 31 May 1626** : Because of a horse, an altercation with the Bavarian garrison of Lembach provoked a strike by the farmers of the region. An investigation was initiated.

**Sunday, 17 May 1626** : 5 groups of pilgrims composed of converted farmers intervened in the conflict by besieging the public market. A group of 25 rebellious farmers killed 3 priests who were part of a procession, and also manhandled pastor Gries. Subsequently, they fled to Rohrbach Sarleinsbach to take refuge on the hill of Velden Castle. The next day, they besieged the Castle itself.

**Monday, 29 November 1649** : Creation of a municipal Brewery in the Market Town of Neufelden.

**1699** : Velden Castle was, for the most part, in ruins.

**1728** : 1,360 buckets of beer were produced by the municipal Brewery.

**1789** : Karl Wöb, who comes from the famous linen trade family, bought what was left of Velden Castle to build the new Town Hall (« Rathaus ») .

Following owners : Franz Zwierniza, Josef Karl Peßler (**1810**) , Gabriel Kobel Müller (**1825**) , Anton Löffler (**1826**) , the Weilnböck family (**1829 to 1900**) .

**1795 to 1797** : 3,033 buckets of beer were produced by the municipal Brewery.

**Thursday, 27 July 1865** : The municipal Brewery was purchased by the Scherrer couple (Martin and Theresia) . A dynasty of Brewers in Upper-Austria was born : « Brauerei Scherrer Neufelden » .

**Before 1926** : The municipal Brewery housed the « Gasthof Weilnböck » .

**1926** : The Weilnböck Inn became the Hotel Scherrer.

**1926-1927** : Franz Scherrer achieved a production of 4,123 hectoliters of beer.

**1950** : Renovations of Hotel Scherrer. A history museum was included.

### Henriette Reiter

At the beginning of 1866, Anton Bruckner had informed Rudolf Weinwurm of several improvements which had been made to his flat - at a cost of 300 Florins which he had to borrow from his insurance society. Was he thinking seriously about marriage and « putting his house in order », as it were, for such an eventuality ? After the disappointment of Josefine Lang's rejection of his suit, he immediately turned his attention to another sweet, nice, young lady, the 18 year old Henriette Reiter who worked in Steyr with the leather Master, named Turek. After, she went living with her mother, the owner of a flower-shop in the « Josefstadt » area of Vienna.

Having made further enquiries about her, through a friend in Steyr, Bruckner had been informed that her dowry would probably be of 3,000 Florins (100,000 euros) . As he calculated that this sum, combined with his present level of income, would not be sufficient to provide her with the standard of living to which she was accustomed, he asked Weinwurm to find-out more about her but, under no circumstances, to divulge his age. He considered that he looked younger than his 42 years !

Weinwurm replied by return of post, enclosing the necessary information, and Bruckner wrote again, mentioning both the Viennese girl and a girl from Salzburg whose name he would like Weinwurm to send.

### High-esteem for his St. Florian's teacher

**1866** : St. Florian's teacher Johann Nepomuk August von Dürrnberger spent some time in Grünburg near Steyr, possibly to recuperate from an illness. A letter which Bruckner sent him on his Name-Day is sufficient evidence of the high-esteem in which he still held him :

« It is an expression of gratitude for the trouble which you took with me when you were once my teacher. It also comes from my deep respect for your almost unparalleled fair-mindedness and the energy which you expended in pursuing what was obviously right. It is further an expression of love - in response to the love which particularly touched me through your goodwill and benevolence of which I was often the recipient. Under such circumstances, who would not avail himself of an opportunity of giving expression to his feelings ? ... May God keep you in health for many, many years, bless you and amply reward you ! So many of your pupils will echo that today ! I join my voice to theirs and have every reason to do it in a strong " forte " . »

### Hydro-therapy

Hydro-therapy (formerly called hydro-pathy) is a part of medicine, in particular of naturopathy, occupational therapy and physiotherapy, that involves the use of water for pain relief and treatment. The term encompasses a broad range of approaches and therapeutic methods that take advantage of the physical properties of water, such as temperature and pressure, for therapeutic purposes, to stimulate blood circulation and treat the symptoms of certain diseases.

While the physiological mechanisms were initially poorly understood, the therapeutic benefits have long been recognized, even if the reason for the therapeutic benefit was in dispute. For example, in **November 1881**, the « *British Medical Journal* » noted that hydro-pathy was a specific instance, or « particular case », of general principles of thermo-dynamics. That is, « the application of heat and cold in general », as it applies to physiology, mediated by hydro-pathy.

In **1883**, another writer stated :

« Not, be it observed, that hydro-pathy is a water treatment after all, but that water is the medium for the application of heat and cold to the body. Thus, the “ active agents in the treatment are heat and cold ”, of which water is little more than the vehicle, and not the only one. »

Although standard anatomy and physiology text-books make only passing reference, if any, to hydro-therapy, some of the best descriptions of the underlying physiology upon which hydro-therapy relies, are to be found in such text-books. For example, one of the best succinct descriptions of blood redistribution (which is fundamental to the above-mentioned reflex reaction) , quoted below, is from a standard text-book.

« By constricting or dilating arterioles in specific areas of the body, such as skeletal muscles, the skin, and the abdominal region, it is possible not only to regulate the blood pressure but also to alter the distribution of blood in various parts of the body. »

Before World War II, various forms of hydro-therapy were used to treat alcoholism. The basic text of the « *Alcoholics Anonymous* » fellowship, « *Alcoholics Anonymous* » , reports that A.A. co-founder Bill Wilson was treated by hydro-therapy for his alcoholism, in the early 1930's.

In Europe, interest in various forms of hydro-therapy and spa tourism continued unabated through the 19th Century and into the 20th Century, where « in France, Italy and Germany, several million people spend time each year at a spa » . In 1891, when Mark Twain toured Europe and discovered that a bath of spring water at Aix-les-Bains soothed his rheumatism, he described the experience as « so enjoyable that if I hadn't had a disease I would have borrowed one just to have a pretext for going on » .

This was not the first time such forms of spa tourism had been popular in Europe and the United Kingdom. Indeed, in Europe, the application of water in the treatment of fevers and other maladies had, since the 17th Century, been consistently promoted by a number of medical writers. In the 18th Century, taking to the waters became a fashionable pastime for the wealthy classes who decamped to resorts around Britain and Europe to cure the ills of over-

consumption. In the main, treatment in the heyday of the British spa consisted of sense and sociability : promenading, bathing, and the repetitive quaffing of foul-tasting mineral waters.

Various forms of hydro-therapy have been recorded in ancient Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Roman civilizations. Egyptian royalty bathed with essential oils and flowers, while Romans had communal public baths for their citizens. Hippocrates prescribed bathing in spring water for sickness. Other cultures noted for a long history of hydro-therapy include China and Japan, this latter being centred primarily around Japanese hot springs, or onsen. Many such histories predate the Roman « thermæ » .

James Currie, who, according to Captain R. T. Claridge discovered « the merit of settling the use of cold water and who established the scientific base of Hydropathy » .

2 English works on the medical uses of water were published in the 18th Century that inaugurated the new fashion for hydro-therapy. One of these was by Sir John Floyer, a physician of Lichfield, who, struck by the remedial use of certain springs by the neighbouring peasantry, investigated the history of cold bathing and published a book on the subject, in 1702. The book ran through 6 editions within a few years and the translation of this book into German was largely drawn upon by Doctor J. S. Hahn of Silesia as the basis for his book called, « On the Healing Virtues of Cold Water, Inwardly and Outwardly Applied, as Proved by Experience » , published in 1738.

The other work was a 1797 publication by Doctor James Currie of Liverpool on the use of hot and cold water in the treatment of fever and other illness, with a 4th edition published in 1805, not long before his death. It was also translated into German by Michaelis (1801) and Hegewisch (1807) . It was highly-popular and first placed the subject on a scientific basis. Hahn's writings had meanwhile created much enthusiasm among his countrymen, societies having been everywhere formed to promote the medicinal and dietetic use of water ; and, in 1804, Professor E. F. C. Örtel of Anspach republished them and quickened the popular movement by un-qualified commendation of water drinking as a remedy for all diseases.

In the 19th Century, a popular revival followed the application of hydro-therapy around 1829, by Vincenz Priëbnitz, a peasant farmer in Gräfenberg, then part of the Austrian Empire. This revival was continued by a Bavarian priest, Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897) , « an able and enthusiastic follower » of Priëbnitz, « whose work he took-up where Priëbnitz left it » , after he read a treatise on the cold water-cure. In Wörishofen (South Germany) , Kneipp developed the systematic and controlled application of hydro-therapy for the support of medical treatment that was delivered only by doctors, at that time. Kneipp's own book, « My Water Cure » , was published in 1886 with many subsequent editions, and translated into many languages.

Hydro-therapy as a formal medical tool dates from about 1829 when Vincenz Priëbnitz (1799-1851) , a farmer of Gräfenberg, in Silesia, then part of the Austrian Empire, began his public career in the paternal homestead, extended so as to accommodate the increasing numbers attracted by the fame of his cures.

At Gräfenberg, to which the fame of Priëbnitz drew people of every rank and many countries, medical men were conspicuous by their numbers, some being attracted by curiosity, others by the desire of knowledge, but the majority

by the hope of cure for ailments which had as yet proved incurable. Many records of experiences at Gräfenberg were published, all more or less favourable to the claims of Prießnitz, and some enthusiastic in their estimate of his genius and penetration.

Captain R. T. Claridge was responsible for introducing and promoting hydro-pathy in Britain : first in London, in 1842 ; then, with lecture tours in Ireland and Scotland, in 1843. His 10 week tour in Ireland included Limerick, Cork, Wexford, Dublin and Belfast, over June, July and August 1843, with 2 subsequent lectures in Glasgow.

Some other Englishmen preceded Claridge to Graefenberg, although not many. One of these was Doctor James Wilson, who himself, along with Doctor James Manby Gully, established and operated a water-cure establishment at Malvern, in 1842. In 1843, Wilson and Gully published a comparison of the efficacy of the water-cure with drug treatments, including accounts of some cases treated at Malvern, combined with a prospectus of their Water Cure Establishment. Then, in 1846, Gully published « The Water Cure in Chronic Disease » , further describing the treatments available at the clinic.

The fame of the water-cure establishment grew, and Gully and Wilson became well-known national figures. 2 more clinics were opened at Malvern. Famous patients included Charles Darwin, Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, Florence Nightingale, Lord Tennyson and Samuel Wilberforce. With his fame, he also attracted criticism : Sir Charles Hastings, a physician and founder of the British Medical Association, was a forthright critic of hydro-pathy, and Doctor Gully, in particular.

From the 1840's, hydro-pathics were established across Britain. Initially, many of these were small institutions, catering to at most dozens of patients. By the later 19th Century, the typical hydro-pathic establishment had evolved into a more substantial undertaking, with thousands of patients treated annually, for weeks at a time, in a large purpose-built building with lavish facilities (baths, recreation rooms and the like) under the supervision of fully-trained and qualified medical practitioners and staff.

In Germany, France and America, and in Malvern, England, hydro-pathic establishments multiplied with great rapidity. Antagonism ran high between the old practice and the new. Unsparing condemnation was heaped by each on the other ; and a legal prosecution, leading to a royal commission of inquiry, served but to make Prießnitz and his system stand higher in public estimation.

Increasing popularity soon diminished caution whether the new method would help minor ailments and be of benefit to the more seriously injured. Hydropathists occupied themselves mainly with studying chronic invalids well able to bear a rigorous regimen and the severities of unrestricted crisis. The need of a radical adaptation to the former class was first adequately recognized by John Smedley, a manufacturer of Derbyshire, who, impressed in his own person with the 70's as well as the benefits of the cold water-cure, practised among his work people a milder form of hydro-pathy, and began, about 1852, a new era in its history, founding at Matlock a counterpart of the establishment at Gräfenberg.

Ernst Brand (1826-1897) of Berlin ; Rajen and Theodor von Jürgensen of Kiel ; and Karl Liebermeister of Basel, between 1860 and 1870, employed the cooling bath in abdominal typhus with striking results, and led to its introduction to England by Doctor Wilson Fox. In the Franco-German War, the cooling bath was largely employed, in conjunction frequently with quinine ; and it was used in the treatment of hyperpyrexia.

Hydro-therapy, especially as promoted during the height of its Victorian revival, has often been associated with the use of cold water, as evidenced by many titles from that era. However, not all therapists limited their practice of hydro-therapy to cold water, even during the height of this popular revival.

The first american hydro-pathic facilities were established by Joel Shew and R. T. Trall, in the 1840's. Doctor Charles Munde also established early hydro-therapy facilities, in the 1850's. Trall also co-edited the « Water Cure Journal » .

By 1850, it was said that « there are probably more than 100 » facilities, along with numerous books and periodicals, including the « New York Water Cure Journal » , which had « attained an extent of circulation equalled by few monthlies in the world » . By 1855, there were attempts by some to weigh the evidence of treatments in vogue at that time.

Following the introduction of hydro-therapy to the United States, John Harvey Kellogg employed it at Battle Creek Sanitarium, which opened in 1866, where he strove to improve the scientific foundation for hydro-therapy. Other notable hydro-pathic centers of the era included the Cleveland Water Cure Establishment, founded in 1848, which operated successfully for 2 decades, before being sold to an organization which transformed it into an orphanage.

### Prießnitz, Kneipp, and the hydro-pathy movement

Into this environment, just ripe for a new « miracle » method of healing, came water healer Vincent Prießnitz (1799-1851) , an uneducated Austrian peasant who developed a collection of water treatments into a natural healing philosophy called hydro-pathy. From direct observation of the effects of cold water treatments on farm animals, himself, and his neighbours, Prießnitz became a believer in the healing effects of water. He noticed that animals' sprains and bruises as well as tumors on horses' hoofs healed faster when they were bathed with cold water. He treated his own fractures and bruises from a serious accident by using cold water and quickly regained his health, contrary to a doctor's prediction. After Prießnitz experimented further with cold water, he also became convinced of the healthy effects of profuse sweating and of his ability to cure gout and rheumatism, common complaints at that time.

Prießnitz believed that all illness was caused by morbid or disease-causing humors that formed inside or outside the human body and were introduced into the blood. These morbid humors came from immoderation (too much food, bad food, use of stimulating liquors, excessive mental excitement, too little exercise) , inhalation of noxious air, or lack of cleanliness. Exercise, diet, fresh air, vigorous massage, and above all, water were used to expel the humors and disease from the system. Prießnitz's hydro-therapy treatments included sweat baths, cold baths, wet sheet packs, and many local cold water treatments, such as eye and foot baths. Sweating forced-out bad humors and inflammation, wet sheet-packs restored healthy circulation and secretions, and cold baths encouraged the natural functions of the skin.

As with so many « miracle » cures of the past, Prießnitz's success was built upon the beliefs of the time (he retained the concept of humors) , a germ of truth (the circulatory effects of various types of water applications) , and the human taste for novelty. This is not to say that many of Prießnitz's cures were not effective ; the effects of many of his hydro-therapy treatments have been validated scientifically. However, the use of water as the primary agent in a medical system was revolutionary. According to this approach, water was employed to cure every type of illness and chronic disability, and no treatment could be successful without water.

Prießnitz became wildly successful. First, he treated his neighbours ; then, when his fame spread, the Austrian government was forced to give him a special license to treat patients and to build new roads to help people gain access to his mountain home. In 1840, Prießnitz treated 1,600 patients from all over the world using primarily cold water and healthy diet. In 1843, he published « The Cold Water Cure » , which went through many printings and translations into other languages. Physicians from many countries, including the United States, made pilgrimages to his institution and established their own « water-cures » back home. In France, Spain, the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, and the United States, these water-cures would treat the sick with water as the primary agent. In 1852, there were 24 water-cure establishments in England and Ireland alone. Even physicians who did not specialize in water treatments experimented with various ones. For example, Jean-Marie Charcot, famous French neurologist and teacher of Sigmund Freud, experimented with warm circulating water to treat joint inflammation and invented the Charcot shower, a very strong jet of water directed upon the back of a standing patient. Technological progress, such as indoor plumbing which supplied running water, meant that it was possible to use water in large quantities for various hydro-therapy treatments.

Hydro-paths could be either folk healers or trained physicians, and they treated a wide variety of medical problems. They generally urged their patients to follow a healthy lifestyle, which included eating unrefined food, drinking lots of water, and exercising regularly. Water treatments included wet-packs and dripping sheets, whole-body baths, local baths (sitz baths were a favourite) , steam inhalations, affusions, compresses, gargles, douches, sprays, fomentations, treading in cold water, walking barefoot on snow, and swimming ; patients were sponged, wrapped, cooked in saunas, scrubbed, hosed inside and out, sprayed, dunked, bathed and steamed. There seemed no end to the inventive ways that water could be applied to the body. Swedish massage, originally from Swedish masseuses and masseurs who had emigrated to other countries, was frequently offered as part of the regimen. As had occurred so often before, proponents of water treatments found it natural to combine them with diet, exercise, and massage. With hydro-pathy, the health fad of the moment, people on both sides of the Atlantic could satirize the movement.

20 years after Prießnitz, Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897) , a Bavarian priest who cured himself of tuberculosis with water treatments and diet, became another internationally prominent lay healer. Kneipp incorporated herbs, exercise, fresh air, nutrition, and emotional treatment into his version of the water-cure, which he called nature cure. Body hardening (the strengthening of the body) he considered the best way to preserve health, and as with Prießnitz before him, his treatments were often harsh and rigorous, including ice cold baths and walking barefoot in the snow. Baths of various temperatures and ingredients (from herbs to clays) were common. Gout was treated by using herbal packs, herbal baths, cold washings, and local douches. Warm applications were gradually changed to colder ones until a patient might end-up in an ice-cold bath - and not always a local bath, such as a sitz bath, but often the entire



body. Patients and doctors who wanted to learn his methods flocked to Bad Wörishofen, the spa-town where Kneipp practiced, from many countries in Europe and elsewhere. Kneipp treated royalty and simple peasants alike, including the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, whose assassination touched-off World War I. Kneipp also cured Archduke Ferdinand's father, Archduke Josef, of Bright's disease, a kidney disorder. He also treated Pope Leo XIII. Kneipp had a profound influence on the hydro-pathy movement, and the English edition of his book, « My Water Cure » , went through 50 printings in its first 5 years. Many lay people and numerous orthodox physicians returned from a Kneipp « cure » to establish hydro-therapy practices in their own communities.

Back in the United States, some of the lay people who had healed in European water-cures would go on to found alternative colleges, give intense competition to the orthodox (university trained) doctors, and eventually either join conventional medical practice or become naturopathic physicians. Massage, although seen as a secondary therapy, was a popular adjunct to water treatments and used a great deal. In 1892, Kneipp commissioned German-born Benjamin Lust to carry Kneipp's methods to the United States, and, in 1902, his American followers changed their work from « Kneipp's water-cure » to « naturopathy » . Naturopathic medicine has continued as a medical specialty of its own since that time and continues to make far more use of hydro-therapy than does any other branch of medicine.

### The resurgence of spas

During this period, the upper-classes of Europe had both the wealth and the leisure time to retreat to spas for extended periods. This was fortunate, since a typical water-cure lasted 24 weeks and required immersion up to the neck for at least 3 hours twice a day, 3 days per week. New technological advances (better plumbing and travel by railroad) made luxury water-cures possible at far-flung spas. Rich patients went not only for the healing of physical ailments such as rheumatism and gout and to get fresh air and sunshine but also to see and be seen at fashionable resorts. Well-to-do invalids flocked to try the water treatments, usually receiving massage as well. Amusements such as horse racing, boxing matches, gambling, flirting, and attending the theatre softened the rigours of the water-cure. Spa-therapies also had a strong placebo effect for those with psychosomatic illnesses and « nerves » : there are many reports of hysterical paralysis, even blindness, being cured at spas. Upper-class invalids whose emotional pain was being expressed as a physical ailment might become confirmed spa-goers, as their doctors referred them to one spa after another.

In Germany, the spa-resort now called Baden-Baden was discovered by the Romans in 75 A.D. and named « Aquæ Aureliæ » (waters of the goddess Aurelia) . Used continuously since the time of the Romans, its waters were reputed to be effective for treating obesity, arthritis, rheumatism, heart and circulatory problems, respiratory disorders, and many other maladies. In its mud-pack rooms, patients were enveloped in mud for half an hour, sprayed with water from hoses, bathed, massaged, and then, allowed to rest. By 1830, 15,000 people visited the resort every year, including such luminaries as Queen Victoria, Napoléon III, « Kaiser » Wilhelm, Frédéric Chopin, Johannes Brahms, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Eugène Delacroix, and Leo Tolstoy.

American author Mark Twain paid a visit to Baden-Baden and wrote :

« I fully believe I left my rheumatism there. »

Bath, England, was another pleasure center as well as a place of healing. Its waters had also been in continuous demand since Roman times, and to bring it up to fashion, the town had a major face-lift in the early 1800's, with the renovation of medieval buildings and the construction of magnificent stone buildings in Classical style.

These great spas and others, such as « Montecatini Terme » in Italy and « Évian-les-Bains » in France (all discovered by the Romans almost 2 millennia ago) , adopted the water-cure and the hydro-therapy methods of Prießnitz and Kneipp. Many spas had a reputation for healing specific complaints. The fashionable « Bad Kreuznach » in Germany was known as the ladies' spa, since its waters were supposed to have a rejuvenating effect on inflammatory conditions of the female pelvic organs. « Bad Ems » was reputed to be healing for throat complaints. In France, « Bagnoles de l'Orne » had hot radium-impregnated water beneficial for blood vessel problems ; the waters of « Vittel » were said to act on the liver and kidneys to treat arthritis and gout ; and the waters of « Plombières » continued to be used for female infertility.

When John Harvey Kellogg visited Leukerbad, in Switzerland, in 1883, the mineral water baths of 95°F to 98°F were extremely popular. They were used principally by patients with nervous disorders, rheumatism, psoriasis, and eczema. During their stay at Leukerbad, patients typically entered the baths around 7:00 am and remained in them until 1:00 pm each day, which explains the need to play chess, write letters, and drink tea to pass the time. A combination water and massage treatment used at a number of famous spas was the « Aix douche-massage » . During this treatment, the patient was massaged by hand and simultaneously sprayed with high-pressure water from a hose ; sometimes, 2 masseurs at once performed the treatment, spraying and massaging for up to 15 minutes. This technique was used as part of the treatment for diabetes at « Aix-les-Bains » in France.

New hydro-therapy techniques were always of interest to Europeans, and when French soldiers stationed in Turkey brought Turkish baths and massage techniques back home in the early 1800's, they soon became very popular. Turkish baths were introduced into England in the 1880's and were enthusiastically adopted by the English. (As in the United States, bathrooms with running water would not be available to all citizens until about 1920.)

### Vincenz Prießnitz

Vincenz Prießnitz was a peasant farmer of Gräfenberg, in Austrian Silesia, who is generally considered the founder of modern hydro-therapy, which is used in alternative and orthodox medicine. Prießnitz stressed remedies such as suitable food, air, exercise, rest and water, over conventional medicine. He is thus also credited with laying the foundations of what became known as « Nature Cure » , although it has been noted that his main-focus was on hydro-therapeutic techniques. The use of cold water as a curative is recorded in the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and techniques such as spas, bathing, and drinking were used by various physicians in Europe and the United States through to the 18th Century. The practice was becoming less prevalent entering the 19th Century however, until Prießnitz revived the technique after having major success applying it on patients in his spa in Gräfenberg (now, Lázně Jeseník) . Prießnitz's name first became widely-known in the English-speaking world through the publications and lecture tours of Captain R. T. Claridge, in 1842 and 1843, after he had stayed at Gräfenberg in 1841. However, Prießnitz was already a household name on the European continent.

Richard Metcalfe stated in his 1898 Biography :

« There are hundreds of establishments where the water-cure is carried-out on the principles laid-down by Prießnitz. »

Indeed, Prießnitz's fame became so widespread that his death was reported as far away as New Zealand.

Vincenz Prießnitz was born into a farmer's family in the village of Gräfenberg (now, Lázně Jeseník) near Frývaldov (now, Jeseník) and baptized Vincenz Franz. His parents were among the first settlers of the village. When Vincenz was 8 his father went blind and he had to help in the farm, especially after his elder brother died 4 years later. Once Vincenz watched a roebuck with a wounded limb coming to a pond (or stream) to heal its wound. He healed his own finger injured during timber felling with water-wraps (1814) . He also relieved pain after spraining his wrist by applying wet bandages, which lessened the inflammation.

In 1816, Prießnitz was injured more seriously when he broke his ribs in an accident with a cart and the doctor claimed it was fatal or, at least, crippling. Prießnitz refused to accept the doctor's diagnosis, and, over the next year, he healed after applying wet bandages to his chest and drinking large quantities of water. His recovery strengthened his conviction in the practice, and brought him local fame. Prießnitz began healing animals on his farm and in his village, and later, began developing techniques and protocols for healing people. Different types of baths focused on healing different body-parts and various afflictions, including paralysis, insanity and poisoning. Soon, queues of people were coming to Gräfenberg. So, in 1822, Vincenz decided to rebuild his father's house, building part of it as a sanatorium and spa for his patients.

As Prießnitz's experience grew, the procedures of his treatments became more precise and regular. To treat many diseases, he would wrap the patient in wet bandages and many layers of blankets to cause heavy perspiration from the heat. After several hours, the patient was then instructed to bathe in cold water, and also drink plenty of water. He believed that the rapid changes in temperature allowed the pores of the skin to open and evacuate bad substances in the blood. Another theory Prießnitz held was that the body tended towards health naturally. His treatments, which involved no drugs or herbal medicines, were designed then to help the body remove foreign matter from the body. The extreme conditions disturbs this matter, which prompts a bodily response. Prießnitz also required his patients to add strenuous exercise to their daily regimen, and sometimes required his patients to fast. The food served was bland and hard, and water was the only drink served. Cold water was sometimes added to the food to promote water intake, and patients were required to drink 12 glasses of water per day at a minimum, with some drinking as many as 30 glasses.

Before Prießnitz's spa was built near his family house, Prießnitz mostly made house-calls. As his popularity grew, Prießnitz limited his practice to his residence, and began expanding the Gräfenberg spa with lodgings, dining-rooms, showers and bath-houses. Some patients lived in the spa for up to 4 years. He constructed several douches, which were heavy-showers of cold water that flowed from nearby mountains. The water from these douches fell from up to 20 feet in the air, with a stream so strong that new patients were sometimes « flattened by the force of the stream » . Other baths were created for different body-parts, such as eye-baths, foot-baths and head-baths.

In 1826, Prießnitz was invited to Vienna to heal the Emperor's brother Anton Viktor, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. This gave him a great reputation so many people from all over the country streamed into Gräfenberg.

His « sponge washing » technique was not accepted by local doctors who accused him of being an impostor with no medical background. These early opponents brought Prießnitz to court several times, but he was acquitted each time, and inspections of his spa confirmed that water was the sole healing agent used in the facility. In 1838, Prießnitz was granted a permit to establish the spa he founded several years earlier. These high-profile cases only served to expand his fame throughout Europe. As hydro-therapy became more widely accepted, his opponents became more concerned with his exact methods than the overall practice, finding Prießnitz's treatments far too extreme and taxing on the body. The food offered at the spa was also notoriously bad-tasting and un-healthy. One visitor complained about being served « veal wick was 10 days old ». Doctor Robert Hay Graham, who visited the Gräfenberg spa in October 1842, noted that Prießnitz did not keep any records of his patients, and that his practice was based on hunch and experience over any systematic approach. Graham suggested that Prießnitz's treatment worked on 1 out of 20 people at best, and that a milder water-cure that was combined with other medicines would be preferable.

In 1839, 1,500 patients arrived (among them, 1 monarch, 1 duke, 1 duchess, 22 princes and 149 counts and countesses) and 120 doctors to study the new therapy. A visit by Arch-Duke Franz Carl, in October 1845, was greeted with an address extolling the virtues of Prießnitz and his methods, signed by 124 guests, from a variety of countries. The new spa-house, built that year with 30 rooms, was called « Castle » and the next house was called « New Spa-House ». In 1846, Prießnitz was awarded a medal by the Emperor. Various aristocratic patients did him reverence by erecting monuments in the spa-town. Among the most famous guests was Nikolai Gogol who visited the spa twice, in 1839 and in 1846.

In 1842, R. T. Claridge published « The Cold Water Cure, its Principles, Theory, and Practice », which detailed Prießnitz's treatments. Claridge was himself a patient of Prießnitz, and his book's descriptions contain notes on the process of his own treatment at the spa, and the effectiveness of Prießnitz's treatments on other patients with various diseases.

Prießnitz's practice spread to the United States soon after becoming established in Europe, and several hydro-pathic medical schools and medical journals were created in the U.S. Some practitioners performed scientific experiments on the effects of known water-cures, and they developed new methods and theories about the field. The usage of extreme temperature was toned-down to account for differences in patients' age and condition. One notable theory that emerged was that osmosis contributed to the healing effects of water. The skin was thought to act as a membrane, and impurities in the body would flow-out into pure water applied by bandages and baths.

Prießnitz's English biographer, Richard Metcalfe, notes that despite the fame of the Graefenberg setting, Prießnitz believed that the water-cure treatment was what provided his patients relief, not the locale.

That Prießnitz was of this opinion appears from the fact that after his fame had spread throughout Europe, and people came to Gräfenberg from all quarters, he did not confine his practice of hydro-pathy to that healthy region, but visited and treated patients at their own homes in towns, where similar success attended his manipulations.

There are some who would stultify Prießnitz by making his saying, « Man muß Gebirge haben » (One must have mountains) , to mean that he considered a mountainous region indispensable to the successful practice of hydro-pathy. But, as the facts stated above show, the whole career of Prießnitz gives the lie to such a notion.

Vincenz Prießnitz died in 1851. Newspapers of the day reported on the morning of his death :

« Prießnitz was up, and stirring about at an early hour and complaining of the cold, and had wood brought in to make a large fire. His friends had, for some time, believed him to be suffering from dropsy in the chest, and, at their earnest entreaty, he consented to take a little medicine, exclaiming all the while, “ it is no use ”. He would see no physician, but remained to the last true to his profession. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, “ he asked to be carried to bed, and, upon being laid-down, he expired ”. »

Prießnitz's wife Sofie died in 1854, and was buried in the family crypt in Gräfenberg, where Prießnitz also lay. They had 9 children, comprising 8 daughters and 1 son, Vincent Paul, who died aged 37 (22 June 1847 - 30 June 1884) .

### Sebastian Kneipp

The Bavarian priest Sebastian Kneipp was born on 17 May 1821 in Stephansried, Bavaria (Germany) ; and died on 17 June 1897, in Bad Wörishofen, Germany. He was one of the founders of the naturopathic medicine movement. He is most commonly associated with the « Kneipp Cure » form of hydro-therapy : the application of water through various methods, temperatures and pressures which he claimed to have therapeutic or healing effects.

In Norway, he is mostly known for his wholemeal bread recipe. « Kneippbrød » is the most commonly eaten bread in Norway.

His father was a weaver, and Kneipp trained as a weaver until he was 23 when he began training for the priesthood. He fell ill with tuberculosis, and claimed that he was healed by a « water-cure » that he read in a book that he found. He was ordained as a Catholic priest, in 1852.

In the 19th Century, there was a popular revival in the application of hydro-therapy, instigated around 1829 by Vincent Prießnitz, a peasant farmer of Gräfenberg, then part of the Austrian Empire. This revival was continued by Kneipp, « an able and enthusiastic follower » of Prießnitz, « whose work he took-up where Prießnitz left it » , after he came across a treatise on the cold water-cure. At Wörishofen, while serving as the confessor to the monastery, he began offering treatments of hydro-therapy, botanical treatments, exercise and diet to the people who lived in the village. Some of his suggested treatments included « ice cold baths and walking barefoot in the snow » and other « harsh » methodologies. In 1893, M. E. Bottey described Kneipp's water-cures as « dangerous in most cases » . Wörishofen became known as a place with a reputation for spiritual healing. In addition to « peasants » , Kneipp's clients also included Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his father, Archduke Karl Ludwig as well as Pope Leo XIII. Others took Kneipp's processes back to their home countries to found alternative therapy spas and colleges. In America, Kneipp Societies were founded, which, under the influence of Benedict Lust, changed their name to Naturopathic Society of America.

Kneipp's book, « My Water Cure » , was published in 1886 with many subsequent editions, and translated into many languages. He also wrote « Thus Shalt Thou Live » ; « My Will » ; « The care of children in sickness and in health » .

In 1891, he founded « Kneipp Bund » , and organization that promotes water healing.

Archduke Josef dedicated his medical atlas to Kneipp. Kneipp's likeness was featured on a stamp. His recipe for whole wheat bread, called « Kneippbrød » , is the most commonly eaten bread in Norway.

...

In 1855, Father Sebastian Kneipp, a Catholic priest, became known as a man who could cure illness with applications of ice-cold water. Having cured himself of severe tuberculosis with cold water applications, he applied the principle to curing other diseases as well. He became well-known throughout Europe. His clients included the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and Pope Leo XIII. In America, Kneipp Societies became the forerunners of today's AANP (American Association of Neuropathic Physicians) .

Sebastian Kneipp was born in 1821 in a small town in Bavaria, Germany, approximately 50 miles west of Munich. Like his father, he was to become a weaver. By age 12 years, he already worked full-time in his father's business, but in his heart, he wanted to become a priest.

His father said :

« We have no money to send you to university. If God had wanted you to become a priest, he surely would have given us the money to send you to school. »

But the young Kneipp did not give-in. With the help of a mentor, he managed to enter preparatory school at age 23 and university 4 years later. While a student, he contracted severe tuberculosis, a disease thought to be incurable. Applying the principles of the healing powers of water, as discussed in a book by Johann Sigmund Hahn, Kneipp cured himself of the disease. He did so by immersing his body in the ice-cold water of the Danube River for a few seconds several times a week. In 1852, Father Kneipp was ordained, and 3 years later, he settled in Bad Wörishofen.

When Kneipp began an intensive study of the healing powers of cold water and certain plants, Bad Wörishofen was a small village with 969 residents in 1855. Upon conclusion of his studies, Sebastian Kneipp was certain that in order to be healthy the human body needed physical exercise, a healthy diet and in balance of body, mind and soul. To achieve health in his patients, he started a humble practice. Initially, his sole implements for affecting cures consisted of a wooden tub, a ladle and a watering can. He had many successes and his fame grew. In 1886, Father Kneipp published a book, entitled, « My Water Cure » which has been republished many times and translated into many languages.

Germany has 378 spa-towns. 68 of them offer the Kneipp method of healing. Today, Bad Wörishofen has 14,000 inhabitants, 165 clinics and hotels, 160 miles of foot- and bicycle paths, thermal pools, herb and aroma gardens, a barefoot and a forest trail, tennis courts and golf courses. The town's thermal pools, which include water-rich in sulphur, iodine and salt, are said to help alleviate chronic joint pain and circulatory disorders.

## 1864-1868

In confronting the various constellations of the crisis years of 1864-1868, Anton Bruckner developed an increased productivity as a composer, suggesting that a certain psychological stress set Bruckner into a state of internal tension which worked in the sense of stimulating his inspiration - i.e. , the creative process in him intensified. However, this excessive deployment of composing activity was accompanied by an increasingly intensified claim on his nervous system and led (exercised over a long period) to his psychological-mental and physical over-work. The addition of the pressure to cope (such as is exercised by a situation characterized by multiple stresses) would then mean an increase in the already existing tension, to which the structure of his personality reacted with an irritation that, in the end, actualized the existing potentiality for compulsive dynamics. This increasing valence and intensity in the awareness of pressing compulsive ideas (sometimes also ideas of persecution) began increasingly to fix themselves on his attention. Once the first crisis was surmounted and, therefore, abating, then the compulsive ideas lost their central presence, and questions and problems of composing returned again to the focus of his attention. In the degrees to which the progression of his ideas managed to take the direction of composing, his consciousness showed itself (as attention can always only turn to a content) once again capable of strong defence against « incidences of disorder » . In the creative act (which takes place as an act of self-transcendence in a condition of highest possible concentration on something that lies outside the person) , Bruckner blanked-out the incident of disorder from his consciousness.

Bruckner himself, at the beginning of the cited conversation with Theodor Helm, bore witness to this, when he addresses the personal inner-moment of creation of the « Benedictus » of the Mass in F minor as that in which having been close to « madness » , he had « found himself again » .

## WAB 27 : Mass in E minor

**1866** : The post of director of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » male-voice choir cost Anton Bruckner a great deal of effort.

« Our affection for our conductor is shown by the way we persevered over a period of weeks in learning his extremely difficult Mass (in E minor) , which was sung at the inauguration of the new Cathedral's Votive Chapel. During the dog-days of **August**, the men and their female counter-parts patiently endured what must have been more than 20 rehearsals in the muggy-hall, with Bruckner conducting in his shirt-sleeves. »

The Bishop of Linz, Franz-Josef Rüdiger asked Bruckner for a mass to celebrate the accomplishment of the construction of the Votive Chapel of the new Linz cathedral. Because of a delay in completing the construction, the celebration of the dedication didn't take place until 3 years later, on **29 September 1869**.

## End of 1866 : Simon Sechter

**End of September - beginning of October 1866** : Both Simon Sechter and Michael Arneith wrote to Bruckner to confirm that no super-numerary organist would be appointed in the meantime. In any case, since such a post would be an unpaid one, the successful candidate would have to reside in Vienna. Because of the uncertainty of any other prospects for Bruckner in Vienna, at this stage in his career, he decided not to pursue his application. 6 months later, Bruckner heard from Sechter that he had been forced by ill health to give-up his position at the Court Chapel (for which he had received the Imperial « long service » medal) and that his duties were now confined to teaching at the Conservatory. Pius Richter, known to both Benedikt Randhartinger and the Lord Chamberlain, had been appointed first organist-designate and Rudolf Bibl, second organist-designate.

...

**End of October 1866** : Anton Bruckner heard from Simon Sechter, now 78 years of age, that persistent illness was confining him to his house, with the result that his Vienna Conservatory pupils had now to come to him for their lessons. Sechter hoped that Bruckner would pay him a visit the next time he was in Vienna and show him some of his recent compositions. A few days later, Bruckner, concerned about Sechter's health, asked Rudolf Weinwurm if he could obtain further information about his former teacher's domestic situation and, if possible, arrange for some other medical assistance to be made available. He, himself, was recovering from a bout of flu but hoped to have the time and energy to attend a forthcoming performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony, in Vienna. He expressed his concern about Weinwurm, in view of an outbreak of cholera in the city.

**Sunday, 4 November 1866** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Rudolf Weinwurm :

Bruckner asks Weinwurm to look after Simon Sechter. He himself is also ill, but he hopes to be able to go to Vienna for the performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony. When is the concert ? Thanks for the greetings from Alois Weinwurm. Looking forward to seeing you again. Worries about cholera cases in Vienna and Linz.

**Early December 1866** : Anton Bruckner wrote again to Rudolf Weinwurm, asking him to obtain 2 tickets (one for Alois Brutscher and one for himself) for the Berlioz concert, and adding that he also wanted to hear Beethoven's 9th, even if it meant travelling to Vienna again on another occasion. He also mentioned that he had completed his Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) , written specifically for the dedication of the Votive Chapel of the new cathedral (« Neuer Dom ») in Linz, and a piece for male-voice choir.

## Harbinger of things to come

Anton Bruckner felt an unbearable strong call for so-called hard and forced labour.

**1866** : The 42 year old Bruckner wrote to a friend :



« Under melancholy, I understand (...) mainly arrogance towards people, their friendship, correctness and fidelity. »

He was endlessly spending time in praying. He was imagining things.

### Karl Waldeck

Anton Bruckner's counting obsession, once it had set-in, accompanied him for the rest of his life, though its first onset can only be vaguely located. According to the statement of his friend Karl Waldeck, his observations of Bruckner's disorder (including, amongst other things, counting obsession and « fixed ideas ») occurred, in any case, before his stay at Kreuzen ; and he concludes his observations of the incidents referred to here with the statement that, after his discharge, Bruckner displays « some strange and bizarre things » which also persisted.

...

The organist, music teacher and composer Karl (Borromäus) Waldeck was born on 21 September 1841 in St. Thomas am Blasenstein, a village in the district of Perg, Upper-Austria.

In 1856-1857, Waldeck became the trainee student of Bruckner in Linz ; he will occasionally act as substitute organist (especially for the Morning Mass ! ) .

In 1858, Waldeck attended the Linz « Kaiserlich-Königlich Präparandie » (Imperial and Royal Teacher-Training College) . His teachers were Johann August Dürrenberger and Engelbert Lanz.

From 1858 to 1861, Waldeck was hired as assistant professor at Grünburg and Frauenstein (Upper-Austria) .

Back in Linz in 1861, he taught and was organist at « St. Matthias - Kapuzinerkirche » (the Capuchin church the marble tomb of Count Montecuculi is located) but he had to quickly leave his post for health reasons.

### Early 1867

The first signs of a severe depression which led to a nervous break-down, during the **Spring of 1867**, are alluded to in Anton Bruckner's letter to Rudolf Weinwurm. In enclosing 10 Florins, presumably the cost of the December concert tickets, he apologized for the delay and hinted at some kind of exhaustion which prevented him from writing sooner. He was pleased to report that his friendship with Alois Brutscher had returned to its earlier cordiality, and passed on a request from the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » for the name of a chorus by Robert Schumann which Weinwurm had conducted several years previously. He was intending to travel to Vienna for Johann Herbeck's performance of his Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) in the Court Chapel, on **Sunday, 10 February 1867**, and asked for Weinwurm's advice about when he should come and what he should do.

The day before his letter to Weinwurm, Bruckner wrote to Johann Herbeck, thanking him for his willingness to perform

the Mass in D minor (WAB 26) and asking him if his « Afferentur » (WAB 1) and his « Ave Maria » (WAB 6) could be used as the Gradual and Offertory respectively. He hoped to be in Vienna, on the **8th or 9th of February**. Ludwig Speidel, who had written a complimentary report of Bruckner's organ playing at the « Piaristenkirche », 9 years earlier, had the distinction of providing the first review of the performance of a Bruckner work, in Vienna. Writing about the performance of the Mass in D minor at the « Hofburgkapelle », with Herbeck conducting and Bruckner playing the organ, he pointed-out that Bruckner had nothing to be modest about, in view of his « great theoretical knowledge » and his « truly outstanding organ playing » .

## Kreuzen

The fortress of Kreuzen is considered to be the second largest « burg » in Upper-Austria. It was built around the year 900. Originally located in the eastern part of the Duchy of Bavaria, the town of Kreuzen belonged to the Duchy of Austria since the 12th Century. In 1125, a pilgrim of « Creutzen » was mentioned as the initial owner of the castle. In 1209, it belonged to Hermann von Creutzen. Then, the Volkensdorfers inhabited the castle which became, in 1282, a princely fief. Under the reign of brothers Hans and Alber Volkensdorfer, the site was split in 2 : the front-castle and the rear-castle. When the last of the Volkensdorfers died (around 1489) , the castle passed to the brothers Siegmund and Heinrich von Prüschenk, who had already purchased sections of it 6 years earlier. The mercantile status of Kreuzen was granted by the Market Law of 1482. The town has been allocated to the Principality of Austria in 1490. In 1518, Adam Schweinböck bought the front-castle. In 1528, he sold it to Helfrich von Meggau and bought the rear-castle. In 1532, Meggau acquired the rear-castle to re-unite the 2 entities. In 1533, the feudal lordship was abolished and the castle became free. In 1880, a great fire devastated most of the remaining buildings of the Castle, in particular the roof.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the town of Kreuzen was occupied several times. The districts and towns of Kreuzen, Kalmberg, Dörfl and Wetzstein, established in 1850, as well as parts of Grein were merged in a single community in 1875.

At the instigation of administrator Ludwig Haberkorn and physician Doctor Maximilian Keyhl, Duke Ernst I of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha decided to convert in 1846 the old castle's tavern (« Schloß-Taverne ») in a « cold water station » . Under the direction of the next physician, Doctor Otto Fleischanderl, the place soon developed into the meeting-place of nobility and elegant aristocracy. New water-sources were conceived, bucolic paths built, and resting-places created. The most important area of the site at that time was the « Wolf's gorge » (« WOLFSSCHLUCHT ») which offered natural bath and shower facilities.

## Creating a cold water station

Ludwig Haberkorn lived in Kreuzen Castle. He was the administrator of Duke Ernst the 1st of the House of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha. In 1842, Haberkorn, a neurotic individual, learned of the then hardly-known hydro-therapy technique practised by the Silesian naturalist Vinzenz Prießnitz from Gräfenberg. Convinced by the healing power of water, the Duke authorized Haberkorn and his friend, the Court hunter Kajetan Perner, to erect in 1843 the first water shower

station nearby the the « Wolf's gorge » (« Wolfschlucht ») . Alas, the ineffective installation did not improve the nervous condition of Haberkorn. He then consulted Doctor Maximilian Keyhl, a surgeon based in Kreuzen. Haberkorn asked Keyhl to travel to Gräfenberg to study the water healing methods of Prießnitz. He agreed and stayed there for a while. When Keyhl came-back in September 1845, Haberkorn persuaded his new employer, Duke Ernst the 2nd, to build a cold water facility. This gave him total « carte blanche » . Under the supervision of Doctor Keyhl, Haberkorn built showers and wave-ponds (for thalasso-therapy) in the inspiring « romantic » environment of the gorge. Paths and bridges were laid-out and new water sources were created around Kreuzen Castle and the private Tavern of the Duke were rooms were specially set-up for the incoming bathers. On 14 May 1846, Haberkorn requested a governmental license from the « Imperial and Royal District Office » of Linz to operate the bath-house. The authorities responded swiftly. On 10 May 1846, the solemn inauguration of the cold water station of the Duchy of Coburg in Kreuzen (« Herzoglich-, Coburg'schen Kaltwasserheilstalt Kreuzen ») was celebrated in the former Tavern. Meanwhile, Ludwig Haberkorn's nervous condition worsened. Maximilian Keyhl tried everything in its power to save his noble friend but the disease was too advanced. Haberkorn died of nervous fever on August 14, 1846, aged only 41.

Famous areas of the site : the « Viennese wave-pond » (« Wiener Wellen-Bad ») , the « Grein's water-shower » (« Greiner Showchen ») , the « Duke's water-source » (« Herzogs-Quelle ») , Anton Bruckner's water-source (« Bruckners-Quelle ») , « Franz Stelzhamer's water-source » (« Stelzhamers-Quelle ») , the « shelter under the Rock » (« Felsendom ») , « Neptune's Cave » (« Neptunes-Grotte ») .

### Eugenie Knörlein dances with Bruckner

**January to 7 March 1865** (probably « Mardi Gras ») : Anton Bruckner attends a dance event organized by the « Linzer Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein » (Reading and Social Club of Linz) . Bruckner dances the whole waltz of Charles Gounod's « Faust » with the 17 year old partner named Eugenie Knörlein.

Eugenie Knörlein (« née » Pechwill) was born on 18 October 1847 in Linz and died in 1906.

She was the daughter of Court councillor Gustav Pechwill (born on 10 December 1819 in Prague ; died on 9 November 1905 in Vienna) who work for the Ministry of Finance.

Eugenie Pechwill married on 12 June 1871 in Niedernhart near Linz.

Parents of her husband : Doctor Anton Knörlein senior and Rosina Redtenbacher.

### Doctor Anton Knörlein senior

According to a very dubious anecdotal report by Eugenie Pechwill, her father-in-law Doctor Anton Knörlein senior, psychiatrist, one of Linz's most prominent medical doctors in the 1850's and the director of the Upper-Austrian Provincial lunatic, medical and nursing hospital in Niedernhart near Linz (« Oberösterreichische “ Landes-Irren-Heil-und Pflegeanstalt ” Niedernhart bei Linz ») recommended the admission of Anton Bruckner because of his deviant

behaviour (he was aroused by young women) . (As reported by Hermine Zeitlinger.)

The primary care physician, medical doctor, psychiatrist and Imperial-Royal professor Anton Knörlein senior was born on 18 February 1802 in Linz and died on 23 October 1872 in Linz.

Knörlein attended high-school (« Gymnasium ») in Salzburg and in Linz, then studied medicine at the University of Vienna where he received his doctorate. Doctor at the Lunatic Asylum of Prunerstift near Linz in 1836 ; chief-physician from 1851 to 1873. He contributed to the organization in 1866 of the Upper-Austrian Provincial lunatic, medical and nursing hospital in Niedernhart near Linz (« Oberösterreichische “ Landes-Irren-Heil-und Pflegeanstalt ” Niedernhart bei Linz ») which was inaugurated in September 1867 ; he was named director. After earning great merit, he became Imperial-Royal professor in Linz on 23 October 1872.

Knörlein wrote articles for the Medical Year-Book of Vienna in 1843, and the General Journal of Psychiatry (« Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie ») of Berlin in 1852 and 1863.

His book « The Irrationalities of Upper-Austria » (« Die Irrenangelegenheiten Oberösterreichs ») , written in 1851, became a great local success and even spreaded outside Austria.

He wrote in 1855 a brief history on the medical profession and medical institutions which appeared in the 15th Linz « Mnseal » Annual Report.

Knörlein donated a number of mammalian skeletons to the Linz Museum.

...

Why does Josef Schiedermayr need a provincial certificate ? To be admitted to the Linz Lunatic Asylum managed by chief-psychiatrist Doctor Anton Knörlein senior.

Logically speaking, it was easy for Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (composer and dean of Linz Cathedral) and Karl Schiedermayr to bring Josef at the asylum :

First, as « brothers » who were able to make the « request » .

Second, Doctor Karl Schiedermayr was a District physician. It was not difficult to find « 2 graduate physicians, among them a Court doctor (Coroner) » , who testified « that the patient was insane » .

The « Kapellmeister » and organist Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (1779-1840) will conduct the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » at the Linz « Alter Dom » . Schiedermayr was one of Bruckner's predecessors in Linz.

Das Schiedermayr Familie

(Schiedermayer, Schiedermair.)

**Johann Baptist Schiedermayr**, Komponist : geboren 23. Juni 1779 in Münster/Bayern ; gestorben 6. Januar 1840 in Linz.

Der Sohn des Schullehrers und Musikers Johann Georg Schiedermayr (circa 1746-1811) wurde 1788 Sängerknabe im Prämonstratenserstift Windberg (Deutschland) , wo sein älterer Bruder Georg (?-?) Organist war, kam 1791 ins Benediktinerstift Oberaltaich (Deutschland) und 1793 nach Straubing (Deutschland) , wo er bereits zu komponieren begann. Von dort ging er als Baßist und Organist nach St. Nikola vor Passau. Aufgrund der Säkularisierung in Bayern wandte sich Schule 1804 nach Linz, wo er unter Franz Xaver Glöggl bei der Kirchen-, Theater- und Bürgermusik mitwirkte. 1810 wurde er zugleich Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist. Ab 1812 war er auch als I. Kapellmeister am Landestheater und als Dirigent der Redoutenbälle tätig. 1839 trat er Glöggl's Nachfolge als (provisorischer) Dom- und Stadtpfarr-Kapellmeister an. 1823-1837 unterrichtete er an der Gesangschule der Linzer Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Seine kirchenmusikalischen Werke, vor allem die Landmessen, wurden bis zum Cäcilianismus allgemein geschätzt.

Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Linz 1837.

### Werke

Kirchenmusik (Messen, Requien, Gradualien, Offertorien, Präludien, und so weiter) ; Kantaten ; Singspiele ; Kammermusik, Tanzmusik ; Orgelstücke.

### Schrift

Theoretisch-praktische Chorallehre (1828) .

...

Sein Bruder **Franz Xaver Schiedermayr**, Lehrer, Komponist : geboren 25. Dezember 1782 in Cham (Bayern) ; gestorben 1833 in Straubing (Bayern) . War in Straubing als Lehrer tätig.

Neue Orgel- und Klavierstücke (circa 1825) .

...

Sein Sohn **Karl Schiedermayr**, Arzt, Botaniker und Chormeister : geboren 3. November 1818 in Linz ; gestorben 29. Oktober 1895 in Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems (Oberösterreich) . Besuchte das Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster und studierte 1837-1843 Medizin an der Universität Wien. Er war bis 1890 als Arzt in Linz, Kirchdorf und Steyr (Oberösterreich) tätig (zuletzt Landessanitätsreferent für Oberösterreich) und auch als Botaniker angesehen. Er war Gründungsmitglied der Liedertafel Frohsinn (1845) , ab 1852 I. Chormeister der von ihm ins Leben gerufenen Liedertafel Kirchdorf. Daneben komponierte er auch.

Ehrenbürger von Micheldorf (Oberösterreich) und Kirchdorf.

...

Weitere Söhne :

**Johann Baptist Schiedermayr junior** (geboren 6. Juni 1807 in Linz ; gestorben 16. April 1878 in Linz) war Geistlicher (ab 1874 Dompropst) in Linz und Mitglied des Linzer Musikvereins. Er verfaßte einen Nekrolog auf seinen Vater.

...

**Josef Schiedermayr** (1821-1874) : Advokat, hatte wahrscheinlich mit Karolina Barghesi ein uneheliches Kind, Bertha Barghesi (Bargezzi, « née » Weißgärber, 1855-1923) , die gerüchteweise als Tochter Anton Bruckners kursierte. Sie wurde von Karl Schiedermayr adoptiert und heiratete 1874 den Lehrer und Chormeister Alois Weißgärber (1845-1914) , mit dem sie 5 Kinder hatte, und andere Max Weißgärber (geboren 21. Oktober 1884 Ottensheim bei Linz (Oberösterreich) ; gestorben 30. November 1951 in Wien) , Primgeiger der Wiener Philharmoniker und des Weißgärber-Quartetts.

...

Die Frage stellt sich nun, wozu benötigte « Josef Schiedermayr » einen Heimatschein ? Die Antwort lautet : Nicht er, sondern sein Bruder brauchte diesen zur « Einweisung in die Irrenanstalt in Linz » . Das Statut dieser Anstalt (seit 1861 Landesanstalt) , das von « Anton Knörlein » (1855-1873 Primarius) schon 1851 entworfen werden war, besagte im § 20 :

« Das Gesuch um Aufnahme kann von den Angehörigen oder Vertretern des Kranken, von einer Gemeinde oder von einer Behörde geschehen und ist zu belegen :

a) Mit dem Zeugniße “ zweier graduirter Ärzte ”, hierunter eines “ Gerichtsarztes ”, daß der Aufzunehmende geisteskrank sei.

b) Mit der nach einem vorgeschriebenen Formulare (Fragebogen) und in der Regel vom behandelnden Arzte zu verfassende Krankengeschichte.

c) Mit der amtlichen Nachweisung der Zuständigkeit (Heimatschein, Paß, etc.) .

d) Mit der Erklärung, ob die Verpflegung des Kranken gegen Bezahlung aus dem eigenen Vermögen oder von Anderen und nach welcher Verpflegsklasse erfolgen soll, oder ob sie unentgeltlich beansprucht wird ... » (Hervorhebungen von Verfasser.)

Logisch gesehen, war es für Johann Baptist und Karl Schiedermayr ein leichtes, die Einweisung des Josef in die

Irrenanstalt zu bewirken : Erstens waren sie als Brüder « Angehörige » , die das « Gesuch » stellen konnten, zweitens war es für Doktor Karl Schiedermayr als Bezirksarzt nicht schwer, « zwei graduierte Ärzte, hierunter einen Gerichtsarzt » zu finden, die durch ein « Zeugnis » bescheinigten, « daß der Aufzunehmende geisteskrank sei » (wie es den Anschein hat, war in kleineren Orten wie Kirchdorf der Bezirksarzt gleichzeitig der Gerichtsarzt, da ja auch meist das Bezirksamt als Bezirksgericht fungierte) , drittens war der « amtliche Nachweis der Zuständigkeit » mit dem « Heimatschein » erbracht und viertens waren die Verpflegskosten durch die in guten Positionen sich befindenden Brüder gesichert.

### Doctor Anton Knörlein junior

Doctor Anton Knörlein junior was born on 30 July 1837 in Linz. He was the son of the primary care physician, medical doctor, psychiatrist and Imperial-Royal professor Anton Knörlein senior who was the director of the Upper-Austrian Provincial lunatic, medical and nursing hospital in Niedernhart near Linz (« Oberösterreichische “ Landes-Irren-Heil-und Pflegeanstalt ” Niedernhart bei Linz ») . Knörlein junior studied at the « Josephinum » Academy in Vienna. He became primary care physician of the military Lunatic Asylum in Tyrnau, in 1891. He became head-physician of the garrison hospital in Baden near Vienna, in 1897. Sanitary-chief for Dalmatia, in November 1901.

### Linz : Provincial lunatic hospital

Inauguration : 1867.

Expansion projects : 1880-1881, 1887-1888, 1902, 1911-1912.

Architectural plan : Corridor system with pavilions.

Number of beds : 360 (1896) ; 700 (1910) ; 768 (1937) .

Staff : 3 doctors, 2 officials, 63 nurses (1896) ; 5 doctors, 99 nurses (1910) ; 5 doctors, 171 nurses (1937) .

Daily costs per person : 3 meals = 2 to 6 « Kroner » (1910) ; 3 budgets for food were offered (1937) .

The first psychiatric institution was established in 1788 in Prunerstift near Linz. The « Toll-Haus » building-design marked the beginning of the institutionalized care for the mentally ill in Austria. In the early days, the institution was more likely to isolate the patients than to medically treat them. Guards were monitoring the patients. The very agitated ones were usually tied-up to their beds, which was not a wise caring practice. Doctors were only consulted in special cases. The hygienic conditions were catastrophic. All these grievances were first mentioned in an official letter written in 1824 calling for the establishment of a new decent policy. At least, this led to an improvement of the sanitary conditions and the end of keeping the inmates in captivity. Free medical care was now also prescribed. In 1834, an institutional order was introduced and a primary care physician was appointed. A silk plantation was created in order to allow work and employment for the patients of the institution, which was a novelty at the time.

The lack of space led the Upper-Austrian Parliament to establish a « model institution » in Niedernhart, now part of the District of Waldegg in Linz. The building, which was designed to meet all the requirements of the time, had 228 beds and was inaugurated on **Sunday September 22, 1867**, as the Upper-Austrian Provincial lunatic, medical and nursing hospital in Niedernhart near Linz (« Oberösterreichische “ Landes-Irren-Heil-und Pflegeanstalt ” Niedernhart bei Linz ») . In 1893, the number of patients increased to 500. In 1896, the asylum made the acquisition of the Castle of Gschwendt near Neuhofen-an-der-Krems. 2 men's pavilions of 100 beds were built in 1903. A women's wing of 150 beds and an additional men's pavilion of 150 beds were added in 1911.

During World War I, the number of patients decreased from 877 to 596 due to limited sanitary conditions resulting in diseases such as typhus. After the War, however, the number of patients increased quickly. At the same time, the new director of the Institute, Doctor Julius Wagner-Jauregg, developed a treatment against malaria and progressive paralysis, thus, finding a cure against syphilis. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for his discovery in 1927.

From 1927 to 1938, the Austrian psychiatrist and neurologist Maximilian von Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein (1881-??) headed the Provincial Hospital in Niedernhart near Linz. In 1938, under the leadership of Rudolf Lonauer, the darkest Chapter in the history of the mental hospital began. In the course of the « preservation of the pure race » promoted by the National-Socialists, mentally and physically handicapped persons, manic depressive, epileptics and insane persons were often sterilized because they did not fit with the Nazi image of the « German people » . Later, the targeted « killing of unworthy life » began. In Hartheim and 5 other similar « killing » institutions, more than 70,000 people died of the so-called « euthanasia » under the jurisdiction of the « T4 » program. (The abbreviation « T4 » is used by everyone involved as a designation for the « Zentraldienststelle » and a code-name for the killing targeted especially at the patients in clinics and sanatoria.) This is also noticeable in 1945 in the number of patients at the Niedernhart Clinic : of 1,150 patients, only 363 remained.

The new beginning after World War II was difficult for the hospital, due to the considerable damage caused by the Allied air-raids. Initially, parts of it were provisionally relocated to the Provincial Women Clinic.

### Doctor Josef Födinger

Doctor Josef Födinger : physician and surgeon responsible of the town hospital and care-facilities in Linz. Member of the Upper-Austrian Medical Council.

### Convalescence of Bruckner in Kreuzen

Anton Bruckner's next 3 letters to Rudolf Weinwurm were written from Kreuzen where he spent a 3 month period of convalescence (**from Wednesday May 8 until Thursday August 8**) , after his nervous break-down in the Spring of 1867. Some indication of the nature of the illness is given in the first letter :

« You have heard nothing more from me, since my journey back from Vienna. You also did not attempt to find-out how I was getting on. As I presume that you still want to hear from me and as other reasons also make it necessary,



I am taking this opportunity of writing to you and, above all, of apologizing for not yet being able to grant your wish. In spite of what you may be thinking or may have thought (or indeed heard) , it was not laziness ! It was much more serious than that !!! It was total collapse and desolation, complete over-stress and nervous break-down ! I was in the most shocking state. I am confessing it to you alone - don't breathe a word. A little longer and I would have been finished, totally lost. Doctor Födinger in Linz has already informed me that madness would have been a possible outcome. God be praised ! He has saved me from that. I have been in Kreuzen, near Grein, since 8 May. I have felt a little better, over the last few weeks. But I am not allowed to play, study or work. Can you imagine such ill fortune ! I am a poor fellow ! Herbeck sent me the scores of my Mass (in E minor) and Symphony (No. 1 in C minor) without writing a word. Is everything quite so bad, then ? Please find-out, dear friend and write to me here, wretched and forsaken in my exile. If you had come to Linz at Easter, you would have been shocked by my condition.

Although Bruckner was over-joyed to receive a letter from Weinwurm, he did not reply immediately because of a temporary set-back, in his recovery. As he put it rather quaintly in his next letter, he delayed writing until he could relate « only good things » . He also provided Weinwurm with a brief time-table of his daily activities at the sanatorium. Perhaps, outside visitors were discouraged, but Bruckner's poignant « no one from Linz has ever visited me here » makes particularly sad reading.

In response to Weinwurm's request for a more detailed description of what was involved in the cure (one of Weinwurm's friends had evidently been making enquiries) , Bruckner wrote that it was a « cold water establishment, with very good air and springs but not particularly good drinking water » . The treatment consisted of a mixture of baths (foot baths ; « sitting baths » ; « wave baths ») and sessions during which the patient had to sit swathed in wet linen cloths. He had to drink frequently from the springs. Apart from a 3 course mid-day meal, the diet included only milk (« cold, sour, and hot ») and fruit. The treatment was geared to the needs of the individual patient and was determined on a daily basis by the doctor. It was a long day, beginning at about 4 am and finishing at about 9 pm. There were about 100 patients, and social activities were organized regularly. Bruckner, however, preferred to be on his own. The cost differed from patient to patient. Bruckner's monthly out-goings amounted to about 80 Florins. The normal length of stay was 6 weeks, but some conditions required 3 month or even 6 month treatment.

### Doctor Maximilian Keyhl

In 1835, the town physician and surgeon Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl from Frankenburg came to Kreuzen with his wife Aloisia and his 2 year old son Karl. He established his home and practice in the merchant's area of the town. Here, his wife gave him 7 more children. With his then meager income as a doctor, it was not easy for him to feed his family. Through his friendship with Ludwig Haberkorn (retiree of Duke Ernst I from the House of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha) , Doctor Keyhl became the co-founder and chief-physician of the « cold water station » of Kreuzen.

His son Karl attended the public elementary school (« Volks-Schule ») in Kreuzen. After completing his high-school degree (« Gymnasium ») in Linz, he completed his medical degree in Salzburg. In 1861, as a young practitioner, he married Maria Kees, the baker's daughter of Kreuzen. In 1864, he acquired a house at Number 3 in Kreuzen where he lived with his family and where he did his practice with the necessary bath facilities. Maximilian transferred to his son

Karl a invaluable expertise in hydro-pathic healing. When Maximilian disagreed with the landlord of the spa and suspended his practice for 1 full year, son Karl took-over the spa-centre during the same period.

### Convalescence : Dates and events

**Wednesday, 8 May 1867 to Thursday, 8 August 1867** : Anton Bruckner is sent in cure to Kreuzen, near Grein. He is supervised by the hydro-therapist doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl.

His condition was so bad, that Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger of Linz organized a permanent company for him - a monk to help him to get rid of a terrible loneliness, help his bad thoughts and prevent him to commit suicide. Bruckner was inclined to do it openly.

His neurosis manifested itself in extreme irritability, noise sensitivity, and, above all, excess of counting. Some personal observations were expressed by privileged witnesses like Barbara (« Betty ») Mayfeld and Karl Hörzenberger.

During his stay in Kreuzen, Bruckner went on occasional excursions where he attended rehearsals by different local Choral Societies. In Grein, for example, he assisted to the rehearsals of the « Liederkranzes » .

In Kreuzen, Anton Bruckner gets to know the ribbon, braid, and silk button manufacturer from Vienna Mathias Salcher (1803 in Maria Luggau, Carinthia ; 1879 in Vienna) who keeps the bad news from him during his hospitalization.

**Thursday, 16 May 1867** : Anton Bruckner takes a loan of 250 Florins from the Linz branch of « The Anchor » (« Der Anker ») Insurance Company to pay for his convalescence fees.

The loan of 250 Florins from his Insurance Society which Bruckner had arranged at the beginning of his 3 month cure covered the total cost of approximately 226 Florins. About a month after leaving Kreuzen, Bruckner wrote to the episcopal office, in Linz, requesting some financial help in view of the amount of money he had to spend on his treatment. He received 60 Florins.

### « Der Anker » Insurance Society

The firm was formed in 1858 as « Allgemeine Versicherungs-Gesellschaft Helvetia » in St. Gallen. Three years later, it established its own private fire insurance company called « Helvetia Feuer » in St. Gallen, prompted by the Glarus fire. In 1862, « Helvetia Feuer » established its first branches in Germany and, starting in 1876, expanded into the United States, opening offices in California and New York. Following the California earthquake in 1906, « Helvetia » attempted to withdraw from the American market without paying on claims from the earthquake.

In Austria, the history of « Helvetia » Insurance Co. goes back to the establishment of « Der ANKER, Gesellschaft von Lebens- und Rentenversicherung » on **December 6, 1858**.

## Dates

**1850-1859** : Foundation of the « Helvetia » Insurance Co.

**1858** : « The Anchor - Society for Life and Pension Insurance » Co. is founded on a share-holder basis. In Vienna, « The Anchor » becomes a public limited company.

**6 December 1858** : The « Helvetia » General Insurance Co. is founded in St. Gallen.

**1860-1869** : The « Helvetia » General Insurance Co. opens a branch in Germany.

**1864** : « The Anchor - Society for Life and Pension Insurance » Co. already has 30,000 customers and representative offices in Białá, Brünn (Brno) , Graz, Hermannstadt (Sibiu) , Lemberg (Lviv) , Linz, Pest, Prague and Trieste.

**1894-1895** : The « Ankerhaus » is located in Vienna's 1st District, at the intersections of « Graben » Number 10, « Spiegelgasse » Number 2, and « Dorotheergasse » Number 1 (Conscription Number 1105) . This building was probably erected for architect Otto Wagner himself, between 1894 and 1895. The name derives from the fact that the previous building was bought in 1873 by « Der Anker » Insurance Society - it was first acquired in 1872 by the Austrian Savings Society. « The Anchor » still owns the actual « Ankerhaus » .

The ground-floors and the roof's studio (originally called « photo studio ») , with its glass surfaces, already points to the later building structures, as used in reinforced concrete elements. This marks a decisive step for Otto Wagner in the typology of the multi-functional city-house (shops, offices, apartments, studio) .

...

**1850-1859** : Gründung der Versicherungsgesellschaft « Helvetia » .

**1858** : « Der ANKER, Gesellschaft für Lebens- und Rentenversicherung » wird auf Aktionärsbasis gegründet.

**1858** : In Wien die « Gesellschaft für Lebens- und Rentenversicherung Der Anker » als Aktiengesellschaft.

Die « Helvetia Versicherungen AG » wurde **1858** unter dem Namen « Der ANKER, Gesellschaft für Lebens- und Rentenversicherung » gegründet.

Am **6. Dezember 1858** wurde die « Allgemeine Versicherungs-Gesellschaft Helvetia » in St. Gallen gegründet.

**1860-1869** : « Helvetia » kommt nach Deutschland.

**1864** : « Der ANKER » hat bereits 30.000 Kunden und Repräsentanzen in Bialá, Brünn, Graz, Hermannstadt, Lemberg, Linz, Pest, Prag und Triest.

**1869** : Der Hohe Markt wird Sitz der Gesellschaft. Einführung der Unfallversicherung. Erwerb weiterer Auslandskonzessionen.

**1870-1879** : Erste Niederlassung in den USA.

**1875-1900** : « Der ANKER » erwirbt Konzessionen für die Hansestädte Bremen, Hamburg und Lübeck sowie für Preußen (mit Sitz in Berlin) , das Königreich Bayern und Bulgarien. In Italien wird der Geschäftsbetrieb aufgenommen, in Brüssel eine Repräsentanz und in Frankreich eine Generalagentur errichtet. Um die Jahrhundertwende zählt « Der ANKER » so zu den größten Lebensversicherungsgesellschaften Europas.

**1880-1889** : Fuß fassen in Spanien.

**1890-1899** : Sterbe- und Alterskassen fusionieren.

**1900-1909** : Gründung « La Vasco Navarra » .

**1910-1919** : Entstehung der Patria.

**1914** : Bezug des neu fertig gestellten ANKER-Hofes. Das Gebäude besteht aus 2 Häusern, verbunden durch eine Brücke, die die Kunstuhr von Professor Franz Matsch trägt.

**1918** : Durch den verlorenen Weltkrieg zerfällt die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie. « Der ANKER » muß sich aus einigen Geschäftsgebieten zurückziehen.

**1921** : Der Betrieb in Österreich wird auf verschiedene Sachversicherungszweige ausgeweitet. Neuer Firmenwortlaut : « Der ANKER, Allgemeine Versicherungs-Aktiengesellschaft » .

**1923** : Die Schweizer Rückversicherungsgesellschaft übernimmt die Mehrheit der Aktien des « ANKER » .

**1925** : Einführung der Schillingwährung. « Der ANKER » ist in Österreich, Ungarn, Deutschland, Jugoslawien, Polen, Bulgarien, Ägypten, der Schweiz, der Türkei und der Tschechoslowakei tätig.

**1938** : « Anschluß » Österreichs an das Deutsche « Reich » . Die « ANKER » Zentrale in Wien übernimmt die meisten Agenden und auch einen Teil des Personals der Berliner Niederlassung.

**1943** : Die Schweizer Rückversicherungsgesellschaft verkauft ihre Aktien an die deutsche Versicherungsgesellschaft « VICTORIA » und an die Bayerische Rückversicherungsgesellschaft.

**1945** : Durch Brandstiftung große Schäden am ANKER-Hof, 90 % der Geschäftsunterlagen werden vernichtet. « Der ANKER » gilt als « deutsches Eigentum » und kommt unter öffentliche Verwaltung.

**1948** : Die ausländischen Betriebsstätten (außer in Deutschland) gehen verloren.

## Wien : « Ankerhaus »

Otto Wagner : « Ankerhaus » in Wien - Bezirk 1, Graben Nummer 10, Spiegelgasse Nummer 2, Dorotheergasse Nummer 1 ; Konskriptionsnummer Nummer 1105.

Dieses Wohnhaus wurde 1894 bis 1895 von Otto Wagner vermutlich für sich selbst errichtet. Der Name leitet sich davon ab, daß der Vorgängerbau 1873 von der Versicherungsanstalt « Der Anker » angekauft wurde. Die Art des Untergeschoßes mit ihren Glasflächen weist schon auf spätere Baustrukturen hin, wie sie im Stahlbetonbau verwendet werden. Ab 1971 wurde es von Friedensreich Hundertwasser benutzt.

## Haus Stadt 1105

Im Jahr 1473 wird erstmals ein Besitzer erwähnt. Woher die seit 1480 gebrauchte Bezeichnung « das Steckhnhaus » herrührt, ist ungeklärt.

Während der Zweiten Türkenbelagerung 1683 schlug die erste in die Stadt geworfene Bombe beim « grünen Kranz » ein. Deren Bruchstücke wurden gesammelt, geweiht und in das feindliche Lager zurückgeschossen.

Ab 1736 befand es sich im Eigentum des Rat und Landschreibers Johann von Kees, einem berühmten Kenner beider Rechte : Professor des Kirchenrechtes an der Universität und schrieb mehrere juristisch schätzenswerte Werke.

Im Jahre 1783-1792 befand sich im Haus das « Café » Ducati, das in der josefinischen Zeit zu den bekanntesten der Stadt gehörte. Um den Rauchern entgegen zu kommen, räumte der « Cafétier » im ersten Stock, wo sich auch ein Billardzimmer befand, zwei Zimmer mit Tabakpfeifen und nötigem Zubehör ein. Auch gab es verschiedene Zeitungen, die schon damals von ihm im Subabonnement vergeben wurden.

1872 wurde das Haus vom Österreichischen Sparverein erworben und ging 1873 durch Kauf in das Eigentum der « Anker » , Gesellschaft für Lebens- und Rentenversicherung über, die sich auch noch heute im Besitz des gegenwärtigen, 1894 durch Otto Wagner erbauten Gebäudes befindet.

## Die Geschichte « Zum grünen Kranz »

Vor dem Haus soll sich am 27. Juni 1549 die Freveltat des Bäckerjungen Johann Hayn zugetragen haben, die zu Unrecht oft auf das Haus « Zum goldenen Becher » bezogen wird. Nach der Überlieferung hatte der Bäckerjunge während der Fronleichnamsprozession dem Priester die Monstranz aus den Händen gerissen und zu Boden geworfen. Er wurde festgenommen, verurteilt und auf dem damaligen Richtplatz, der Gänseweide, verbrannt. König Ferdinand I. (über Antrag der Universität) ließ den Ort der Untat durch ein Gitter absperren und eine Säule mit einem die Monstranz symbolisierenden Kranz aufstellen.

Auf der Säule steht in lateinischer Inschrift :

« Anno Domini 1549, am achten Tage des heiligen Fronleichnamsfestes (den 27. Juni) ist durch einen gottlosen

Menschen (Johann Hayn, Beckenjung aus Franken gebürtig) einem Priester in der Prozession das hochwürdige Sacrament unversehens aus den Händen gerissen und an diesen Ort mit erschrecklicher Gotteslästerung auf das Erdreich geworfen worden, um welche grausame Tat ihm Zungen und Hand abgehauen, folgendes zu der Richtstatt geschleift und daselbst lebendig verbrannt worden. Dies ist anderen zur Warnung diese Gedachtnuß hier gesetzt. »

Aus diesem Grund hieß das Haus bis ins 18. Jahrhundert « Zum grünen Kranz ». Diejenigen, die die Tat vor das Haus « Zum goldenen Becher » verlegen wollten, stellten die Behauptung auf, die Absperrung der Örtlichkeit habe sich auf das Raubergässchen bezogen.

1873 wurde das damalige Gebäude von der Lebens- und Rentenversicherung « Der Anker » gekauft, die 1894-1895 nach Plänen von Otto Wagner einen Neubau errichten ließ. Das konstruktiv-technisch durchdachte Gebäude mit seiner vorgehängten Glasfassade in den Sockelgeschoßen und dem Atelier im Dachaufbau (ursprünglich als « Photo-atelier » bezeichnet und wohl für Wagner selbst konzipiert, seit 1971 von Friedensreich Hundertwasser benützt) gehört zu den späteren Werken des Architekten ; es fixiert einen entscheidenden Schritt Wagners zur Typologie des multifunktionalen Großstadthauses (Geschäfte, Büros, Wohnungen, Atelier) .

#### Historische Gewerbe und Firmen innerhalb des Hauses im Laufe der Jahre

« Anker » (Versicherung) (1783-1792) .

Apotheke « Zum goldenen Hirschen » (vor 1410 - spätestens 1566) .

...

**Friday, 14 June 1867** (during the 5th week of his stay at Kreuzen) : Anton Bruckner explained in a letter his silence to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm, in the following intimation :

« It was total degeneracy and desolation - total enervation and over-wroughtness !! I found myself in the most terrible condition. A little longer and I would have been a casualty - been totally lost. Doctor Josef Födinger, in Linz, has already informed me that madness could have been a possible outcome. »

**Wednesday, 19 June 1867** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Rudolf Weinwurm :

Since 8 May 1867, due to his internment at Kreuzen at the instigation of Doctor Josef Födinger, Bruckner was unable to fulfill (since his departure from Vienna) the wish of Rudolf Weinwurm. Bruckner was strictly forbidden to compose. Johann Herbeck returned the music-scores of the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) and the 1st Symphony (**WAB 101**) without any comment. Anton Bruckner's health-condition was bad since Easter.

**Friday, 21 June 1867** : Rudolf Weinwurm writes to Anton Bruckner.

**Saturday, 19 June 1869** : In a letter to Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, Anton Bruckner recalled

his tormented mood in Kreuzen on St. John the Baptist Day (**Monday, 24 June 1867**) .

**Monday, 1 July 1867** : Article in the « Linzer Morgen-Post » on the shooting of Ferdinand Maximilian's Emperor of Mexico.

**Friday, 5 July 1867** : Letter from Alois Brutscher (tradesman from Krems) to Anton Bruckner :

We learn how Bruckner feels since Alois Brutscher's departure of Kreuzen. Brutscher often reflects on Bruckner's depressed mood and talks of his own future in Krems. Maybe he will visit him in the next 14 days. Greetings to Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, Doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl and priest Simon Kremshuber.

...

Although Anton Bruckner did not receive any visits from acquaintances in Linz, 2 letters from Alois Brutscher, a tradesman from Krems who had apparently been at Kreuzen for treatment and had befriended the composer while he was there, are extant. They show a touching concern for Bruckner's health and well-being. Brutscher asks to be remembered to Doctor Maximilian Keyhl, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, and Simon Kremshuber, a priest from Linz (probably, the priest sent by Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger to provide Bruckner with spiritual help) , all of whom he had presumably met at Kreuzen. So, Bruckner was certainly not forgotten by the church, at least !

**Before 15 July 1867** : Anton Bruckner is suffering a relapse for approximately the last 2 weeks. He does not answer the letter from Rudolf Weinwurm immediately.

**Monday, 15 July 1867** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Rudolf Weinwurm :

Bruckner thanks Weinwurm for the letter of **Friday, 21 June 1867** and his true friendship. He inquires about Gmunden. He reports on the progression (and recurrences) of his disease and the spa treatments. Yesterday, Johann Oetzelsberger handed greetings from Alois Weinwurm. The cure in Kreuzen will last until **Monday, 5 August 1867**. The fate of Emperor Ferdinand Maximilian's Emperor of Mexico occupies Bruckner very much.

**Before Sunday, 21 July 1867** : Letter from Rudolf Weinwurm to Anton Bruckner :

Very likely related to the evolution of the Spa treatment.

**Letter to Rudolf Weinwurm (21 July 1867)**

**Sunday, 21 July 1867** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm in Vienna, describing the water-cure.  
:

Anton Bruckner answers questions from Rudolf Weinwurm about the spa treatments in Kreuzen, the social life and the

financial aspect. Reliable medical information from Doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl. Also wrote to Alois Weinwurm. Bruckner will be informed of the date of the end of treatment.

...

« Dearest friend,

I hasten to comply with your wishes.

1) Kreuzen is only a water-cure establishment. Fresh air and springs are very good ; but the institution itself has no drinking water worthy of praise.

2) The Cure is made by means of swathing (wrapped in wet sheets and rough woollen blankets for one or several hours) , also by means of half-baths (washing) , sitting baths, rubbings, “ Abklatschungen ” [a treatment where a damp cloth is applied tightly to the body and smacked with flat hands] (on wet sheets) , foot baths, rain-, douche- and wave baths. The Cure starts at 4 o'clock in the morning or, soon after, and is indeed any of the above. Then, after each Cure, you have to go drink from the springs. Then cold, sour or sweet milk for breakfast with butter or fruit such as strawberries. Then, after 10 o'clock, the second Cure again, but usually different. Spring water to drink as before. 12 o'clock communal lunch ; some dine alone (soup, a meat dish with vegetables, and then pudding) . (Per day, for lunch : 60 Kronen) After 4 o'clock again, Cure - spring water as above. Then : sour milk, etc. , as at breakfast for evening meals. Before going to bed, the last Cure, but this is not for all. I, for example, have this morning now : 1 hour swathing, then half-bath ; 10h30 : “ Abklatschung ” then, the sitting bath ; after 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the same or, if the weather's nice, the wave bath. Evening : foot bath.

3) The healing process is quite different for different patients and is determined every day, etc. , by the doctor. Currently, there are 100 or more guests here, somewhat fewer patients.

4) The social life is quite well cultivated ; but I prefer resting. There's also a piano ; people dance, play skittles, make trips, put on plays, have concerts, splendid of course.

5) The matter of expense is also various. I pay for the room 80 Kronen, a day ; there are also cheaper ones at 40 or 50 Kronen, a day. I have to pay the administration weekly 10-11 Florins, or a little more ; the doctor is weekly : 1 Florin, 50 Kronen tax ; the rest is board etc. , (which for me amounts to around 80 Florins a month) .

6) The procedure lasts for very different times with nervous disorders. People usually stay for 6 weeks ; but for those conditions : 3 or 6 months. You know I've been here almost 3 months.

Incidentally, your friend can apply to Doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl to get reliable information.

I thank you for your love and look forward like a child to the next dear letter from you. I've also written to Alois.



With a kiss  
your friend  
Anton Bruckner  
Kreuzen, the 21 July, 1867.

(I write to you as soon as I go out : for without medical authorization, I am not allowed to.) »

...

Bruckner outlines the particular procedures of the hydro-therapy that Doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl prescribed : swathing ; half-baths ; sitting baths ; massage with hot and cold wet cloths ; « Abklatschung » (a physical therapy in which short, sharp blows are administered to the skin with a moistened towel) ; foot baths ; shower baths ; and wave baths. In approaching an understanding of the, then, current diagnosis, it is interesting to compare the procedures prescribed and followed for Bruckner with those of hydro-therapy, as applied at Kreuzen according to one of Doctor Fritz Fleischanderl's brochures, from the year 1887. Of the 7 procedures that were applied to Bruckner, the indication « nervous disease » encountered for 6 of them, for 3 of which the more precisely conceived indication « neurasthenia » occurs. Neurasthenic symptoms were, at the beginning of the 19th Century, already a recognized symptom complex, under the appellation « vapours » , later named « spinal irritation » . George Beard took this relatively widely conceived spectrum of symptoms to belong together, in his opinion, as a complex for which, in 1867 (1869 ?) , he used the term « Neurasthenia » .

### Bruckner in a state of crisis

One morning, the patients of the sanatorium were entitled, during breakfast, to the provision of a group of travelling gypsy musicians who was passing in the vicinity. Suddenly, in the middle of the performance, Bruckner got-up from the table, rushed-out and disappeared. Seeing that he was not back in early afternoon, a systematic search began. He was neither in his room, nor in the living-room, or somewhere else in the establishment. The search then moved to the outside. They walked through the trails in the forest, taking great care to stop at the various waterfalls. They finally found him, weeping, helpless, a nervous wreck, sitting on the stump of a tree at the bottom of a precipice. He didn't even know how he had got up there and they hardly succeeded to save him. The deafening sound of the waterfall near him seemed like divine music to his ears.

Today, a commemorative plaque indicates the exact location of this sad event.

Back at the sanatorium, Bruckner will be prevented from coming in contact with the other spa-guests.

The incident was explained by the doctors as an « access of madness » while Bruckner insisted on his « desire to die » .

Or was it not rather his dismay at the wild and spontaneous music of these Bohemians. A music so far removed from his own which created this unbearable despair.

## Betty's dress

Bruckner asked her good friend « Betty » von Mayfeld (who was also at the Spa for a cure) not to wear again the dress she had on because of his compulsion to count each of the pearls on its pearl-pattern - a plea which reflects the agonizing experience of the unsuccessful attempt to resist the pressing mental impulses.

**Monday, 5 August 1867** : Originally, scheduling the last day in Kreuzen.

**Thursday, 8 August 1867** : End of the cold water-cure for Bruckner at Kreuzen.

According to the oft-quoted entry in the institution's records, after a 3 month stay in Kreuzen, Anton Bruckner was discharged on **8 August 1867**, « cured and healthy » .

It is correct that the symptoms manifested in Bruckner's illness (over periods of varying lengths) receded or changed ; the observation is incorrect, however, in the sense of « cure » as « correction » or « removal » of the « origin » of an illness, whereby its recurrence is rendered unlikely.

**Saturday, 10 August 1867** : Letter of Alois Brutscher (a tradesman from Krems) to Anton Bruckner :

Anton Bruckner received only yesterday the letter of Alois Brutscher sent 4 weeks ago. Brutscher hopes that the cure in Kreuzen improved Bruckner's health. He feels that Bruckner should not brood and be gloomy. Greetings to Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral.

**Thursday, 15 August 1867** : Eduard von Nagel, the owner of the cold water-cure sanatorium in Kreuzen, confirms he have received the sum of 225 Florins and 72 Kronen from Anton Bruckner.

**Sunday, 3 September 1867** : Letter of Anton Bruckner to the Episcopal Consistory in Linz :

The Consistory asked for the health-care costs, since Anton Bruckner had to pay the amount of 225 Florins (excluding the medical expenses) to the Spa centre in Kreuzen.

## Eduard von Nagel

In 1865, a Linz merchant, Eduard von Nagel, acquired the cold water-cure facilities. His numerous financial investments will fundamentally change the look of the site. That same year (1865) , a dining-room, a billiard-room, a music-salon, and a cable-car system were added.

In 1867, Nagel bought the so-called « Mayrhäusl » across from the Court Tavern (« Hof-Taverne ») and built on the site a big new sanatorium (« Große Kurhaus ») in the Swiss-style, as well as the Villa of Vincent Prießnitz. In total, the Spa complex totaled 140 rooms (including the rented rooms of Kreuzen Castle and a series of beautiful salons) . The

institute gained a very good reputation through these improvements, so that during the high-season period even clients had to be refused. Their number increased from year to year.

Nagel was eager to offer his guests (patients) all possible comforts. In 1872, he built the ladies' bath apartment at the entrance of the « Wolfsschlucht ». In 1875, it was the turn of the men to get a bath apartment (at the Kempbach, north of Kreuzen Castle) . East of the main-building, Nagel extended the Spa gardens (« Kurpark ») and erected a new fountain. The medical equipment was also constantly optimized. In 1875, he met Doctor Maximilian Keyhl's therapeutic requirements.

Eduard von Nagel died in August 1880. On 14 February 1881, the physician Doctor Otto Fleischanderl acquired the Kreuzen sanatorium.

Health-practitioners under Eduard von Nagel in Kreuzen :

**Until 1868** : Doctor Maximilian (Florian) Keyhl. There is a list of those who took the cure (which was printed in 1874) in the library of the « Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum » . Maximilian Keyhl died on 31 May 1870.

**1869** : Doctor Charles Weiser.

**1870** : Doctor Josef Plomer.

**1871-1873** : Doctor Ferdinand Krischke.

**1874-1877** : Doctor Felix Urbascheck.

**1878** : Doctor Otto Fleischanderl.

### Doctor Otto Fleischanderl

In 1878, Doctor Otto Fleischanderl was entrusted by Eduard von Nagel with the management of the cold water sanatorium in Kreuzen. Fleischanderl had completed his medical studies in Vienna and studied hydro-therapy for 3 years in Kaltenleutgeben with Professor Doctor Wilhelm Winternitz. In 1880, Fleischanderl married Amalia Thein-Müller. 1 year later, their son, Friedrich Karl, was born. During the summer months, the little family lived at the health-centre. During the winter months, they lived in Vienna, where Fleischanderl practiced surgery. For many years, from October to April, he also worked as a physician in Abbazia.

In August 1880, Eduard von Nagel died. On 14 February 1881, Otto Fleischanderl became the new owner. Under his management, the health-centre lived its golden years by going through a spectacular expansion program. In 1889, Fleischanderl built a new bath-house with a cable-way. In 1891, he built a magnificent garden-salon inside the main bath-house. In 1895, a new bath-house was erected near the existing one. In 1898, he opened a large Festival Hall,

which also served as dining-room. He purchased the so-called « Stadlschusterhaus » , a family guest-house, in order to increase the capacity of the health-centre. In 1906, he purchased the « Reichsgruberhof » , located south of the health-centre to offer his « clientèle » fresh farm products.

Around the turn of the 20th Century, Doctor Otto Fleischanderl was at the height of his career. Respected by his colleagues, he was recognized as a specialist in hydro-therapy. In 1897, he was awarded the title of « Imperial Council » physician on account of his professional accomplishments. In 1902, the town of Kreuzen made him an honorary citizen. To celebrate his 25 years of practice as Spa physician, a new path in the forest was named in his honour and a memorial plaque was installed at the Linz water-pond.

In everlasting memory  
of the outstanding physician  
and noble humanitarian  
DR. OTTO FLEISCHANDERL  
this path was inaugurated  
by the cure patients of Kreuzen  
in honour of their cure physician  
for his 25th anniversary Jubilee  
and named after him.

1902

...

Zum immerwährenden Andenken  
an den ausgezeichneten Arzt  
und edlen Menschenfreund  
DR. OTTO FLEISCHANDERL  
wurde dieser Weg von den dankbaren  
Curgästen zu seinem 25jährigen Jubiläum  
als Curarzt in Kreuzen eröffnet  
und nach ihm benannt.

1902

On **Friday, 28 May 1909**, the « Imperial Council » physician, Doctor Otto Fleischanderl, died of arteriosclerosis at the age of 61. The business community of Kreuzen will erect an honorary grave in his memory.

### Doctor Fritz Fleischanderl

Doctor Fritz Karl Fleischanderl, son of Otto Fleischanderl, attended the « Gymnasium » in Kremsmünster and graduated as Doctor of Medicine from the University of Vienna in 1905. After training in Vienna, Geneva and Straßburg, he became

the assistant of his father at the cold water sanatorium of Kreuzen during the season 1905-1906. On 16 July 1907, he married the merchant's daughter Katharina Kerbl from Klosterneuburg. In fall of the same year, he became the town physician at Großrußbach. In March 1909, 2 months before his death, Doctor Otto Fleischanderl handed-over the Spa to his son. Therefore, Fritz came-back to Kreuzen with his family, where he also practiced as town physician until 1919.

In October 1910, the economic and political context allowed Fritz to create a company under the name « Kuranstalt Bad Kreuzen AG ». This new entity has allowed greater financial flexibility and reduced the tax burden on the centre. The Fleischanderl family was the main share-holder. Through the sale of shares, the current debts could be paid and, consequently, the quality of services was improved. The health-centre continued to flourish until the outbreak of World War I.

The War became a turning-point in the history of the sanatorium. Fleischanderl offered the authorities to transform his Spa into a private military hospital. Already in September 1914, the first wounded soldiers arrived. In 1916, he resumed its normal operations while still promoting the war effort. However, the use of the Spa as a hospital had caused major damage to the infrastructure. Some buildings were badly crippled and the furnishings had to be largely replaced which resulted in indebtedness. Therefore, in 1919, Doctor Fritz Fleischanderl sold the company to Walter Malmann and moved with his family to Klosterneuburg, where he built a villa and set-up his own medical office.

Victim of high-inflation, Fritz Fleischanderl lost all his assets. He suffered from depression and also severe joint inflammation. He, nevertheless, continued to practice medicine at a local level. He retired in 1949 and moved to his daughter Hedwig in Tyrol.

In his last years, his psychological condition deteriorated sustainably so that he had to spend the rest of his life in a mental hospital in Hall, in Tyrol. Doctor Fritz Karl Fleischanderl passed away on April 20, 1957, in Hall, Tyrol, at the age of 76.

### Georg Rapperport

In 1920, the management of the company « Kuranstalt Bad Kreuzen AG » passed from Walter Malmann to Georg Rapperport. The chief-physician at that time was Doctor Popper. During this turbulent period, many former patients stayed away which resulted in a significant decrease in revenues. Taxes in general and municipal rates had to be deferred. Flat-rate residential tax had to be reduced. Nevertheless, in 1921, the company acquired the small property located at Number 10 in Neuaigen to accommodate the serving staff. The power connection of the health-centre to the « E-Werk Pabneukirchen » in 1923 brought an additional financial burden.

In 1926, Director Georg Rapperport pressed the municipality of Kreuzen to offer a taxi service. The request was granted on 29 August during a Town Council meeting. From now on, Rapperport was able to pick-up his guests by car from the train-stations in Amstetten and Grein. The promotional brochure of the time promised the guests better cures for nervous disorders, internal and metabolic disorders as well as rest and recovery.

Well-equipped examination-rooms were available to the Spa guests. The rooms of the establishment were nicely furnished. There were resting beds under the protected arcades of the bath-house. An adjoining room of the main-building served as a relaxing room and lounge. There was a salon with piano. Well-kept gardens and a view-terrace invited the guests to stay around. During the summer months, a small Orchestra performed in the magnificent « Kur-Saal » .

In 1930, the Spa physician Doctor Bräuer introduced the « Zeileis » treatment in Kreuzen. This new method brought momentarily more guests to the health-centre. Nevertheless, Rapperport was facing constant problems with covering the running costs for the institution.

### Kreuzen : The years of decline

Director Georg Theodor Radwanyi from Vienna bought the « Kuranstalt Bad Kreuzen AG » on 1 June 1933. At the time, Doctor Alexander Schmidt was the chief-physician of the Spa centre.

In order to reduce the accumulated debt, Radwanyi decided to sell shares of the company. To re-energize his business, he distributed postcards and offered a free-coupon which paid for the 2-way trip from Vienna to Bad Kreuzen. Due to the political turmoil in the year 1934, his promotional campaign did not bring the expected results. In 1935, a compensation deal was registered at the Commercial Court of Vienna. The bankruptcy proceedings were opened on October 10th. Doctor Alexander Schmidt was named forensic administrator and forecloser of the Spa centre. The procedure lasted for 2 years. On 5 November 1937, Mrs. Gisela Barasch from Vienna became the best bidder at the auction. She acquired the facilities for the sum of 76,759 Schillings.

In 1938, the enterprise was maintained for a while. However, no appreciable profit could be achieved. After the annexation of Austria to the German « Reich » (« Anschluß ») , the Jewish woman Gisela Barasch was forced to sell (« Germanized ») the Kreuzen health-centre to Johannes Rüdiger from Berlin. With the remaining money, she fled the Nazi regime by exiling in South America. Under the ownership of Johannes Rüdiger, the Spa centre was converted into a sanatorium for consumptive patients in 1939.

This marked the end of the long history of the « Kaltwasser-Heilanstalt » of Bad Kreuzen.

### Death of Simon Sechter

**Sunday, 10 September 1867** : Death of Simon Sechter in Vienna.

In the last years of his life, Sechter spent more money than he earned. He died in great poverty. He is buried in an honorary site at the Vienna Central Cemetery (Group 0, Row 1, Number 23) .

**Thursday, 12 September 1867** : Funeral of Simon Sechter. Anton Bruckner probably took part in the celebration.

## Mass in F minor (WAB 28)

Anton Bruckner tried to sketch the « Kyrie » of the Mass in F minor (WAB 28) during his convalescence in Kreuzen, in order to comply with an order from the Imperial Chapel in Vienna. But he was prevented from doing so by his doctors.

**Saturday, 14 September 1867** : Anton Bruckner starts to sketch the « Kyrie » of the Mass in F minor.

**Saturday, 19 October 1867** : Anton Bruckner finishes to sketch the « Kyrie » of the Mass in F minor.

**Wednesday, 6 November 1867** : Anton Bruckner finishes the first sketch of the « Gloria » of the Mass in F minor.

**Thursday, 21 November 1867** : Anton Bruckner writes « November 21, 1867 » at the « cum gloria » section of the « Credo » in the score of the Mass in F minor, and « 21 November » on a sketch of the « vivos et mortuos » and on a sketch of the score at « iudicare » .

Anton Bruckner plays at the piano to Karl Waldeck parts of the « Credo » of the Mass in F minor and makes changes to the « et incarnatus est » (as it is known today) .

**Friday, 22 November 1867** (St. Cecilia Day) : Anton Bruckner writes « November 22 » at « et in spiritum » of the « Credo » of the Mass in F minor.

In looking-back at the genesis of the « Benedictus » of the Mass in F minor (WAB 28) , in conversation with Theodor Helm, Anton Bruckner also remembered his inner-condition at that time : with the idea of the melody, Bruckner says, he « who had been near to madness, had found himself again » . This « inner-turnaround » showed itself from **Christmas Eve 1867**, that is to say 4 months after he was deemed « cured and healthy » and had left Kreuzen.

Bruckner's first Viennese attempt, the newly-composed Mass in F minor, was refused a hearing on the ground that it was unsingable. After this 2 new Symphonic attempts were suppressed by the nerve racked composer himself with the bitter comment :

« They are no good ; I dare not write down a really decent theme. »

## Financial support from Bishop Rüdiger

**Sunday, 6 October 1867** :

Letter signed by Jakob Reitshammer (Doctor in Theology) from the Bishops' Ordinariate of Linz to Anton Bruckner (date of the drafted letter : **Wednesday, 25 September 1867**) :

On **25 September 1867**, the Imperial-Royal Chancellery announced that a financial help of 60 Florins was granted to Anton Bruckner following its written request dated (**Tuesday**) **September 3, 1867** (letter received on **Wednesday, 4 September 1867**), to reduce the health-care costs of his convalescence at Kreuzen. The letter is signed by the Bishop of Linz, Franz-Josef Rüdiger.

Text of the official copy :

« 4044

To the Cathedral organist of Linz, “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner.

The Imperial-Royal Chancellery has given the following by means of Note Number 25 from M. Number 10539 :

“ The administration of the Cathedral is to allow to the ill Cathedral organist Anton Bruckner a grant of sixty Guilders (60 Florins) , and to authorize the Imperial-Royal Provincial Treasury Fund to pay the party concerned this sum on account of the religious fund. ”  
From the Episcopal Ordinariate,

Linz, 6 October 1867.

J. Reitshammer,

(Authorized) Secretary of the Chancellery. »

...

« 4044

An Herrn Domorganisten Anton Bruckner in Linz.

Die Kaiserlich-Königliche Statthalterei hat mittelst Note Nummer 25 von M. Zahl 10539 folgendes hierher mitgeteilt :

“ Die Statthalterei findet dem Domorganisten Anton Bruckner eine Krankheitsaushilfe von sechzig Gulden (60 Florins) zu bewilligen und die Kaiserlich-Königliche Landeshauptkasse zu ermächtigen, den Beteiligten diesen Betrag auf Rechnung des Religionsfondes zu erfolgen. ”

Was hiemit zur Wissenschaft gebracht wird. ... die Beilage folgt wieder zurück.

Vom Bischöflichen Ordinariate,



Linz den 6. Oktober 1867.

J. Reitshammer,

Kanzler (unleserlich) Secretär. »

The Bishop's Residence (« Bischofshof ») is located at « Herrenstraße » Number 19. It is the most important secular Baroque building in the city of Linz. Commissioned by Kremsmünster Monastery (1721-1726) , it was built by Michael Pruckmayr according to plans by Jakob Prandtauer, who was also responsible for the monasteries in Melk and St. Florian. The impressive lattice gate on the staircase is by Valentin Hoffmann (1727) .

The « Frohsinn » accomodates Bruckner

**Friday, 10 January 1868** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to the Liederafel « Frohsinn » :

Thanks for permitting us to use the rehearsal-room for preparation and performance of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) .

(Note : Doctor Maximilian Keyhl's letter, **Thursday, 16 January 1868**.)

Doctor Maximilian Keyhl follows up

**Thursday, 16 January 1868** : Anton Bruckner received a letter from Doctor Maximilian Keyhl, one of the doctors who had treated him at Kreuzen, the previous year. Keyhl was pleased to hear that Bruckner was on the way to a full-recovery, but suggested that he continue the recommended treatment and diet.

Letter from Doctor Maximilian Keyhl to Anton Bruckner :

Advice on food diet and bath treatments. The health-condition of Director Beda Piringer from Kremsmünster has also improved. « Herr » Eduard von Nagel, the ownwer of the sanatorium in Kreuzen, reproached Bruckner about some complaints from Linz.

Bruckner also recommended that Weinwurm's friend contact Doctor Keyhl for further information. Doctor Maximilian Florian Keyhl (died on **Tuesday, 31 May 1870**) established the « cold water sanatorium » in Kreuzen, in 1846. There is a list of those who took the cure (which was printed in 1874) in the library of the « Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum » .

...

A number of cures helped Bruckner only partly and particularly it was warm leading of Doctor Keyhl.

Those conditions were repeated, worse and harder as he became elder.

He wrote to a friend :

« It was a complete feeling of abandonment, loss. I lost my nerves and I am constantly frustrated and too sensitive. »

### Body of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico

**Thursday, 16 January 1868** : Anton Bruckner writes a curious and rather morbid letter to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm, in Vienna. Bruckner refers to his « pet », the recently executed Emperor of Mexico, whose body had just been brought back to Austria :

« Even during my illness, this was the only thing that was dear to my heart : it was Mexico, Maximilian. I'd give anything in the world to see the body of Maximilian. Be so kind, dear Weinwurm, as to dispatch a completely trustworthy person into the Imperial palace ; perhaps best inquire at the office of the Imperial Chamberlain, if the body of Maximilian is likely to be on view (i.e. , open in a coffin or visible in a glass frame) , or if only the closed coffin will be visible. Please, inform me kindly by telegram, so that I may not come too late. »

Both Bruckner and Weinwurm have been invited, at some point, to go to Mexico as Court organists of Emperor Maximilian, the younger brother of Emperor Franz-Josef of Austria.

Bruckner requested and received official permission from the Emperor to visit the family cemetery (in the Capuchin crypt) in order to see the body of his brother, Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico, following his unfortunate political assassination by execution (alongside 2 of his generals) after his trial before the military Court on June 19, 1867. The corpse was repatriated aboard the « SMS Novara » frigate.

### Bruckner's multiple manias

The mania of counting inanimate objects was really a mania of repetition - i.e. : a musical obsession, comparable to Robert Schumann's obsession with certain rhythmic patterns. This repetition-mania, which finds its creative reflex in Anton Bruckner's predilection for a frenzied repetition of short motives (e.g. , the 5 note motive propelling the Scherzo of Symphony No. 8) , is particularly evident in the sphere of religious worship. Mention has already been made of Bruckner's diaries, keeping a day-to-day account of the nature and number of his prayers. A friend relates how Bruckner, praying with him at the open bier of his late friend Ignaz P. Traumihler, the « regens chori » of St. Florian, repeated the words « Thy will be done » 9 times and how he recited in a loud voice the prayer « Our Father which art in Heaven » 5 times in succession. In moments of a more than usually troubled mental and spiritual condition (as, for instance, in the years 1887-1889) , the obsession with repetition and focusing morbid attention on the number and character of inanimate ornamental objects refused to be canalized into the purely musical or religious sphere alone. It began to inundate his everyday life, threatening his reason.

The mania for counting and adding-up figures is probably co-responsible with Bruckner's lifelong habit of counting through every composition, numbering each bar and even indicating the general harmonic trend after each stave through so-called « directs » at the turn of each page. Bruckner's pedantic insistence on counting every bar may also be responsible for his clinging to the rigours of 4 + 4 bar periods and for his partiality for rather stiff regularities of periodization - a tendency that brought him sometimes dangerously near to rhythmic monotony and to a structural 4 squareness comparing unfavourably with the rhythmic flexibility of the Viennese Classics.

That adding-up figures, maniacal repetition in every department of life and a morbid interest in inanimate objects may have played a kind of compensatory part in Bruckner's emotional life in which the spheres of sexual satisfaction and of intellectual pursuit (outside the sphere of musical creation) remained severely under-nourished, is also borne-out by his strange craving for examinations. He passed no less than 9 major ones, insisting on written testimonials in each case, and celebrating every one as a major event. The urge for repetition was equally strong in the case of his evident craving for self-assertion and self-confirmation, obviously being under constant threat from the permanent under-current of his lifelong inferiority complex. Taking all this into account, one is bound to come to the conclusion that at times Bruckner's reason must have been threatened as much as Robert Schumann's or Hugo Wolf's. What saved him was his emotional attachment to the Church and his music, which enabled him after 1863 to objectify his obsessions and internal conflicts in creations of over-powering eloquence.

...

Friedrich Eckstein concluded a series of observations of counting obsession shown by Anton Bruckner and which he recorded, and he homes in on the core of compulsive phenomena, namely the basic stance of people affected by these compulsions.

These counting compulsions, that beset Bruckner till the end of his life, appeared often inter-connected with the compulsive ideas his students conveyed as « fixed ideas ». From a visit together to Dresden, Max von Oberleitner describes the end of their stay there. Immediately before the return journey to Vienna (they were already on the way to the train-station), Bruckner was suddenly concerned by the question of how high the houses in Dresden were. Oberleitner's answer, that most of the houses were 2 storeys high, some « also 3 or 4 », Bruckner brusquely rejected, he had seen no 3 storey houses ! With this statement, he insisted the carriage, which had just about reached the station, be turned round. Upon the discovery of a 4 storey building, he counted its floors repeatedly.

Windows became a frequent object of counting obsession for Anton Bruckner. August Stradal reports Bruckner's stubborn counting of the windows of the « Herrenhof », the repeated miscounting of which obliged him, again and again, to begin counting anew. When Stradal, noticing Bruckner's increasing agitation, had counted with him (eventually, without error) the total windows respectively through to the end, Bruckner changed to the other side of the street, in order to recommence the counting of the windows from there.

In addition to Ernst Décsey's mention of dot-mania (« Punktmanie »), which expressed itself in a « fascination with dots in signatures and door panels », you find in Eckstein's memoirs (also referring the manifestation of this

condition) the following assertion :

« A single dot » transported Bruckner « especially if he had himself placed it at the end of a word » into a frame of mind of « awestruck shuddering » and, then again, in « a rather peculiar happiness » , in « a mood bordering on worship » .

If these unusual fixations on nothings, on trivialities and their fascination for Bruckner are to us rather strange or difficult to understand, there is even so something familiar in his control obsessions (because of episodic experience in our own behaviour) that touches us. But the recollections of this related by Friedrich Klose and Friedrich Eckstein definitely place the control compulsions that Bruckner developed outside the margin of normal behaviour. Indicators for their being outside the boundaries of normality are the chronicity and generalization typical of profound compulsive disorder.

**Linz : « Frau » Pauline Hofmann**

« Frau » Pauline Hofmann (Helene's sister) , one of Bruckner's piano students who is part of the « Circle » of Linz and for whom he will fire-up.

Emil Fink, the son of Linz mayor Vinzenz Fink (1856-1861) , was Bruckner's first piano pupil (1856) . He will also belong to this same circle.

**Hotel « Zum Roten Krebs » : Johanna Pichler falls in Bruckner's arms**

**Tuesday, 5 May 1868** : Anton Bruckner and the Linz district archivist, Doctor Ferdinand Krackowitzer, are having lunch on the terrace of the Hotel « Zum Roten Krebs » .

The terrace offers a fine-view of the rushing waters of the Danube and the gentle slopes of the Mühlviertel.

In seasonable weather, the place would be packed with people laughing and carousing.

Doctor Krackowitzer was accompanied by his aunt Aichberger and his cousins Johanna and Hermine Pichler.

Krackowitzer recalled :

« I was lunching there happily with a jolly fellow from Steyr, the owner of a cavernous singing voice and guardian of 2 charming young ladies. Bruckner, a close friend of the “ basso profundo ”, had seated himself at our table and was in animated conversation with the lovely Johanna. For apart from his note-heads, Master Anton also took a special delight in the heads of pretty women, and there is no denying that he was vulnerable to Cupid's arrows. Suddenly, the diners all noticed a great concourse and tumult of people flocking towards the bridge. The high-waves of the Danube were beating against the wooden “ Jochbrücke ”, which was in danger after being struck by heavy barges which a

steam-boat was trying to tow-up the river. All of a sudden, several pillars collapsed like playing-cards, hurling a number of unfortunates into the water. Terrified by this alarming spectacle, Johanna fell into the arms of Bruckner, who was standing beside her, and was tenderly comforted by him. For a long time after this episode, the dotting musician assiduously courted the young woman from Steyr and frequently asked me :

“ You do think Johanna likes me, don't you ? ”

But Bruckner often changed the object of his adoring allegiance. »

### Uncertain future in Vienna

If Anton Bruckner's report on the 9th day before Christ's Ascension is correct, the meeting with Johann Herbeck took place at the Hotel « Zum Roten Krebs » in Linz and the trip to St. Florian took place on **Tuesday, 12 May 1868** (and not on **Sunday, 24 May 1868**) . Herbeck offered Bruckner a professorship at the Vienna Conservatory.

**Sunday, 24. May 1868 (?)** : Meeting with Johann Herbeck at the Hotel « Zum Roten Krebs » in Linz, trip to St. Florian and discussion about the offer at the Vienna Conservatory.

...

Johann Herbeck's well-meaning letter seems to have intensified Anton Bruckner's feelings of isolation and uncertainty. A report in the Vienna « Neue Freie Presse » , on **Wednesday, 17 June 1868**, that the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » had appointed Leopold Alexander Zellner, a teacher, composer and acoustician, to the vacant position at the Conservatory no doubt convinced Bruckner that a move to Vienna was now more or less out of the question. He gave full vent to his feelings in a letter to Rudolf Weinwurm :

« Dear friend,

No doubt, you know what has happened and how it happened. After you wrote, I made many requests in a letter to “ Herr ” von Herbeck, but these were, by no means, intended to suggest that I did not accept the original conditions. I should have gratefully accepted the position at any price.

I was waiting for the contract documents - and, then, it happened. I am dreadfully unhappy about the whole thing, can neither eat nor drink and expect that I shall have to make abject apologies. If only I had seized the opportunity immediately, wretched fellow that I am ! “ Herr ” von Herbeck's intentions were so generous ! Why did I give in to certain fears ?

Just think of this prestigious position ! Where and when will there be another opportunity like it ? I am a lost soul. Everything gets on my nerves. If I had dreamt that anything like this would happen, I would have travelled to Vienna every day. Take pity on me, Weinwurm - I am in a hopeless position, perhaps, abandoned for ever.

And so, all is perhaps lost !!! You can have no idea of my torment and dreadful sorrow ; my only wish is for this not to affect your own happiness.

If I had imagined that this would happen, I would not have written a single syllable. Now, I am in distress.

But I have only myself to blame for my stupidity and the resulting suffering - bitter suffering. How could this have happened ? I only wanted to explore the possibilities of improving the salary but should have accepted with alacrity ; after all, 600 Florins and many lessons, etc. , would have provided sufficient security.

Farewell, and think often of your grief-stricken friend,

Anton Bruckner. »

### Desperate letter to Hans von Bülow

On the same day (**Saturday, 20 June 1868**) , Anton Bruckner, apparently convinced that he had ruined his chances of obtaining a post in Vienna and anxious not to stay in Linz, for the rest of his life, wrote a remarkably undiplomatic letter to Hans von Bülow, in Munich. It was patently the act of a confused and emotionally overwrought man.

« N.B. - My address : Anton Bruckner, Cathedral organist and Choir-Master in Linz.

Dear, highly-esteemed Court Director,

I am, Sir, extremely sorry to have to trouble you with a request, particularly at a time when every moment is precious for you. I have been compelled to do so by pressing circumstances.

I have been fortunate enough to make a name for myself in Austria through my organ playing. In Vienna, I have been repeatedly called the best organist in Austria ; I am qualified as a Conservatory teacher (a pupil of Sechter's) . I have written several large Masses, the first of which was performed in the Court Chapel in Vienna with such success that a second was commissioned by the Lord Chamberlain. You, Sir, were good enough to examine some movements of my C minor Symphony a few years ago. Permit me, in confidence, to make the following request. If I am passed over in my own country, as I cannot stay for ever in Linz, could I, on your recommendation and on the recommendation of “ Herr ” Wagner, be granted an audience with the King and play the organ to His Majesty with a view to, perhaps, obtaining a position as Court organist or assistant music-director, either in the Church or the Court Theatre, in return for a better and assured salary ? Would this be possible, or is it completely out of the question at present ? I am confident that “ Herr ” Wagner, having written affectionately to me a little while ago, would gladly do all he could for me if there is any possibility at the present time.

Please be good enough to ask “ Herr ” Wagner. And, then, I beseech you, send me your own response and that of “ Herr ” Wagner as soon as possible. If this is a possibility, how much could I expect as my annual income ? I await

your reply most eagerly.

I humbly beseech you to treat this request of mine in the utmost confidence and, in particular, not to divulge it to anyone in Vienna.

Will the third and final performance be on the 29th ? If there is the slightest opportunity, I would like to come to Munich to share with “ Herr ” Wagner, my illustrious model, in the great pleasure and joy which his superlative work inspires. My congratulations and deepest respect ! Please be so kind as to reply.

Your grateful servant,

Anton Bruckner. »

On the trip back to Linz, Anton Bruckner finally gave a tentative affirmative answer. But, though urged by his friends to seize the opportunity immediately, he began to hesitate anew. Fear that he would not be able to live in Vienna on the salary offered him out-weighed the satisfaction which the high-standing of the new position should have given him. One day, he thought he had ruined his chances by his hesitation and scruples over un-important items in the contract.

### Quotations from Hans von Bülow

« A tenor is not a man but a disease. »

To a trombonist : « Your tone sounds like roast-beef gravy running through a sewer. »

Upon being awarded a laurel wreath : « I am not a vegetarian. »

« Always conduct with the score in your head, not your head in the score. »

« Bach is the Old Testament and Beethoven the New Testament of music. »

« The 3 greatest composers are Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. All the others are cretins. »

« In the beginning was rhythm. »

### News from Johann Herbeck

**Saturday, 20 June 1868** : Johann Herbeck’s well-meaning letter seems to have intensified Bruckner’s feelings of isolation and uncertainty. A report in the « Neue Freie Presse » , on **Wednesday, 17 June**, that the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » had appointed Leopold Alexander Zellner, a music-teacher, composer and acoustician, to the vacant position at the Conservatory no doubt convinced him that a move to Vienna was now more or less out of the

question. He gave full vent to his feelings in a letter to Weinwurm :

« Dear friend,

No doubt you know what has happened and how it happened. After you wrote, I made many requests in a letter to “ Herr ” von Herbeck, but these were, by no means, intended to suggest that I did not accept the original conditions. I should have gratefully accepted the position, at any price.

I was waiting for the contract documents - and, then, it happened. I am dreadfully unhappy about the whole thing, can neither eat nor drink, and expect that I will have to make abject apologies. If only I had seized the opportunity immediately, wretched fellow that I am ! “ Herr ” von Herbeck’s intentions were so generous ! Why did I give way to certain misgivings ?

Just think of this prestigious position ! Where and when will there be another opportunity like it ? I am heartbroken. Everything gets on my nerves. If I had dreamt that anything like this would happen, I would have travelled to Vienna every day. Take pity on me, Weinwurm - I am in a hopeless position, perhaps, abandoned for ever.

And so, all is perhaps lost !!! You can have no idea of my torment and dreadful sorrow ; my only wish is that this will not affect your own happiness.

If I had imagined that this would happen, I would not have written a single syllable. Now, I am distressed.

But I have only myself to blame for my stupidity and the resulting torment - bitter torment. How could this have happened ? I only wanted to explore the possibilities of improving the salary, but should have accepted with alacrity ; after all, 600 Florins and many lessons, etc. , would have provided sufficient security.

Farewell, and think often about your grief-stricken friend.

Anton Bruckner »

It is no accident that Anton Bruckner, in the absence of clear decision-making support, which he sought through various « authorities » to obtain, with regard to the question of his appointment as a successor Simon Sechter at the Vienna Conservatory, was in panic and despair, as their divergent opinions were unable to relieve his inner-conflict and Johann Herbeck’s letter, of **Saturday, 20 June 1868**, unequivocally referred to his own personal responsibility for the decision. In his vacillation, in the end, the desperation escalated into a suicidal statement to Herbeck, whose dismay expressed itself in the plea :

Don’t go « out of the world » but « out into the world » .

Settling in Vienna



**End of June 1868** : Anton Bruckner finally settled in Vienna when he was appointed to succeed his teacher, Simon Sechter, at the « Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . He remained in touch with his former organ, violin, piano, voice, harmony and counterpoint teacher Johann Nepomuk August von Dürnberger (1800-1880) .

Bruckner temporarily found a small apartment on the top-floor of a building in the outskirts of Vienna. He was accompanied by his spinster sister Maria-Anna (known as « Nanni ») who will always act as house-keeper.

Bruckner was hesitant to forego the equity he had built-up in Linz but, in the end, he left for Vienna.

**Linz : Bruckner and Hanslick face-to-face at the « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof »**

**Around June - July 1868** : Eduard Hanslick assures Anton Bruckner of his support in Vienna during a meeting in Linz at the famous Bavarian-inn called the « Gasthof zum Bayerischen Hof » (the guest-house of the Bavarian Court - now, « Zaininger ») , where the Austrian poet and librettist Franz von Schober is also present.

**Ready for school day**

**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.

Bruckner had, at his command (as is often met with in deeply religious people) , an enormous tolerance for suffering, in the sense of endurance and what he could put-up with ; but he had only slight tolerance of stress, in the sense of a multiplicity of stresses, especially when he was pressurized by a, for him, very momentous decision.

**Vienna : Gasthaus « Zum goldenen Greif »**

**Friday, 24 July 1868** : Concert in Vienna in honour of the Schütz Choral Society by the Liederafel « Frohsinn » and the Linz « Sängerbund » performed at the Hotel « Erzherzog Karl » (Gasthaus « Zum goldenen Greif ») at Number 31 on « Kärntner-Straße » . Some choral-works « Thanking God » are sung for the occasion :

« Das deutsche Lied » , « Der frohe Wandersmann » , « Maiennacht » and « Liebe und Wein » .

**History**

When the house (including the inn) was own by Augustin Ertl (Erdl) in 1700, the name guest-house « Zum gülden Greiffen » appeared for the first time.

At the beginning, the Neustadt town-coachmen (« Landskutscher ») were the first to come to the guest-house, and later, their colleagues from Baden and Brünn followed. The horse carriages had their departure-points in front of the inn. In 1718, the house had a private school. In 1715, Bormastin called the guest-house « one of the most distinguished inns in Vienna ». House and inn remained predominantly owned by members of the Ertl family until 1833.

Johann Roszner, a member of the Outer-Council, was the owner of the « Zum gülden Greiffen » from 1763 to 1778. In 1772, he decided to erect a new building. In 1780, he offered well-furnished rooms and a restaurant menu for every budget (pricing : 24, 34 and 51 « Kreuzen ») . In 1807, a patriotic sign entitled « Archduke Carl » was hanged in front of the building honouring Archduke Charles of Austria, Duke of Teschen, winner of the Battle of Aspern-Ebling (on 21-22 May 1809) against the troops of Napoléon Bonaparte.

In 1807, the guest-house « Zum goldenen Greif » offered another innovation : the « Déjeuner à la fourchette » (French for fork-breakfast) , which was served between 10 and 12 o'clock and will quickly enjoyed great popularity.

The place often received prominent guests :

Ludwig van Beethoven came here in 1799 to give piano-lessons to Therese von Brunswick.

Franz Grillparzer liked to dine with painter Moritz Michael Daffinger who was so critical about the social conditions at that time that he was promptly denounced by a witness. Daffinger was detained for 3 days by the police. Grillparzer was blamed for complicity.

Lajos Kossuth, the owner at that time, partially converted the hotel in 1844. During the Revolution of 1848, he encouraged from the window the torch-bearers passing by.

From 1854, the first rank Hotel « Archduke Carl » was headed by the Anton Schindler family. Besides royalty and diplomats, Richard Wagner was among the famous guests.

### Zum goldenen Greif (I, Kärntner-Straße Nummer 31, Konskriptions-nummer 968)

Zwischen 1348 und 1394 besaß das Haus Cunrat von Schinta. Trotz mehrmaligen Besitzwechsels hielt sich die Bezeichnung « Schintahaus » (auch « Schynndahaus ») für das Objekt, das vor 1394 aus 2 Häusern entstanden war, bis ins 15. Jahrhundert. 1511 erwarb es Stadtrichter Hans Rinner von der Fronleichnambruderschaft zu St. Stephan, der es in diesem Jahr vermacht worden war. 1515 erhielt Rinner auch das Recht des Salzhandels, das jedoch mit seiner Hinrichtung erlosch (siehe Wiener Neustädter Blutgericht) . Nach Christoph Poldricz, der das Haus 1564 besaß, erhielt es den verballhornten Namen « Polleritzenhof » , der sich längere Zeit erhielt. 1680 findet sich unter den Besitzern erstmals ein Gastwirt (Michael Pitl) .

Als das Haus (samt Wirtshaus) an Augustin Ertl (Erdl) kam, hören wir 1700 erstmals vom Gast- und Einkehrwirthshaus « Zum gülden Greiffen » . Anfangs kehrten hier vor allem die Neustädter Landkutscher ein, später auch jene aus Baden

und Brunn (die Kutschen hatten vor dem Einkehrwirthshaus ihre Abfahrtsstellen) . 1718 war im Haus auch eine Privatschule untergebracht. Bormastin bezeichnet 1715 den Gasthof als « einen der vornehmsten Einkehrghasthöfe » Wiens. Haus und Wirthshaus blieben bis 1833 überwiegend im Besitz von Mitgliedern der Familie Ertl.

Johann Roszner, Mitglied des Äußeren Rats, der 1763-1778 Wirt war, ließ 1772 einen Neubau errichten. 1780 hören wir von gut möblierten Zimmern und verschiedenen Menüs (zu 24, 34 und 51 Kreuzern) . 1807 erhielt der Neubau das Schild « Erzherzog Carl » , eine patriotische Geste gegenüber Karl von Österreich-Teschen, dem schon damals populären späteren Sieger von Aspern (1809) .

1807 registriert der « Eipeldauer » noch eine Neuerung, das « Déjeuner à la Fourchette » (Gabelfrühstück) , das zwischen 10 und 12 Uhr serviert wurde und sich rasch großer Beliebtheit erfreute. Der « Greif » hatte des öfteren prominente Besucher : Beethoven kam 1799 hieher, um Therese von Brunswick im Klavierspiel zu unterrichten. Auch Grillparzer zählte zu den Gästen. Er speiste hier gerne mit dem Maler Moritz Michael Daffinger, der sich mit ihm allerdings so unverblümt über die damaligen Verhältnisse unterhielt, daß er, von einem Zuhörer denunziert, prompt zu drei Tagen Polizeiarrest verurteilt wurde und man Grillparzer der Beihilfe beschuldigte.

Schon in wenigen Monaten könnte man dort, wo Ludwig van Beethoven einst mit einem Klangverstärkungstrichter seine Nachbarn terrorisiert haben soll, bei angenehmer Hintergrundmusik dicke Wollhauben kaufen. Und wo man vor hundert Jahren im eleganten Stadthotel residieren konnte, dürften schon demnächst Bademäntel feilgeboten werden. Bauplatz-Archäologie ist ein hochinteressantes Betätigungsfeld - zumal in der Wiener Innenstadt, deren Grundmauern bekanntlich auf die Römer zurückgehen.

1848 wohnte Lajos Kossuth im 1844 teilweise umgebauten Hotel und sprach vom Fenster aus zu Teilnehmern eines vorüberziehenden Fackelzugs. Ab 1854 stand das Hotel « Erzherzog Carl » , ein Haus I. Rangs, unter der Leitung der Familie Anton Schindlers. Neben Fürstlichkeiten und Diplomaten findet man auch Richard Wagner unter den Gästen. Die Bedeutung des Hotels, in dem 1908 auch das Nachbarhaus Kärntner-Straße Nummer 29 aufgegangen war, erhielt sich bis zum 2. Weltkrieg.

1945 wurde es durch 2 Bomben (12. März und 8. April) getroffen, durch den im Feinkostgeschäft « Köberl & Pietok » (Johannesgasse Nummer 1) ausgebrochenen Brand am 11.-12. April vollständig zerstört und nicht wieder aufgebaut. Heute steht hier ein Erweiterungsbau des Finanzministeriums, der 1958 errichtet wurde (Kärntner-Straße Nummer 29-31) .

« Frohsinn's » new home : « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt »

**Saturday, 25 July 1868** : Opening-ceremony of the new « home » of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » in the « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt » (« Guest-House of the City of Frankfurt ») located at « Hauptplatz » Number 34, near the « Altes Rathaus » (Old Town Hall) .

Among the special guests at the inauguration :

The « Land » Governor, Doctor Moritz Eigner ; the President of the board of directors, Doctor Mathias Weißmann ; the hotel-owner, Steinböck ; the artist-painter, Ferdinand Scheck ; and Anton Bruckner.

Among the performers :

Karl Komzák junior (violin) ; « Fräulein » Reprzensky (piano) , « Fräulein » Clotilde Kainerstorfer (Alto solo) , Doctor Ferdinand Krackowitz ( « Tannhäuser » parody) and « Herr » Weichhart (narrator) .

The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » will stay at this Hotel (which is located very close to the current building of the « Linzer Singakademie » at « Pfarrplatz » Number 10) from **1868 to 1874**.

Wealthy patrons plan to acquire the « Gasthof » in order to permanently establish the « Frohsinn » headquarters. In addition, a private concert-hall was to be arranged according to plans prepared by members of the Choral Society. But the great stock-market crisis of 1873 (the Vienna « Krach ») will eliminate the proceeds from the sale of 200,000 lottery tickets held throughout Europe.

The site originally consisted in 2 houses : a larger 5 storey one on the left ; and a smaller, 3 axled one on the right. The left-side house is mentioned for the first time as a « Gasthof » in 1595. It then became a bourgeois property. In 1684, it was once again converted into an inn. The name « Gasthof Zum schwarze Adler » (« Guest-House of the Black Eagle ») appeared in 1771, to later be called the « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt » . The right-side house is also mentioned in 1595. It appears in a register in 1802.

In 1866, both houses were combined behind a common façade according to plans by Karl Höbarth. It houses the town-hall since 1904.

A commemorative plaque honouring Ludwig van Beethoven was installed in 1872. It has been renewed in 1951.

### Rehearsing the Mass in E minor (WAB 27)

Anton Bruckner was so concerned about the performance of the Mass in E minor (WAB 27) that he spent a good part of his summer vacation in Linz, rehearsing the work no fewer than 28 times during the months of **August and September**. On **Sunday, 9 August 1868**, he received a letter of thanks from the Bishop for his sterling efforts. Rüdiger was able to tell Bruckner that the entire « Sängerbund » , some members of the « Frohsinn » and other individuals in the town had offered their services. Bruckner had to obtain official permission for a few days' leave from his Vienna Conservatory duties so that he could direct the final rehearsals of the work. He made this request indirectly through Johann Herbeck when he wrote to him to acknowledge receipt of an « honorarium » from the Lord Chancellor and to convey Rüdiger's invitation to attend the consecration ceremony and the official dinner, afterwards.

### Possible return to Kreuzen

**End of Summer 1868** : Very probably as a result of the enervating negotiation for Bruckner with regards to his appointment as successor to Simon Sechter, his condition proved itself again to be « in need of treatment » and, over the months of **August and September**, he took advantage of the possibility of the cure at Kreuzen. According to Göllicherich-Auer, in a following unspecified year, Bruckner made use, apparently for the last time, of a further treatment.

« Frohsinn » says farewell to their choir-master

**Sunday, 29 September 1868** : « Farewell evening » (« Abschieds “ Soirée ” ») organized in Linz at the « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt » by the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , in the presence of Anton Bruckner.

The « honoured guest » plays freely a piano « Phantasie » .

Doctor Mathias Weißmann holds the farewell speech.

« Herr » Theodor Zehden presents a biographical sketch of Bruckner.

Adalbert Markus also thanks the members of the Linz Theatre Orchestra (including string-quartet members Koschier, Geyer, Karl (Karel) Komzák II (junior) and Seelig) for their earlier contribution on **Saturday, 9 May 1868** (performance of the Symphony No. I, **WAB 101**) . Plus the gentleness ... of the pianist !

Alexandrine von Soyka

Alexandrine von Soyka was born on 15 July 1857 in Teplitz-Schönau and died on 4 December 1931 in Vienna. This charming daughter of an officer will be a piano student of Anton Bruckner.

His father, Karl von Soyka, was born on 28 November 1828 in Klagenfurt and died on 17 August 1910 in Linz. The latter married Maria Plagino (born on 14 August 1830 in Broskoutzei and died on 24 April 1863 in Venice, Italy) on 6 March 1856 in Jassy.

Like Emma Thaner, Alexandrine Soika later recalled her experiences of Bruckner, the man and the musician :

« One day, I was taken by friends to the cathedral to see and hear Bruckner playing the organ. My interest, as a child, was at its keenest. We ascended the mysterious dark steps and my heart beat wildly. When I saw the plump man with his powerful shoulders and broad smiling face standing before me, however, I had an immediate desire to laugh which I could only suppress with great difficulty. But, now, he sat-down at the organ - and there was no more laughing ! I was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of solemn earnestness and silent awe, because it was now giants, now angels who appeared to inhabit the instrument. I was speechless, overcome. »

Vienna : « Währingerstraße » Number 41

**October 1868 - Summer 1876** : Anton Bruckner moved into his first « real » apartment in Vienna, a « Biedermeier » style residential building located on « Währingerstraße » Number 41 (the last floor) , in the 9th District.

Bruckner is now settled in Vienna for good.

His modest little apartment (door number 10) , situated on the third floor, consisted of a kitchen and 2 other rooms. The building, called « City of Nuremberg » , consists of a 3 storey wing overlooking the side-streets. It is a typical Viennese house, more spacious than comfortable which was designed in 1838 by the architect Franz Lausch for a certain Katharina Mayer.

Bruckner's younger sister Maria-Anna (known as « Nanni ») will follow him as a house-keeper and confidante. Bruckner will live there until the summer of 1876.

On June 18, 1961, a commemorative plaque marking the composer's passage was inaugurated at the entrance by E. Hauser, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Alsergrund Heritage Museum (« Heimatmuseum Alsergrund ») located on the « Josefstädterstraße » .

Inscription :

« In this house lived Anton Bruckner (1868-1876) . The great Austrian composer has created here his 2nd, 3rd and 5th Symphonies. »

...

« In diesem Hause wohnte

1868 - 1876

Anton Bruckner

Der große österreichische

Komponist schuf hier seine

2. 3. 4. und 5. Sinfonie

Errichtet am 18. Juni 1961

vom Heimatmuseum Alsergrund »

...

An Imperial-Royal cadastre plan dating from 1829 (substantially modified in 1846) shows the « Währinger Gasse », which ends at the (actual) « Nussdorfer Straße ». The « Wohnhaus » in which we are interested was, at the time, registered under Number 282. To the north, on the site of the (actual) « Arne-Carlsson-Park », was the Imperial-Royal Military Outfit Depot and St. John the Baptist Church (« St. Johannes der Täufer Kirche »), which (according to another source) were demolished around 1860.

In 1863, the ground-elevation (and road-level) was lowered by 2 metres, undermining the façade of Bruckner's « Wohnhaus ». As a result, the entrance-gate was enlarged and the side-walk was raised.

The city records mentions that the commercial building located in the inner court-yard was already occupied a book-binding company in 1889 (anh is still in operation today !).

The 4 storey section has a uniform floor and a strict axis sequence, which is only slightly loosened to accentuate the main-entrance. The ground-floor is slightly banded.

The building shows 2 distinct cornices. The row of window frames of the 3 residential floors is strung on a delicate protruding, narrow plaster strip ; the other is situated at the upper-cornice.

The excessive height of the ground-floor which slightly disturbs the proportion of the ensemble is due to the fact that the street-level was lowered afterwards.

« Währingerstraße » is a relatively young street. Bonifaz Wohlmuets city-map of 1547 shows the frequently interrupted row of houses in direction of the actual « Währingerstraße » - which the people of the village of Siechenals called « Straß Inn die Signalis ». The town ended at the actual « Nussdorfer Straße » and the hospital of the same name.

« Nußdorfer Straße », with its connection to the Klosterneuburg monastery and the Danube area, represented the most important road engineering project of the period.

The direct route to the suburb was blocked by the open-channel of the Als and the large, closed site of the brick-works. It was not until 1862 that the factory was demolished and the path of the current road was developed. It was given the name « Währingerstraße » because it led, at the time, to the former suburbs. When the municipality of Währing was incorporated into the city of Vienna in 1894, « Währingerstraße » was extended around Währing's original « main-street » (« Hauptstraße »).

## Wohnen in Wien

Nach dem endgültigen Zurückdrängen des Osmanischen Reiches zu Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts konnte in Wien und seinen zerstörten Vorstädten mit dem Wiederaufbau begonnen werden. Die stark einsetzende Bautätigkeit hatte eine

Barockisierung des Stadtbildes zur Folge. Die weitreichenden Reformen unter Josef II. führten 1783 auch zur Modernisierung der Stadtverwaltung. Die Einführung der ersten Hausnummern (Konskriptionsnummern) sowie die Entwicklung der Kanalisation und Straßenreinigung fallen in diese Zeit. Die Auflassung zahlreicher Klöster und Friedhöfe schuf zudem neue Bauplätze.

## Geschichte

Ein Kaiserlich-Königlich Katasterplan aus dem Jahr 1829 (« berichtigt durchwegs im Jahre 1846 ») zeigt die Währinger Gasse, die auf Höhe der heutigen Nußdorfer Straße beim (zu jener Zeit noch offenen) Alserbach endet. In diesem Plan ist das hier besprochene Gebäude mit der Hausnummer 282 eingetragen. Nördlich davon, auf dem Gelände des jetzigen Arne-Carlsson-Parks, erstreckte sich das Kaiserlich-Königlich Militär-Montur-Depot und die « St. Johannes der Täufer Kirche », welche einer anderen Quelle zufolge um 1860 geschliffen wurden. 1863 wurde dann auch die dazugehörige, gut 2 Meter hohe Bodenerhebung abgetragen und das Straßenniveau entsprechend abgesenkt. Diese Maßnahme hatte zur Folge, daß auch die Fassade des Hauses Nummer 41 untergraben wurde. Man vergrößerte infolgedessen das Eingangstor und setzte den Eingängen der beiden Gassenlokale abgetreppte Podeste vor.

Aus Unterlagen der baupolizeilichen Akte geht weiters hervor, daß das gewerblich genutzte Gebäude im Innenhof der Liegenschaft bereits im Jahr 1889 eine Buchbinderei faßte, welche im Übrigen noch heute in Betrieb ist.

## Die Architektur

Das viergeschoßige Biedermeier-Wohnhaus weist eine gleichmäßige Geschoß- und strenge Achsenabfolge auf, welche lediglich zur Akzentuierung des mittigen Eingangs leicht aufgelockert wird. Das Erdgeschoß ist leicht gebändert und von den Regelgeschoßen durch ein

Gesims abgetrennt. Die Reihe der Fensterrahmen aller drei Wohngeschoße ist an einem zart hervortretenden, schmalen Putzband aufgefädelt, wobei dem obersten auch ein weiteres Gesims zugefügt ist. Die übermäßige Höhe des Erdgeschoßes wirkt leicht störend auf das proportionale Gesamtgefüge und rührt daher, daß das Straßenniveau nachträglich abgesenkt wurde.

## Der Name

Die Währinger Straße ist ihrer Anlage nach ein relativ junger Straßenzug. Auf Wohlmuets Stadtplan von 1547 ist die vielfach unterbrochene Häuserreihe in Richtung der heutigen Währinger Straße als « Straß Inn die Signalis » (nach Siechenals) bezeichnet, endete also beim Dorf Siechenals auf Höhe der heutigen Nußdorfer Straße und dem gleichnamigen Lazarett. Damals stellte die Nußdorfer Straße mit ihrer Verbindung nach Klosterneuburg und zum Donaugelände die verkehrstechnisch wichtigere Erschließung dar als jene nach Währing. Außerdem war der direkte Weg in die Vorstadt durch das zur damaligen Zeit noch offene Gerinne der Als und das große, geschlossene Gelände der Ziegelwerke versperrt. Erst um 1862 wurde die Fabrik geschliffen und der heutige Verlauf der Straße erstellt. Gleichzeitig erhielt sie ihren heutigen Namen, weil sie in den damaligen Vorort Währing führte. Anlässlich der Eingemeindung von



Währing nach Wien wurde sie 1894 um die ehemalige « Hauptstraße » in Währing selbst verlängert.

### 1868 : Christmas is coming

As 1868 drew to a close, Anton Bruckner looked forward to spending Christmas with his friends, in Linz. Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, was the recipient of the following letter :

« Dear Dean,

Above all, I must thank you for all the kindness you have shown me. I will never, never forget it ! For the sake of my nerves, I will not describe how difficult it was for me to take leave of you, Your Grace. I can find no words to describe how much I miss you. I also sorely miss every spiritual contact, with the exception of Father Schneeweiß who visited me recently. Otherwise, I am well and in very good health ; moreover, everyone is well-disposed towards me. The churches I normally attend are the Chapel of the “ Bürger-Versorgungshaus ”, St. Stephen’s and the Court Chapel. I have free admission to concerts and to the Court Opera. My Mass is to be performed in January, as further rehearsals are needed and Imhof has not been available.

I certainly hope that it will be possible for me to spend Christmas, in Linz. Then, Your Grace will not be able to get rid of me. In looking forward to it, I take comfort in the knowledge that Your Grace will have some idea of the pleasure I derive from being in your company. I also look forward very much to seeing His Grace the Bishop, again. I beg you to convey my deepest respects to him ; I certainly prayed (but did not write) , on 3 December. I do not know the address and don’t have the confidence to find-out.

Please, give my regards to your sisters. With the deepest respect,

Your Grace, from your grateful servant,

Anton Bruckner.

N.B. : My address is “ Währingerstraße Number 41 ”. »

Anton Bruckner performed regularly in front of Emperor Franz-Josef and his family in his duties as organist at the Imperial Chapel.

### Vienna : Memoirs of an old choir-boy

Anton Bruckner did not wield much authority over us choir-boys for, in spite of our good upbringing in the seminary, we had not entirely shed our Viennese penchant for mischief. Although he rehearsed his Masses with us, we did not really appreciate them. Pius Richter and Rudolf Bibl, the assistant Court music-directors, did tell us that their colleague was a great man and that his Masses were Masterpieces - better, even, than their own compositions ! But seen

through the eyes of disrespectful youngsters, Bruckner was merely an elderly, very amusing and, above all, enormously good-natured gentleman on whom we could play tricks with impunity.

When Bruckner arrived for a rehearsal, he would be very worked-up, and first, he would look for a chair :

« Boys, bring me a chair ! » , he would say, sitting-down with an effort and putting-out his cigar. The butt of the cigar he would carefully store-away in his coat pocket. Then, he ran his eyes over us, growing softly in anticipation of the trouble he would have with us. Then, he began the session with a :

« Boys, let's get-down to it ! »

After the rehearsal, the first thing he did was to look for the cigar-end he had put inside his coat. His search was nearly always in vain, because it was one of our regular tricks to filch the old man's beloved cigar from his coat pocket.

He would exclaim in despair :

« “ Jessas ”, my cab is already waiting outside, and now I can't find my cigar ! »

And with his lovely lack of guile, he would then beg :

« Boys, help me look for it ! »

That was the cue we were waiting for. We went about « searching » with a great hullabaloo, and the old gentleman would then receive the cigar we had « found » with much emotion and thank us profusely.

What tickled us most was Bruckner's frightful nervousness before conducting a performance of one of his Masses, when he appeared to go completely to pieces. We understood little of his genius ; all we could see was a funny old man holding his baton the wrong way round in his excitement ! In his other hand, he clutched a large blue handkerchief, which he began waving like a flag every now and then to the rhythm of the music. From time to time, while continuing to give the beat with his right-hand, he would bury his whole face in the handkerchief and blow his nose with the utmost deliberation. These things all served to amuse us.

All the same, I believe that we were very fond of Anton Bruckner, and not only because of the 3 cakes which he normally bought us after performances of his Masses. He went with his « boys » through thick and thin, the one great child among the 12 and 13 year olds.

### Today's menu for the Emperor

Emperor Franz-Josef was known to be a gourmet who relished good food and wine.

**Thursday, 11 March 1869** : Dinner at the « Hofburg » hosted by « Their Imperial and Apostolic Majesties Emperor Franz-Josef I and Empress Elisabeth of Austria-Hungary » .

This dinner menu is for a ball at the Imperial Palace which served as the Imperial couple's winter residence. The 11 course dinner offers a dish of spit-roasted roebuck (a red deer) kidney and no fewer than 4 desserts to satisfy the Emperor's sweet tooth.

When it came to preparing the table for a State dinner, Baron von Margutti, recalled how the Palace menu-cards at each place setting ...

« ... were the finest product of the Viennese paper industry. Each had the Imperial arms embossed in gold at the top. In accordance with an old custom at the Hapsburg Court, the menus were always in French. As a rule, the wines were not included. The only exception was in the case of special Court dinners and State banquets. »

The Emperor used to enjoy finishing his meals with a glass of Tokay from his own vineyards in Hungary. It was a strong sweet syrupy wine with a powerful perfume bouquet and was served in special glasses similar in size to a thimble.

Servants at these Court dinners wore a campaign uniform which consisted of a brown gold braided coat and black trousers offset with a dress sword. The footmen wore tail-coats edged with silver braid, black knee-breeches and gaiters.

The Emperor however was personally served by his military loaders who wore a green uniform with green trousers all with silver braid and a silver « bandolier » (an ammunition belt) without the hunting-knife.

### Menu

#### « *Potage à la Royale* »

(Chicken “ consommé ” garnished with savory egg-custard pieces.)

#### « *Mayonnaise de volaille à la ravigotte* »

(Poached chicken breast in a “ mayonnaise ” made from capers, mustard, herbs, white wine, veal stock, shallots and mustard.)

#### « *Rissoles à la moderne* »

(Fried puff-pastries filled with “ purée de foie gras ” and served with braised lettuce.)

*« Pièce de boeuf à la flamande »*

(A Flemish dish using a round of beef casseroled in beer, onions and herbs.)

*« Poulardes à la Célestine »*

(Young chickens fried with mushrooms and tomatoes and then flamed with Cognac and served with powdered garlic and chopped parsley named after the owner of “ Cercle ” restaurant in Lyon.)

*« Petits pois à l'anglaise »*

(Baby peas tossed with butter and parsley.)

*« Sorbet »*

*« Rein de chevreuil à la broche »*

(Spit-roasted roebuck kidney.)

*« Beignets de chocolat glacés »*

(“ Choux ” pastries filled with chocolate ice-cream.)

*« Gelée aux ananas »*

(Pineapple jelly.)

*« Compote mêlée »*

(Mixed poached fruits.)

*« Glaces »*

(Ice-creams.)

*« Dessert »*

*« Kaiserschmarrn »*

« Kaiserschmarrn » is probably the best-known of all the « Imperial » delicacies. It is a hearty meal frequently found in mountain huts. And it is the source of no end of confusion when this sweet dish is poorly translated as an « Emperor's omelette » .

The « schmarrn » part has now come to mean « rubbish » in colloquial German (« So a Schmarrn » is dialect for « what rubbish ! ») and one of the theories for the name comes from the idea that the dish developed from pancakes that were rejected by the Emperor.

However, it is far more likely that the latter-part of the word comes from the same root as « schmieren » (to grease or smear) and relates to the practice in the poorer communities of frying-up a combination of flour, milk and eggs and using some preserved fruit as added taste.

The legend which stems from this root says that the Emperor Franz-Josef I was served a traditional meal while out hunting but, because it was a meal for the Emperor, more milk and eggs and some raisins were added to the recipe.

Another linguistic theory holds that the « Kaiser » part was originally « Casa » - meaning something homely or made at home. However, the ingredients became the preserve of the better-off and, when Austrian cooks started to use the Imperial prefix « Kaiser » to mean a special class of delicacy in the 19th Century, « Casaschmarren » became « Kaiserschmarrn » .

Whatever the origin, the current incarnation of the « Kaiserschmarrn » is a heavy sweet pancake, often with raisins, which is chopped up and dusted with icing sugar and served with stewed plums or stewed apple on the side.

### « Kaisersemmel »

The « Semmel » refers to a bread roll - and a particular one at that. The traditional « Kaisersemmel » is made from white flour and a dough that has been kneaded for a certain length of time. The 5 folds of dough which create the « star » shape on the top help make the roll more crusty than the normal plain roll in other countries.

Where the « Imperial » part of the description comes from is open to interpretation. The most popular story tells of the fixed prices for food-stuffs imposed by the Imperial Court in the 18th Century. A deputation of Viennese bakers visited Josef II, who was so impressed by their product that he gave them permission to describe their rolls as « Emperor's Rolls » and freed them from the restrictions of the price controls.

A less interesting alternative source for the name points to a baker named Kayser at around the same time. And an even less popular theory says that the source may well have come from the Italian language.

### « Kaiserguglhupf »

The « Guglhupf » is a circular tall cake (a firm sort of sponge) with a hole in the middle and a wavy pattern over

the remaining cake. The Imperial version, the « Kaiserguglhupf », is with added raisins and, allegedly, comes from the preference of the 19th Century Court to have this served at breakfast. In those days, serving sweet items such as this would have been considered a outward sign of prosperity by the upper-classes.

## Paris and Nancy

**April 1869** : Anton Bruckner will interrupt his current activities to undertake an international organ-tour in Nancy and Paris.

He will leave Vienna for Nancy on **Saturday, April 24**. During his absence, he will not receive a salary from the Conservatory.

A few days earlier, Bruckner had written to a friend :

« Soon, I have to go to France. So help me God ! »

## Paris : « Hôtel de Diesbach »

**Saturday, 1 May 1869** : The « Journal de la Meurthe et des Vosges » publishes an article on the April 28-29 Paris concerts including a honourable mention of Anton Bruckner's organ playing and improvisation talent.

Bruckner is staying at the « Hôtel de Diesbach » located at « n° 26, rue d'Henemont (n° 89, avenue Foch) , Saint-Germain-en-Laye » , about 20 kilometres west of Paris. In 1879, the Notre-Dame missionary sisters will settle there. Besides is « la Chapelle Saint-Louis, dite des Franciscaines » .

This Hotel was probably built in the 18th Century, as evidenced by the plans of de Fer and de Boissaye on which it appears. In 1819, it was acquired by Comtesse de Diesbach-Bellerocche, who gave her name to the inn. In 1842, it was bought by Monsignor Denis-Auguste Affre, Archbishop of Paris.

This Hotel had various assignments :

**1863-1870** : International school.

**1879** : The Notre-Dame missionary sisters settled there (until 1994) .

**After 1893** : An orphanage and also a Neo-Romanesque chapel (in the same spirit as Saint-Pierre's church in Montrouge, Paris) were built.

**1980** : Closure (becoming a business-school) .

...

Cet hôtel figure sur les plans de DeFer et DeBoissaye, mais sans nom. Il fut acheté en 1819 par la comtesse de Diesbach-Belleruche et, en 1842, par monseigneur Affre, archevêque de Paris. Ce fut le siège d'une école internationale de 1863 à 1870. Les religieuses franciscaines de Calais, devenues sœurs franciscaines missionnaires de Notre-Dame, s'y installent en 1879. Construction de la chapelle entre 1893 et 1900. En 1901, construction de l'orphelinat. Il a été fermé en 1980 et est devenu une école de commerce. La congrégation a quitté la maison de retraite en 1994.

La chapelle est couverte en ardoise, avec vaisseau, cul-de-four, toit à longs pans, extrados de voûte, toit en batière, appentis. Orphelinat avec tuile mécanique, sous-sol, étage carré, toit à longs pans. Ancien hôtel enduit, avec ardoise, 2 étages carrés et 1 étage de comble.

Édifice / site : Hôtel de Diesbach, puis couvent de franciscaines.

Localisation : Île-de-France ; Yvelines ; Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Aire d'étude : Saint-Germain-en-Laye Centre.

Lieu-dit : Quartier dit de la Réserve-Péreire.

Adresse civique : n° 89 avenue Foch ; n° 26, rue d'Hennemont.

Destinations successives : École supérieure ; maison de retraite.

Dénomination : Hôtel ; couvent ; orphelinat.

Parties non étudiées : Chapelle ; jardin.

Époque de construction : 18e siècle ; 4e quart du 19e siècle ; 1er quart du 20e siècle.

Année : 1901

Personnalité(s) :

Comtesse de Diesbach-Belleruche (habitant célèbre) .

Monseigneur Denis-Auguste Affre (habitant célèbre) .

Plan : allongé.

Élévation : ordonnancée.

Étages : 1 vaisseau ; sous-sol ; 1 étage carré ; 2 étages carrés.

Escaliers : Escalier dans-œuvre ; escalier tournant à retours avec jour ; en charpente.

Gros-œuvre : Calcaire ; pierre de taille ; enduit.

Couverture :

Type : Toit à longs pans ; pignon découvert ; extrados de voûte ; toit en bâtière ; appentis.

Matériau : Ardoise ; tuile mécanique.

Couvrement : Cul-de-four.

Décor : Sculpture (étudiée dans la base Palissy) ; vitrail (étudié dans la base Palissy) ; sculpture ; ferronnerie.

Représentation : Torsade ; ordre composite, croix ; feuillage ; sculpture sur le portail de la chapelle ; ferronnerie sur la rampe d'escalier de l'hôtel.

Typologie : Hôtel.

Propriété : privée.

### Bruckner and the Parisian press

Anton Bruckner wrote :

« The music magazines in Paris have said that the great organ in Notre-Dame had its day of triumph when I played, and no one in Paris ever heard anything like it. »

He was deeply moved by the kindness and interest shown by such great musicians as Camille Saint-Saëns, Ambroise Thomas and César Franck. Daniel François Esprit Auber and Charles Gounod embraced and kissed him. He was invited to parties. He, the Upper-Austrian school Master in his rustic clothes and top boots, trod the parquet floors of a Paris salon, surrounded by elegant cosmopolites who complimented him in an idiom which is difficult for the foreigner to understand, mainly because of its tempo. But from the charming tone of their French speech, he no doubt surmised what they wanted to tell him, and, smiling and bowing to the « Grand Seigneurs », he returned their flowering sentences.



« Never again, will I experience a triumph like that. » were his happy words.

Bruckner will not benefit from personal and professional contacts established during his French organ-tour. A rejected marriage proposal will conclude its journey. He left the city of Paris to go to the provincial town of Wels, in Upper-Austria. At the time, the local newspapers and Music Societies reported nothing from his recent triumph abroad.

### Wels : The Rabl family

**Tuesday, 18 May 1869** (Pentecost Day) : The French tour is over. Anton Bruckner meets organist Jean-Auguste Rigaux in Nancy, on his way back.

According to August Göllerich senior (who observed the Master's organ playing during this last trip) , Bruckner arrives in Wels in the evening where he will stay for the night. He gives an organ recital at the parish church (« Stadtpfarrkirche ») accompanied by singer « Fräulein » Sporn. At this occasion, she will present her cousin, Karoline Rabl, to him. Bruckner will immediately fall in love with Karoline. The next day, he went so far as to ask the parents (Karl and Rosa - who were also impressed by him) for her hand. Carl Rabl is a renowned Austrian zoologist and anatomist who comes from a family of doctors.

(Taken from the manuscripts on Anton Bruckner, preserved in the archives of the municipality of Wels. Tourist-Office located at Number 55 on the « Hauptplatz » .)

Bruckner will receive a glowing reception from the inhabitants. August Göllerich senior had asked to appoint Anton Bruckner as honorary member of the Men's Choral Society of Wels (« Welser Männer-Gesang-Verein ») . Karl Seiberl is the Choir-Master.

### Doctor Carl Rabl

**1870's** : Through the intermediary of South Tyrolean physician Doctor Alexander Fränkel, Doctor Carl Rabl meets Anton Bruckner most of the time at Vienna's 1st District popular guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12. Josef Vockner and Landgraf Vincent Egon zu Fürstenberg are also present.

« At Gause » is a popular beer-pub of the capital frequented by Bruckner, his Conservatory students and disciples.

...

The Austrian zoologist and anatomist Carl Rabl was born on 2 May 1853 in Wels, Austria ; and died on 24 December 1917 in Leipzig, Germany.

Rabl came from a family of physicians, who had emigrated from Bavaria to Upper-Austria in the 18th Century. He

attended the Monastery College (« Gymnasium ») in Kremsmünster and studied medicine and zoology at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig and Jena. He was promoted Doctor of Medicine in Vienna in 1882, and, 1 year later, he qualified for descriptive anatomy. After 2 years as a private lecturer, he was appointed professor in 1885. In 1886, he accepted the nomination at the Chair of Anatomy of Karl-Ferdinand University. In 1890-1891, he was Rector of the University. In 1903-1904, he was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. In 1904, he became successor of Wilhelm His at the University of Leipzig. In 1917, he became Professor « Emeritus » .

Rabl was named honorary member of the Prague University Singers' Society.

Rabl made important contributions to cell research, fertilization, gastrulation and microbial growth. He even drew the illustrations of his publications. He developed the theory of the stability of chromosomes. On 3 occasions (between 1902 and 1910) , Rabl competed with Doctor Hans Chiari for the Nobel Prize in Medicine.

Rabl's most notable achievement was on the structural consistency of chromosomes during the cell-cycle. In 1885, he published that chromosomes do not lose their identity, even though they are no longer visible through the microscope.

Theory on the developmental history on the origin of branchiogenic carcinoma, congenital fistulas of the throat and cysts of the neck.

...

As a student, Carl Rabl's influences included Rudolf Leuckart at Leipzig, Ernst Wilhelm von Brücke at Vienna, and Ernst Hæckel at the University of Jena. In 1886, he became a full-professor at the German University in Prague, and, in 1904, succeeded Wilhelm His as professor of anatomy at the University of Leipzig. He was in charge of the anatomical institute at Leipzig until his death in 1917.

In 1891, Rabl married Marie Virchow, the daughter of German pathologist Rudolf Virchow. In 1902, he was a nominee for the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine - the prize was, however, awarded to Ronald Ross, in 1902, for his work involving malaria.

...

Carl Rabl made important contributions to morphology, comparative embryology, and developmental history. Most important, however, was his role in the development of the chromosome theory. Rabl first clearly expressed the concept of the continuity of the chromosomes throughout cellular division.

He was the son of Carl Rabl, a physician, and intended to study medicine. Already, while attending the « Gymnasium » at Kremsmünster, he showed an interest in natural history and decided to study in Jena under the zoologist, physician, and evolutionist Ernst Heinrich Philipp August Hæckel (1834-1919) , a famous advocate of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.

However, instead of going to Jena, he first studied medicine for 2 years at Vienna, from 1871. In the fall of 1873, he transferred to the University of Leipzig to work under the zoologist Karl Georg Friedrich Rudolph Leuckart (1823-1898) . During the summers of 1874 and 1875, he studied in Jena under Hæckel, who influenced him strongly and became his friend and correspondent.

In 1875, came under the influence of another great teacher, the physiologist Ernst Brücke (1819-1892) . While Hæckel was an enthusiast with a tendency to broad theorizing, Brücke insisted on extremely careful observation in his histological studies and firmly placed fact before theory.

While a student under Hæckel, Rabl had begun investigations into the formation of the germ layers in the young embryo. This was soon followed-up by research on the early cleavage and to the structure of the egg cell itself. This work convinced him that the events of cell division were precisely determined, and that embryological development was a mechanism in which the final position of each cell in the body had been pre-determined.

In 1882, he eventually received his medical degree from the University of Vienna and, subsequently, became first prosector at the anatomical institute there, assisting Karl Langer (1819-1887) . Rabl was habilitated for anatomy, in 1883 ; becoming professor « extraordinarius » , in 1885.

At this time, Rabl concluded, following studies of salamander larvæ, that the organization of the cell must remain through division ; that there was constancy in the number of chromosomal filaments characteristic of a given tissue ; and that a numerical law applied to each kind of cell. The idea of the individuality of the chromosomes had first been suggested by the Belgian embryologist and cytologist Edouard van Beneden (1846-1910) and was given its fullest definition by Theodor Heinrich Boveri (1862-1915) . Their works were fundamental to the understanding of the mechanism of heredity within the cell. The name chromosome was introduced by Heinrich Wilhelm Gottfried Waldeyer (1836-1921) , in 1888.

Rabl continued this work when he, in 1885, was appointed teacher of anatomy at the « Carl-Ferdinand-Universität » , in Prague (the German University in Prague) . Here, he attained the rank of « ordinarius » professor, in 1886. While at Prague, Rabl served a term as dean of his Faculty, and he was rector of the Ferdinand University, in 1903-1904. In 1891, he had married Marie Virchow, daughter of the pathologist Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) . However, although they had many friends and Rabl was esteemed by his colleagues in Prague, he felt that he would be happier at a German University and, in 1904, accepted the chair at Leipzig as successor to Wilhelm His (1831-1904) . Rabl directed the anatomical institute at Leipzig, until his death in 1917.

Besides his work on the cell, Rabl's numerous special investigations included the development of the heart in amphibians, the formation of the lens of the vertebrate eye, and cranial segmentation, skeletal derivation, and the origin of the paired extremities. His contributions to morphology were widely cited by other comparative anatomists.

Carl Rabl was a nominee for the 1902 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine. Another nominee was Hans Chiari (1851-1916) . The prize was awarded Sir Ronald Ross (1857-1932) for his work on malaria.

## Mitgliedschaften

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

## Ehrungen

Hofrat (1902) .

Ehrendoktor der Universität Oslo (1911) .

## Doctor Alexander Fränkel

Doctor Alexander Fränkel's detailed and comprehensive report about Bruckner is important.

Doctor Fränkel, a physician, frequented the « Riedhof » Restaurant in « Josefstadt » with Anton Bruckner for many years. Fränkel certainly conceded that Bruckner had a very modest level of general education, but he pointed-out his aptitude « in all realms of knowledge » , his ability to broaden his intellectual horizon and the adaptability of his intellect, as well as vouching for his above-average intelligence :

« Even if the sum of knowledge, which he carried with him, had no great weight, his intelligence vastly exceeded the average talent. »

...

The Austrian physician and surgeon Alexander Fränkel was born on 9 November 1857 in Jassy, Romania ; and died on 16 January 1941 in Hinterbrühl near Mödling, Lower-Austria.

After attending the Vienna « Gymnasium » and University, he received in 1880 the degree of doctor of medicine (doctor of « medicinæ universæ ») and joined the sanitary corps of the Austrian army. As surgeon of the Teutonic Knights, he took part in the Servian-Bulgarian War of 1855-1886. He resigned from the army in 1890, becoming lecturer on surgery at the University of Vienna. From 1881 to 1884, he practiced surgery at the 2nd Surgical University Clinic under Doctor Theodor Billroth. From 1884 to 1890, worked as regimental and chief-physician for the surgical

department of the « Garrisons-Spital » . In 1890, surgeon at the University of Vienna (receiving the title of outstanding professor in 1902, and full-professor in 1917) . From 1891 to 1893, assistant at the « Rudolfiner-Haus » founded by Billroth. From 1893 to 1904, chief-surgeon at the Vienna « Karolinen Kinderspital » (Karoline Riedl's Children Hospital) . Since 1895, assistant chief-surgeon of the general dispensary there. From 1895 to 1929, he succeeded Viktor von Hackers on the board of surgeons at the Vienna General Polyclinic.

Fränkel wrote many essays on a period of 25 years for the « Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift » , becoming its chief-editor in 1806. He wrote essays for the « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » , « Wiener Klinik » , « Zeitschrift für Heilkunde » , « Centralblatt für Chirurgie » , and other publications. In his numerous scientific work, Fränkel dealt mainly with the problem of wound infection as well as with carcinoma research and treatment. He was secretary of the « Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Erforschung und Bekämpfung der Krebskrankheit » (Austrian Society for Research and Control of Cancer Disease) . The monograph « Das Problem der Krebskrankheit » (The Problem of Cancer Disease) , published in 1911, was written in this context.

Fränkel has embraced Christianity.

...

Doktor Alexander Fränkel, Chirurg : geboren 9. November 1857 Jassy, Rumänien ; gestorben 16. Jänner 1941 Hinterbrühl bei Mödling, Niederösterreich. Nach Studium an der Universität Wien (Doktor der medicinæ universæ 1880) war Fränkel 1881-1884 Operations-zögling an der Zweiten Chirurgischen Universitäts-Klinik unter Theodor Billroth. 1884-1890 wirkte er als Regiments- und Chefarzt der chirurgischen Abteilung des Garnisonsspitals Nummer 2, 1890 habilitierte er sich für Chirurgie an der Universität Wien (1902 außerordentlicher Professor, 1917 ordentlicher Titularprofesor) , 1891-1893 war er Assistent im von Billroth gegründeten Rudolfinerhaus, 1894-1904 Primarchirurg am Karolinen-Kinderspital und 1895-1929 Vorstand einer der chirurgischen Abteilungen an der Wiener Allgemeinen Poliklinik (Nachfolger Viktor von Hackers) . In seinen zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten befaßte sich Fränkel vor allem mit dem Problem der Wundinfektion sowie mit der Karzinomerforschung und -bekämpfung.

...

Der österreichische Militärsarzt wanderte in seiner Jugendzeit auf die Kriegsschauplätze des Balkan und wurde dort ein großer Kriegschirurg. Er lieferte auch kriegschirurgische Mitteilungen aus dem Deutsch-Ordensspital in Belgrad. Zurück in Wien schuf Fränkel an der Polyklinik eine neue Lehrstätte mit glänzenden Operationserfolgen und zahlreichen Schülern. Man gedenke besonders seiner glänzenden Verteidigungsschrift im Rechtsstreite zwischen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Erforschung und Bekämpfung der Krebskrankheiten mit der seinerzeitigen niederösterreichischen Stadthaltere, als es sich darum handelte, das Vermächtnis einer wohlthätigen Dame für die Krebsforschung zu retten. Fränkel setzte sich auch insbesondere dafür ein, um der Stadt und auch dem Lande die notwendige Anzahl von Spitälern zu verschaffen.

Wels : Honorary member

**Thursday, 20 May 1869** : Anton Bruckner is appointed honorary member of the « Liedertafel » of Wels. This Choral Society (founded in 1847) is under the management of August Göllerich senior. The composer has developed, over time, close ties with this town.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Euer Hochwürden und Gnaden !

Soeben bin ich aus Paris angekommen, nachdem ich seit 24. April in Frankreich war. Ich habe in Nancy die zwei Konzerte am 28. und 29. von März mitgemacht und weitaus den Vorzug erhalten vor allen dort anwesenden Belgiern, Deutschen und Franzosen. Der Erfolg für mich war großartig. Die musikalischen Zeitungen aus Nancy, Lyon, Paris etc. spenden mir größten Ruhm. Auch in Paris habe ich zweimal konzertiert, zuerst im Atelier des Orgelbauers Merklin und dann in Notre-Dame, wo die größten Künstler aus Paris etc. versammelt waren. Zum Schluß verlangte ich noch ein Thema, welches mir einer der größten Organisten aus Paris gab, und als ich es in drei Teilen durchgeführt hatte, war der Erfolg ein grenzenloser. Solchen Triumph werd' ich nie mehr erleben. Die musikalischen Zeitungen aus Paris sagen, erst durch mich hätte die große Orgel von Notre-Dame ihren Triumphtag gefeiert, und man habe in Paris etwas Vorzüglicheres nie gehört etc. Solcher Erfolg, für mich zu überraschend, hat leider auf meine Gesundheit stark gewirkt, doch hoffe ich, durch Gottes Gnade bald wieder ganz gesund zu sein. Von Pater Schneeweis einen Handkuß. Solchen auch von mir an die Fräulein Schwestern. Nochmals danke ich Euer Gnaden für alles Gute, das mir zu Ostern so reich zuteil ward. Herr Waldeck schrieb mir, meine Messe würde schwer aufzuführen sein wegen des Raumes. Ich bitte Euer Gnaden gütigst, Sorge fragen zu wollen, daß selbe doch von den Damen und Herren der Liedertafel und des Musikvereines gut jetzt schon studiert werde ; denn auf dem Chor ist wohl zu nichts Platz, aber wir können selbe ja im Freien aufführen mit oder sogar ohne Tribüne. Will man aber nur eine kleine Messe und nicht meine aufführen, so ist's mir auch recht. Indem ich meine Bitte nochmals wiederhole, küsse ich Ihre Hände und verharre ehrfurchtsvollst. Euer Hochwürden und Gnaden dankschuldiger Diener,

Anton Bruckner

Von meiner Schwester Handküße.

Wien, 20. Mai 1869. »

**Monday, 24 May 1869** : In his edition, the « Welser Anzeiger » (The Wels Gazette) reports that Bruckner's performance has aroused « the astonishment and admiration of everyone » .

Vienna : Hotel « Zur goldspinnerin »

During his stay in Vienna **between 1869 and 1871**, Johannes Brahms lived at the Hotel « Zur goldspinnerin » (At the Golden Spider) , located at « Ungargasse » Number 2 in the 3rd District, offering a great view over the « Stadtpark » close to the « Stephansdom » . (Ludwig van Beethoven was also a guest there.) A commemorative plaque honouring

Brahms can be seen today in front of the actual building.

Since the 1870's, the « Zur goldspinnerin » was Vienna's largest hotel where you could discreetly rent « by the hour » . Shift-workers from the nearby factories would register to stay overnight - most of the time, sharing their bed. Day-workers would bring along prostitutes who lured their suitors on the streets of the First District (« Kohlmarkt » , « Kärntnerstraße » and « Seilerstätte ») .

At the end of the 19th Century, the Viennese bourgeoisie still frequented the hotel but it was now essentially the meeting-place between the « ladies of the night » and their suitors.

In 1908, the « Zur goldspinnerin » was extended and converted into a hotel-restaurant. It was renamed the « Goldene Spinne » (or « Goldenespinne ») .

After the Second World War, the « Goldene Spinne » , and with it just about every hotel in and around Vienna's city-centre (including the noble ones ...) , counted on this « quick and easy » way to make money.

Today, the hotel (located at « Bahngasse » Number 1a) looks quite different : the façade suffered major damage during Allied bombings. That is why it had to be rebuilt.

The hey-day of prostitution in this area ended in the mid-1970's with the reconfiguration of the city-centre. The construction of pedestrian zones, shopping-streets and restaurants, even for the sophisticated « clientèle » , led to the departure of the « faune » from the First District.

### 1869 : Bruckner's summer vacation

**Summer 1869** : Anton Bruckner spends his summer vacation in Linz, St. Florian, Schwanenstadt (at the Mayfelds) and Vöcklabruck (at the Huebers on « Graben » Number 15) .

At that time, Bruckner's home in Linz was the « Florian-Haus » (« Florianer Stiftshaus » or « Freihaus des Klosters St. Florian ») : the local residence of the monks of St. Florian, located at « Landstraße » Number 22.

### WAB 27 : « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt »

**August - September 1869** : As reported by Doctor Ferdinand Krackowitzer - Anton Bruckner personally conducts the rehearsals of the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) at the « Gasthof Zur Stadt Frankfurt » in Linz. The choir is composed of members of the Liefersafel « Frohsinn » and the « Sängerbund » , plus brass-pupils of the « Musikverein » .

Anton Bruckner mentioned that the Mass in E minor also took place 3 times (**before July 1869 ?**) at the Vienna Court Chapel.

## Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1869-1870

Hermine Adametz studiert am Wiener Konservatorium bei Anton Bruckner 3 (?) Schuljahre Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt I und II.

Weitere Bruckner-Schüler sind Max Ambros von Rechtenberg (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Carl Gaßner (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Hellmesberger junior (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Carl Kratzl (Harmonielehre) ; Josef Lamberger (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Leopold Landskron (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Latzelsberger (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Carl Lux (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Wilhelm Rauch (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Hugo Reinhold (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Damian von Röbl (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Emil Schwarzkopf (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Siebert (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) ; Eduard Stanek (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; Leopold Svoboda (Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt) ; und Carl Wolfrum (Harmonielehre und Orgel) .

...

Im « Personalstand des Konservatoriums im Schuljahre 1869-1870 » steht Anton Bruckner (alphabetisch bedingt) an erster Stelle :

« 2. Lehrpersonal.

Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) , seit 1868 (2 Jahre) . »

...

Das alphabetische « Verzeichniß der Zöglinge » listet und andere folgende Schüler auf :

Hermine Adametz (« aus Ternanye in der Militärgrenze, 28 Jahre ») ; Ambros von Rechtenberg (« aus Krakau in Galizien, 18 Jahre ») ; Josef Lamberger (« Pest in Ungarn, 17 Jahre ») ; Leopold Landskron (« 27 Jahre ») ; Josef Latzelsberger (« aus Allhartsberg in Niederösterreich, 20 Jahre ») ; Wilhelm Rauch (« aus Deutsch-Preußnitz, 25 Jahre ») ; Damian Röbl (« aus Prag in Böhmen, 18 Jahre ») ; Emil Schwarzkopf (« 18 Jahre ») ; Josef Siebert (« 16 Jahre ») ; August Sturm (« 14 Jahre ») ; Leopold Swoboda (« 18 Jahre ») ; Carl Wolfrum (« 18 Jahre ») .

...

Anton Bruckners Schüler erscheinen auch im Verzeichnis der zwischen 15. Juni 1870 und 8. Juli 1870 vorgenommenen « Classen-Prüfungen » :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner (4 Schüler) :



### I. Klasse

Lobenswerth : 1. Josef Siebert ; 2. Max Ambros von Rechtenberg.

### II. Klasse

Vorzüglich : 1. Hugo Reinhold ; 2. Josef Latzelsberger.

Schule für Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

### I. Klasse

(Unter 13 Zöglingen.)

Vorzüglich : 1. Emil Schwarzkopf ; 2. Carl Wolfrum ; 3. Hermine Adametz ; 4. Josef Hellmesberger junior ; 5. Carl Lux.

Lobenswerth : 1. Josef Lamberger ; 2. Josef Siebert ; 3. Carl Gaßner ; 4. Max Ambros von Rechtenberg.

### II. Klasse

(Unter 6 Zöglingen.)

Vorzüglich : 1. Leopold Landskron ; 2. Josef Latzelsberger ; 3. Hugo Reinhold ; 4. Damian Röbl.

Lobenswerth : 1. Eduard Stanek ; 2. Leopold Svoboda.

### III. Klasse

Vorzüglich : Wilhelm Rauch. »

...

Einige Schüler erhielten « Classenprämien » :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

### II. Klasse

I. Prämie : Hugo Reinhold.

2. Prämie : Josef Latzelsberger.

Kontrapunktschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Emil Schwarzkopf.

2. Prämie : Carl Wolfrum.

II. Klasse

1. Prämie : Leopold Landskron.

2. Prämie : Josef Latzelsberger.

III. Klasse

1. Prämie : Wilhelm Rauch. »

...

Anton Bruckner devoted one hour in the morning to prayer before teaching at the Conservatory, and one hour in the evening before eating his late supper (which he took around 10 pm in a « Gasthaus » in Vienna) .

Bruckner owned a lavishly equipped pedal-harmonium which is now kept at the Monastery of St. Florian and (confidential matter) can be tested there. It has, however, a frightfully loud and robust sound. Bruckner literature nowadays still has it that Bruckner had had an organ in his flat. This is, of course, a misunderstanding ; he had just his pedal-harmonium, an instrument which, because of the pedal, had been praised as « room-organ » in the 19th Century. Bruckner certainly could not afford a pipe-organ.

Bruckner had to hold his organ lessons at the « Kaiserlich-Königliche Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Bildungsanstalt » (The Imperial and Royal Educational Institute for Male and Female Teachers) as from 1870 at a pedal-harmonium.

On October 1, 1869, Bruckner was finally appointed professor for organ at the Conservatory of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna but had still to wait for a proper organ. In the old building of the Conservatory (« Unter den Tuchlauben ») , where Bruckner had already been teaching harmony and counterpoint for 1 year, there was no organ either.

Even after the Conservatory had moved to the new building of the « Musikverein » (on « Bösendorfer-Straße ») at

the beginning (October 4) of the new term 1869-1870, the Conservatory could not furnish the newly-appointed and very first organ teacher of the institute with an organ. Again, Bruckner and his students had to make do with a pedal-harmonium until an organ was put-up in the « Kleine-Saal » (today, the Brahms Hall) which was also used for chamber-size concerts. Unfortunately, it does not exist any more.

In these stylish surroundings, Bruckner taught his organ students whose number was fixed at the « normal number of students » of 9, according to the decree of employment. Each of them Bruckner had to teach 3 hours a week « personally, punctually and conscientiously » .

At all times, Bruckner had been informing his students about his compositions in progress, gave them acoustic samples on the piano (and probably the organ as well) , and they acted as a noisy unit when his Symphonies were performed.

### **WAB 27 : Tense rehearsals**

**Autumn 1869** : Anton Bruckner was preparing in Linz the newly-completed version of his Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) .

Dripping wet, only in shirt-sleeves, he was in the middle of lengthy rehearsals and implored the musicians and singers to persevere.

An anxious Bruckner told Hans Commenda senior that the first performance was in only 3 weeks at the Vienna « Hofkapelle » .

He sighed :

« You can't stop because the work is so difficult ! »

As a conductor, Bruckner was very pleasant with the ladies, but too magisterial (hard) with the male-singers.

During the decisive rehearsals, the « Kyrie » made such difficulties that Bruckner himself, in despair, threw-away the baton, and the singers ran apart, in tears.

However, the next day, the rehearsal went to general satisfaction.

The over-joyed Bruckner wrote to a friend :

« Well-rehearsed and conducted. The most glorious day of my life ! The Bishop and Governor (of Linz) toasted me ! »

### **Vienna : Death of « Nanni »**

**Sunday, 9 January 1870** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Maria-Anna (« Nanni ») is very ill. Anton warns Rosalia to avoid direct contact with her sister due to a risk of contagion. (Their mother Theresia Helm died of the same affliction.) Anton and Ignaz would help to pay her travel expenses to Vienna.

**Sunday, 16 January 1870** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Today, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Bruckner's younger sister, Maria-Anna (born on 27 June 1836 in Ansfelden) dies of tuberculosis. Father Schneeweiß is at her side.

**Tuesday, 18 January 1870** : Funeral of Maria-Anna Bruckner at the Church of the « The Holy Trinity » . The ceremony is headed by the Minorite Father Bernardin Karpfenberger, in presence of Anton, Ignaz and Rosalia.

She will be buried at the Währing Cemetery in Vienna. In 1901, Ignaz will order the transfer of her remains to St. Florian.

Rosalia will look after her brother for several days in his Viennese apartment.

**Sunday, 23 January 1870** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Karl Schiedermayr :

Bruckner announces the death of her younger sister « Nanni » to Doctor Schiedermayr. He feels very guilty and blames himself for the deterioration of her health because of the daily shores as house-keeper. He thinks she would still be alive if she stayed in Linz.

« Our sister Anna went to live with my brother Anton, in Linz, and then, in Vienna. She was our favourite. Mother has prayed a lot for her, even on her death-bed. She told Anton that he must now be responsible for her because she was a very fragile woman. So, my brother took care of her. Unfortunately, she died too soon. His grave is in the cemetery of Währing. »

(Ignaz Bruckner)

« Nanni » was the only person with whom Bruckner could talk everyday during the first 2 years spent in the Austrian capital (it also saved him household expenses since 1866 in Linz) .

« Frau Kathi » , the new house-keeper

**End of January - beginning of February 1870** : Anton Bruckner must now hire a house-maid.

Her name : Katherina Kachelmayer (Kachelmaier, Kachelmayr) , or simply « Frau Kathi » .

She will spend a few hours daily, taking care of the apartment and preparing the meals (including salted pork

accompanied by bread dumplings) . She will be devoted to him for more than 20 years (until his death) . She will succeed in gaining his trust, and some notoriety with his pupils and colleagues.

She was born on 19 February 1846 and died on 23 March 1911 at the asylum of Steinhof, near Vienna. She was the wife of a worker.

In 1876, her monthly salary was 7 Florins (« Gulden ») .

She was very controlling - even tyrannical. She was obsessed with order and cleanliness (she even bullied him for misplacing a slipper !)

Bruckner was an old stubborn bachelor who was rather negligent. She was not allowed to touch anything on his desk or piano. Snuff from his silver-box was a solace, even if she growled about brown stains everywhere.

She had every reason in the world to despair of his disorder. She was a straight shooter - so parks would occasionally fly !

She often packed-up making her last « farewell » ... to finally return the next morning. Each time, she insisted that he was a very lucky man because it was very difficult to find a replacement able to negotiate with his numerous whims and quirks.

...

On « Heßgasse » Number 7, Bruckner was, at best, tempestuously served by Katharina Kachelmayr (« Frau Kathi ») . It was lucky she didn't spank him. He was her unending vexation and she didn't mind saying so, loudly. She couldn't bear the chaos in his bedroom. She was tired of the snuff-stained ink-blotted litter in the other chambers. Every 2 weeks, she had to threaten to quit if the « Herr » Professor didn't stop throwing stacks of note sheets on top of his slippers.

Certainly, « Frau Kathi » enjoyed Bruckner's full-confidence and decent respect. He never appeared partially clothed in the morning, even when he was an old man. What a delightful scene it must have been when he came into the kitchen for his morning cup of coffee ! He would sit-down and talk to « Kathi » about the happenings of the day before and complain about the malignity of his enemies. Sometimes, he would tell her about his harmless little adventures in love. He might, on occasion, ask her to help him in making an appointment with a girl or in getting a gift for a « sweet-heart » .

Bruckner opened up to « Frau Kathi » :

« Only once in my life, when I was young, did I ever kiss a girl. I have repented it deeply as a sin. »

The chronicler of this unique story adds nothing further.

Sometimes « Kathi » would be given a foretaste of the role she would play in stories about Anton Bruckner's life, when he told her :

« You will become a historical personage through me. »

We have not been told how she reacted to such remarks or whether she really was happy in performing her tasks. She was a faithful soul, and she served and nursed the sick composer for many years, up to the time of his death. He bequeathed her a small sum, which the heirs promptly increased. And, after all, she actually did become a historical figure.

### Bruckner plays at home

**1870's** : Anecdote from Anna von Gyurkowich :

« Anton Bruckner had an organ (pedal harmonium) in his flat (at « Währinger-Straße » Number 41 in the 19th District, on the third floor) . At that time, I was a girl of 13 and, with my brothers and sisters, often used to visit Mrs. Römer, the widow of a major of the Medical Corps who lived on the second floor of the aforementioned house. There, we heard Bruckner play the most wonderful Preludes on his instrument. »

### Kirchdorf : « Gasthof “ Zur Post ” »

**1870's** : During his summer holidays, Anton Bruckner frequently visited his friend Doctor Kaltenbrunner in Kirchdorf. He stayed at the « Gasthof “ Zur Post ” » , which also served as rehearsal-hall for the local « Liedertafel » .

Alois Spannesberger reports that Bruckner met Alois Weißgärber and « Fräulein » Schininger in Schlierbach. He made an excursion to Kremsmünster, where he received a letter from Richard Wagner.

**Thursday, 25 August 1870** : Anton Bruckner goes to Kirchdorf and hears the local « Liedertafel » under choir-Master Alois Weißgärber. He is very pleased with the results and even played some pieces himself at the piano.

Alois Spannesberger reports in a chronicle :

« Recently, “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner was on a trip to Kirchdorf, where he received a special award. »

### « Kirchdorfer Liedertafel »

Kirchdorf ist ein Stück lebendiger Kirchdorfer Tradition. Gegründet vor 160 Jahren, hat der Männerchor als musikalische Institution schon jetzt seinen historischen Platz behauptet.

Die Kirchdorfer Liedertafel zählt zu den ältesten Chören Oberösterreichs. Sie besteht derzeit aus 21 aktiven Sängern aller Alters- und Berufsgruppen. « Mit eiserner Dauer sind fröhlich wir Männer » lautet das Vereinsmotto seit 1852.

« Diese eiserne Dauer und die Fröhlichkeit werden uns ein guter Wegbegleiter auch in den nächsten Vereinsjahren sein. Es wird aber immer schwieriger, als reiner Männerchor zu bestehen. Daher sind wir auch auf der Suche nach Nachwuchs, um den Bestand des Chores auch auf die nächsten Jahrzehnte zu sichern » , so Obmann Günter Heim.

Nur vier Monate nach der Gründung des Chores am 9. Jänner 1852 standen die Sangesbrüder auf der Bühne und gaben ihr 1. Konzert. In den folgenden Jahren entwickelte sich der Chor prächtig, musste aber auch immer wieder um sein Bestehen ringen. Die Vereinsfahne aus dem Jahr 1868 ist noch heute bei jedem Konzert dabei.

« Sie fördert den Zusammenhalt des Chores und besteht aus prachtvollem Seidenstoff und einer Stickerei mit echten Goldfäden » , so Heim.

Um die Jahrhundertwende gab es auf Einladung der Kirchdorfer Liedertafel einen Besuch der Männergesangsvereine Frohsinn aus Linz und Frohsinn aus Wien. Die Kirchdorfer waren von den Darbietungen so begeistert, daß die Veranstaltungswiese in der Nähe des Parks seither den Namen « Frohsinnwiese » trägt.

### 1870's : The erection of the « New Vienna »

In the years around 1870, there was a crucial transformative phase in Vienna's development towards becoming a major modern metropolis. From 550,000 around 1850, Vienna's population had almost doubled to about 1 million by the 1870's.

For Vienna, 1873 became the key year of the era. Like the construction of the new « Ringstraße » , the World Exhibition symbolized the city's ambitions of attaining international standing. It was the first event of its kind not to be held in London or Paris, and an ostentatious display of superlatives : an area 5 times as large as the previous show in Paris, 53,000 exhibitors from 35 nations, 194 extravagantly designed pavilions, and crowning it all the Palace of Industry with its 85 metre high « Rotunda » , then the world's largest domed structure and a new Viennese landmark, and the 800 metre long Engine Hall. The Exhibition attracted more than 7 million visitors between 1 May and 2 November, yet, its objectives were only partially met. 1873 was also the year of the great stock-exchange crash which brought the phase of economic prosperity and optimistic hopes for the future to an abrupt end.

It is the period of large-scale building projects and the movers and shakers of the « Gründerzeit » era, of miserable social conditions, migration and the advent of the mass political parties, of increased mobility thanks to faster transport, of the advances made in medicine and technology and of the fashions of the period, which was a golden age in the decorative arts.

### The city as construction site

The municipal politicians of the Liberal age laid the ground-work for a modern technical infrastructure which became a prime driver of the economic boom and radically transformed the city. One of the key-projects was the regulation of the Danube, which was undertaken for flood protection purposes as well as with a view to the city's further expansion. The cutting of a new channel to shift the Danube closer to the city was expected to entail advantages in terms of trade, commerce and transport, the aim being to make the Danube into a navigable water-way. The idea of containing the main-arm of the river in a uniform, perfectly straight bed was not a new one, but it was not until now, with the aid of modern steam-engines, that it became possible to implement the plan within the space of a few years, from 1869 to 1875.

The most costly of the urban infrastructure projects was the construction of Vienna's first mountain spring water pipeline (1870-1873) , which tapped the Alpine springs of the Rax-Schneeberg massif to supply water to the city and its million-plus inhabitants. Repeated water shortages nevertheless ensued as a result of planning errors coupled with escalating water consumption. Besides water-supply and sewage disposal, the city fathers also tackled another hygienic problem : like the city as a whole, Vienna's « communal » cemeteries were in urgent need of expansion by the middle of the 19th Century. In 1863, the City Council introduced a system of central planning, and the new Central Cemetery in Simmering was officially opened 11 years later. The « burial question » was fraught with technical, religious and cultural implications that prompted heated debate in Vienna.

Last but not least, Vienna's transport infrastructure also underwent a radical transformation : the years around 1870 saw the construction of 4 of the city's 6 major « Gründerzeit » railway termini (« Südbahnhof » , « Nordwestbahnhof » , « Franz-Josefs-Bahnhof » and « Staatsbahnhof » - later called : « Ostbahnhof ») , and within a period of 6 years, 5 new bridges were built over the newly-regulated Danube, among them the « Kaiser-Franz-Josefs-Brücke » (later called : the « Floridsdorfer Brücke ») and the « Kronprinz-Rudolf-Brücke » (which became the « Reichsbrücke ») . To coincide with the World Exhibition, the City Council also had several bridges over the Danube Canal and the River Wien renovated or rebuilt. A task not considered to be within the remit of the civic authorities was the expansion of the public transport network, which was left to private investors : by 1873, a basic tramway system consisting of the « Ringstraße » lines and some initial links to the suburbs was in place, still operated by horse-drawn trams. The municipal politicians were likewise little concerned with the housing market, with the result that the speculation-driven expansion of new districts on the outskirts was dominated by « American-style » gridiron streets lined with low-standard tenement blocks. Mass immigration of people looking for work and soaring living costs swiftly exacerbated the housing shortage and the squalid living conditions of the urban poor.

### Boulevard of grandiose ambitions : the « Ringstraße »

The Emperor ordered the demolition of the city walls and fortifications in 1857, and an international urban planning competition held 1 year later yielded the « master-plan » which served as the blue-print for the key public buildings, green spaces, vistas and squares. The construction of the « Ringstraße » was a State-controlled, centrally managed, large-scale project. The overall supervisory role lay with the Ministry of the Interior, with the City of Vienna reduced to the status of onlooker while still being required to finance the new road and sewer network. The building of « New Vienna » became a bone of contention between the Imperial Court, government, military administration and civic



authorities. Compromise was achieved, inter-alia, through the assignment of parcels of land free of charge for the laying out of « Stadtpark » and « Rathausplatz » . The proceeds from the sale of building plots to private individuals enabled the state to finance representative public buildings like the « Hofoper » .

May 1st, 1865, saw the official opening ceremony for the « Ringstraße » - despite the fact that the major part of the boulevard was not yet built and still at the planning stage. Buildings, most of them inhabited, were already standing on « Opernring » , « Kärntnerring » and « Schuberting » , however, and the economic boom meant that intensive private-sector building activity continued right up until 1873. The clay beneath Vienna was thus transformed into « gold » , as illustrated by the meteoric career of brick manufacturer Heinrich Drasche : after founding the « Wienerberger » joint-stock company in 1869, he subsequently rose to become the richest man in Vienna, commissioning the building of the « Heinrichhof » , a huge new-style luxury apartment building directly opposite the Opera House. By 1873, all the main public buildings were already under construction or discussion, including the new City Hall, the Parliament and the museums. Vienna's leading architects, notably Heinrich Ferstel, Theophil Hansen and Friedrich Schmidt, designed the first major buildings in the « Viennese style » , an especially opulent variant of the neo-Renaissance style which caused an international furore.

This feverish period was also characterized by the mass entertainments of the « Gründerzeit » , innovations in home furnishings and engineering, the role played by the illustrated media, inventions such as pneumatic post and, not least, on the great arts debate of the time. As the capital city of music, Vienna, around 1870, provided the stage for a musical « clash of the Titans » between the « consummator » of Viennese Classicism, Johannes Brahms, and the New German School represented by Anton Bruckner and Richard Wagner. The early 1870's also saw Austria's first ever environmental campaign, to save the Vienna Woods from logging, as well as the expedition to the North Pole, which returned in 1874 after 2 years trapped in the ice. Grand hotels like the « Metropol » and « Imperial » opened their doors, while J. & L. Lobmeyr unveiled the first « Arabian-style » range of glassware. The latest fashions were imported from the world's major cities, among them ornate gowns with extravagant bustles.

### Vienna : « St. Annahof's » Café and Restaurant « Neues Elysium »

**1870** : The « St. Annahof » (or « Annahof ») is located in the 1st District of Vienna, right next to St. Anna Church (« St. Anna Kirche ») between « Annagasse » Number 3 and « Johannesgasse » Number 4. This building has a long history.

In 1628, the « St. Annahof » was a Jesuit monastery where the novitiate of the Order of St. Anna was offered. In the basement, there was an inn. In 1786, the building housed the Vienna Academy of Fine-Arts, where public exhibitions were to be held. The 18th Century saw the creation of the St. Anna Teacher's Training College which will welcome under its roof Franz Schubert (1797-1828) and Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872) . From 1870 to 1874, Anton Bruckner acted as assistant-professor of piano, organ and harmony.

On March 1, 1840, the Biedermeier-styled « Neues Elysium » café-restaurant was inaugurated in the basement of the « St. Annahof » . The entrance is located at « Johannesgasse » Number 4. It is considered to be « the first

underground ride in the world » .where one could embark in a horse-drawn railway on a voyage around the world, passing through 5 rooms decorated as the different continents.

It will quickly become one of the main attractions in Vienna.

In 1854, the owner, Josef Daum, died of cholera. His son then took-over. But financial difficulties which began in 1857 forced the closure of the coffee-shop in 1864.

The « Annahof » in its present form was built in 1894 according to plans by architects Fellner and Helmer who, at the time, specialized in building theatres in Europe. The « Annahof » was designed as a tenement-house with a « Revue » Theatre which also served as a Ball-Room Restaurant for Viktor Silberer, a pioneer of Austrian aviation.

Fellner & Helmer was an architectural firm founded in 1873 by Austrian architects Ferdinand Fellner (19 April 1847 - 22 March 1916) and Hermann Helmer (13 July 1849 - 2 April 1919) .

They designed over 200 buildings (mainly Opera Houses and apartment buildings) across Europe in the late-19th Century and early-20th Century, which helped bind the Austro-Hungarian Empire together and cement Vienna as its cultural centre. While most of the work stood in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, others can be found from Switzerland to present-day Ukraine. Frequent collaborators for integrated exterior and interior artwork include Gustav Klimt, Hans Makart, Theodor Friedl, and other significant artists.

### Vienna : The « St. Anna Affair »

According to Bruckner, his positions as piano teacher at St. Anna College and as music teacher at the Vienna Conservatory do not yield enough money. That is why he decided to give private piano lessons on the time normally allocated to composition.

**September 1871** : Anton Bruckner's disproportionate affection for his female pupils will put him (once again) into trouble ...

During a piano class, Bruckner naively addressed one of his students, who is the daughter of a shoe-maker :

« Mein lieber Schatz » (My sweetheart)

(An expression that does not mean anything suggestive or inappropriate to him.)

Her immediate neighbour (perhaps, a bit jealous ...) , who happens to be the daughter of influential parents, reported the incident to the administration.

At the time, some parents were concerned about the atmosphere that seemed to prevail at St. Anna.

Terrified at the idea of being accused of contempt to good morals, Bruckner, in a state of panic, went from office to office to justify himself, claiming his innocence. Meanwhile, his very vocal rivals called this a scandal.

For his own defence, Bruckner even went so far as to ask his director, Josef Hellmesberger senior, to write him « de facto » an official certificate attesting his irreproachable behaviour during his courses at the Vienna Conservatory.

However, despite his « naïveté » , Bruckner had to face the Discipline Committee.

He will say, disillusioned :

« Difficile est satiram non scribere. »

(It is hard not to write satire.)

Quotation from the Latin poet Juvenal (« Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis ») who lived from the end of the First Century to the beginning of the Second Century A.D. He is the author of 16 poetic works gathered in a single book called « The Satires » , composed between the year 90 and the year 127.

In her extremely detailed article, « Bruckner und die “ Affaire St. Anna ” » , Elisabeth Maier begins by describing the situation at St. Anna's Teacher Training Institute in Vienna, in **October 1870**, when Anton Bruckner was appointed an assistant-teacher. Like many other educational establishments at the time, it was undergoing radical change and re-organization « encumbered with every conceivable difficulty » . Maier paints a fairly grim picture of Bruckner's working conditions at the Institute and, then, makes use of a considerable amount of archival evidence, including official documents and newspaper reports, to describe the accusation of improper behaviour that confronted him when he returned to his teaching duties in the **Autumn of 1871** after his successful series of organ recitals in London, his own reaction to the accusation as revealed in letters to friends, the obvious reluctance of the authorities to re-instate him fully, although he was finally exonerated of the alleged offence, and the suggestion of some behind-the-scenes political manoeuvres. She also clarifies some misapprehensions that have arisen in Bruckner scholarship as a result of Max Auer's erroneous suggestion (with thinly disguised anti-Semitic undertones) in Göllerich-Auer IV/1, pages 178f. , that the young lady who reported the alleged incident to the authorities was from a Jewish family and had apparently done so in a fit of pique, and underlines Johann Herbeck's helpful intervention. Bruckner was allowed to continue teaching at the Institute until **July 1873** but, at his own request, in the men's section only.

**Around the beginning of October 1871** : Anton Bruckner is accused of having offended young female students at St. Anna College for Teacher Training. He was denounced by the daughters of Director Joseph Karl Streinz. On the basis of an anonymous complaint, Bruckner is held responsible by school councilor Doctor Moritz Adolf Ritter von Becker. The Director, Professor Vernaleken, tries to dismiss Bruckner from the institution. Bruckner asks Karl Seiberl (now, a lawyer in Vienna) for legal advice.

**Thursday, 5 October 1871** : Letter from School Councilor Doctor Moritz von Becker (?) to Doctor Josef Jireček (not Karl

Ritter von Stremayr) of the Ministry of Education :

The letter refers to Director, Professor Vernaleken. Announcing the employment of assistant-teachers Eduard Kremser, Karl Hoffmann and Richard Kümmel. Dismissal of Anton Bruckner. Transferring the organ and music theory lessons to Eduard Kremser.

In August Göllicher - Max Auer, it is not clear whether Moritz von Becker or Professor Vernaleken is the author of the letter. It seems that Becker has merely issued an opinion.

...

Dismissal of Anton Bruckner from his post as assistant-professor in the context of the « St. Anna affair » . He will be later rehabilitated.

The Minister of Education, Karl Ritter von Stremayr (dedicatee of the 5th Symphony) will rule in favour of Bruckner.

The latter remained at his post until 1874 when Rudolf Weinwurm succeeded him in a major restructuring of the institution. (Although often separated for professional reasons, the ties between Bruckner and Weinwurm will last until the composer's death.)

Shortly after this unfortunate event, professor Bruckner's innocence will prove to be obvious. The whole thing will have been a simple but disastrous misunderstanding.

Two observations :

First - neither the pupils nor the superiors managed to decode Bruckner's personality.

Second - there was no matter for scandal despite an unusual but harmless use of words.

Nevertheless, from now on, Bruckner will ask to teach only boys - fearing that :

« Someone could come-up at any time to denounce me. » , he wrote to a friend.

The premature death of his supporter, Johann Herbeck, and the disastrous premiere of the 3rd Symphony will be the culmination of a series of personal set-backs that will have begun with the St. Anna « affair » .

Bruckner will admit :

« Without the presence of Herbeck, I think it will be impossible for me to earn a living. All the pleasures and joys of being in Vienna have left me. In order to survive, I have to face so many complications that there is no time for art. »

**Around Saturday, 14 October 1871** : Anton Bruckner explains to Councilor Hermann Heiß that he is no longer interested in teaching elementary or secondary female classes at « St. Annahof » .

**Before Sunday, 15 October 1871** : The Leipzig « Tonhalle » reports on the St. Anna « affair » .

**Sunday, 15 October 1871** : The « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » , Number 83, reports on page 2 :

« Professor Anton Bruckner, the victim of a perfidious Czech denunciation » about the St. Anna « affair » . The newspaper is using an article published in the « Linzer Tages-Post » on October 12, 1871 :

« We will add that this is the same Anton Bruckner who, just recently, won the First Prize ahead of all its competitors during an organ competition in London - the pride of Austria and of his beloved fatherland : Upper-Austria. It seems that you want to drive out of the country the few competent men who remain to us, and only mingle with the arrogant bearded Czechs !

God is great ! »

**Tuesday, 17 October 1871** :

Testimony of Robert Niedergesäß on Anton Bruckner's good teaching at « St. Annahof's » Elementary and High-School, and on his rigorous moral attitude :

« Testimony.

The Board of Directors has pleased to confirm that the Imperial-Royal Court organist, “ Herr ” Professor Anton Bruckner, had taught piano playing with great success at the State Institute for Education of Teachers in Vienna during the academic year 1870-1871. He proved to have excellent teaching skills, an irreproachable attitude, infallible moral principles, and to be totally dedicated to his profession. Those qualities honour both the artist and the teacher.

Vienna, October 17, 1871.

Robert Niedergesäß,  
Imperial-Royal Director of the Imperial-Royal State Institute for Education of Teachers in Vienna. »

...

Letter from the Ministry of Education to the provincial education authority :

Referring to the letter of October 5, 1871, Eduard Kremser, Karl Hoffmann, Richard Kümmel and Anton Bruckner

(monthly salary of 54 Florins) are to be employed at « St. Annahof's » elementary and secondary school. The Directorate assumes full responsibility. Bruckner could also give singing lessons. According to Councilor Hermann Heiß : Bruckner is preferable to Kremser (due to his success as church organist and conservatory professor) . A reprimand was addressed to Professor Vernaleken.

**After Tuesday, 17 October 1871 - before Sunday, 22 October 1871 :**

Letter from Anton Bruckner to the « Linzer Tages-Post » and the « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » :

Bruckner reiterates that the alleged suspension from « St. Annahof » College was based on malicious denunciations. He is now asking the newspapers to publish the real facts and also the text written by Director Robert Niedergesäß (17 October 1871) .

An update was printed in both newspapers.

The Sunday edition of the « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » (22 October 1871) has titled his article : « Bruckner not dismissed »

Similar texts also appeared in the Viennese papers. Ignaz P. Traumihler sent to Bruckner a copy of the « Wiener Zeitung » which included a letter to publisher Franz Xaver Witt.

The « Leipziger Tonhalle » (1871) printed on page 697 the updated article of the « Linzer Tages-Post » .

**Before Saturday, 21 October 1871 :**

Letter from Doctor Karl Schiedermayr to Anton Bruckner (?) :

The St. Anna « affair » and the rumor that Anton Bruckner had applied for a post in Munich are probably raised in this letter.

Letter from Karl Waldeck to Anton Bruckner (?) :

Waldeck denounces the injustice done to Bruckner in connection with the St. Anna « affair » .

**Saturday, 21 October 1871 :**

Letter from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Karl Schiedermayr :

Bruckner tells all the facts about the St. Anna « affair » . The truth is that Professor Vernaleken wanted his eviction. Today, Johann Herbeck has transmitted a letter to Bruckner from the Ministry of Education (that Herbeck had received

from Councilor Hermann Heiß) : the Board exonerates Bruckner from all charges. And so, he will not be dismissed. Bruckner says he no longer wants to teach female classes - despite financial losses ; and confirms that he never sent a petition to Munich.

Greetings to Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger, Doctor Karl Schiedermayr and his sisters, and Baron Karl von Eberl.

...

Letter from Alois Ritter von Hermann (not to be confused with Councilor Hermann Heiß) to Johann Herbeck :

Von Hermann informs Herbeck that the Ministry of Education had exonerated Anton Bruckner from the accusations against him. Bruckner had personally told von Hermann that he is not interested in informing the female classes.

...

Letter from Anton Bruckner to Karl Waldeck :

Name-Day Congratulations. Bruckner thanks Waldeck for his full support during the St. Anna « affair » . Today, Herbeck had sent him a letter from the Ministry of Education (which Herbeck had received from Councilor Heiß) . He is exonerated from all charges. Eight days ago, Bruckner said to Heiß that he no longer wants to teach female classes. He prefers to renounce to the sum of 500 Florins. Greetings to Waldeck's parents.

...

The « Welser Anzeiger » , Number 42, reports on page 5 that Anton Bruckner had been relieved from his duties at « St. Annahof » College, and that Rudolf Weinwurm would become his successor :

« Anton Bruckner.

Perhaps, the greatest organist in Germany (see the original text written by August Göllerich junior on August 19, 1871 !) . Our Bruckner, of whom we are all proud, has been removed from his teaching position at the Viennese Educational College.

We don't know whether we are well-informed, if we argue that this dismissal was wished by Bruckner himself, and that he really doesn't have a good reason to ask the King of Bavaria for a post, but we know that it is a tasteless wiz coming from those Viennese leaves, when they portray Bruckner as the unfortunate victim of the current wave of dominating Czech politicians, because the alleged Czech successor to Bruckner is ... Rudolf Weinwurm ! »

**Sunday, 22 October 1871 :**

Article about the St. Anna « affair » published in the satirical Viennese journal « Die Bombe », page 187 :

« It seems that Bruckner was too affectionate with his female students. Lewy is said to have called his female students “ d'Lewy-ten ”. »

« Die Bombe » was a humorous and satirical weekly journal, published in Vienna between 1871 and 1925. The first editor was Joseph Braun, followed by Karl L. Nekam. Among the employees were Isidor Fuchs and the famous cartoonist László von Freckay. Acute social and political satires were found only at the beginning. Gradually, the world of Theatre and Operetta became the main targets. The paper finally slipped into cheap eroticism.

The « Steyrer Alpen-Boten », Number 85, titles on page 6 : « Bruckner is not dismissed »

« (Bruckner is not dismissed.)

“ Herr ” Anton Bruckner sends the following letter to the “ Linzer Tages-Post ” :

Commendable editorial department !

On the occasion of the publication of an article in your esteemed journal in regard to my alleged dismissal from teaching at the St. Anna's Training Institute, I find myself obliged to get the facts straight :

However, it is correct that slanderous, malicious, anonymous denunciations on myself were submitted to the management of the aforementioned institution.

To understand how far these accusations are justified, one may refer to the content of the following testimony :

“ Testimony.

The Board of Directors has pleased to confirm that the Imperial-Royal Court organist, “ Herr ” Professor Anton Bruckner, had taught piano playing with great success at the State Institute for Education of Teachers in Vienna during the academic year 1870-1871. He proved to have excellent teaching skills, an irreproachable attitude, infallible moral principles, and to be totally dedicated to his profession. Those qualities honour both the artist and the teacher.

Vienna, October 17, 1871.

Robert Niedergesäß,  
Imperial-Royal Director of the Imperial-Royal State Institute for Education of Teachers in Vienna. ”

“ I presume that those honourable editors, who published the article about my alleged dismissal, will also publish the truth.



Anton Bruckner, Imperial-Royal Organist at the Imperial Chapel and Professor at the Conservatory in Vienna. ” »

**Saturday, 28 October 1871** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Karl Waldeck :

Bruckner reassures Waldeck : he will not return in Linz, despite the hostility in Vienna (the St. Anna « affair ») .  
Name-Day Greetings. Best wishes from Bruckner for a speedy recovery for Karl Waldeck's father.

**Before Thursday, 2 November 1871** : Letter from Moritz von Mayfeld to Anton Bruckner (?) :

Moritz wants fresh news from Bruckner on the performance of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) and on the St. Anna « affair » .

**Thursday, 2 November 1871** (Feast of All Saints) : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Moritz von Mayfeld :

Was Bruckner concerned ?

A performance of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) is questionable, since the « Wiener Singverein » can only rehearse starting on November 21. Johann Herbeck had laughed at Bruckner after yesterday's religious office (because of the article published on October 22 in the satirical Viennese journal « Die Bombe ») . « Kapellmeister » Leopold Eder had informed the press in good faith. St. Anna's director Joseph Karl Streinz had denounced Bruckner. The Ministry had reconfirmed Streinz's as director (Herbeck received the second letter from Hermann Heiß yesterday) . Bruckner is unhappy about this. Greetings to Frau Barbara (« Betty ») von Mayfeld. Bruckner inquires about Doctor Spies in Linz.

### The Viennese woman

Max Graf :

The Viennese woman has given sensual colour to the city's life. Her gay, natural laugh (different from the spiritual laugh of the French woman) could be heard in Vienna through the Centuries. It was her chatter, kisses and embraces which inspired great music and small music, folk songs and dances. Though there exist no statistics by which one can measure exactly what Viennese music owes to women, there is one instance where a definite relationship between the two can be established.

### The « Wiener Kaffeehaus »

The first « Viennese » coffee-house was allegedly founded by an Armenian in 1685. Over the following Centuries, the coffee-house became a Viennese institution.

By the 18th Century, citizens could meet-up at wine cellars or beer and coffee houses on Kohlmarkt and Graben to drink coffee, play billiards and converse, and, in some establishments, they could also smoke. By 1790, there were

already 70 coffee-houses in Vienna. They took-on a central role in urban society - men went to a « café » to be entertained, to debate and discuss, and to play cards. In the expanding metropolis, it offered a relatively stable « clientèle » and the chance to escape cramped living conditions. For a long time, they were the preserve of men ; women were only permitted to sit in the coffee-house gardens. During the Biedermeier era, all social classes frequented the coffee-houses, and different kinds of coffee-house for different demands emerged. From the end of the 18th Century, music was provided in the summer coffee-houses, which were mostly branches of established inner-city coffee-houses. The coffee-house gardens offered regular concerts in a pleasant setting with fine views.

In return for supplying political information, the Italian Pietro Corti had been granted permission to establish a coffee-house in the « Paradeisgartl » (pleasance) near the Hofburg on the part of the city fortifications known as the « Löwelbastei » . In 1820, he opened another « café » in the « Volksgarten » , designed by Peter Nobiles. Here, Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauß senior gave concerts, mainly to audiences composed of the nobility and wealthy middle-classes. From 1840, there were regular summer « soirées » . The « Volksgarten » news sheet reported that « the elegant world » appeared in this coffee-house « in order to see and be seen, and to revive themselves in the cool of evening with a drink of coffee or other varied refreshments » .

...

The « Kaffeehaus » (traditional coffee-house) is a typical Viennese institution. They are said to date-back to the 17th Century Ottoman Wars :

When Vienna was liberated from the second Turkish siege by an Polish-Habsburg army in 1683, the victorious allies captured numerous sacks with coffee beans they initially thought were camel feed. A wise Polish army officer, understanding the actual value of these beans, is said to have asked his King Jan Sobieski for the coffee bags, and thus, was able to open-up the first coffee-house in Vienna - consequently establishing the long tradition of the Viennese « Kaffeehaus » .

The popularity of the Coffee-Houses in Vienna and their importance to Vienna social life is probably linked as well to the extremely relaxed atmosphere inside these « Cafés » :

It is completely normal for the guest to linger alone for hours and study the omni-present newspapers. Along with coffee, the waiter will serve an obligatory glass of cold tap-water and, during a long stay, will often bring additional water unrequested, with the idea being that you are a guest who should feel welcomed and not pressured to leave for another patron.

...

The Viennese coffee-house (« Wiener Kaffeehaus ») is a typical institution of Vienna that played an important part in shaping Viennese culture.

The social practices, the rituals, the elegance create the very specific atmosphere of the Viennese « café » . Coffee-

Houses entice with a wide variety of coffee drinks, international newspapers, and pastry creations. Typical for Viennese Coffee-Houses are marble table-tops, Thonet chairs, newspaper tables and interior design details in the style of Historicism. The Austrian writer Stefan Zweig described the Viennese Coffee-House as an institution of a special kind, « actually a sort of democratic club, open to everyone for the price of a cheap cup of coffee, where every guest can sit for hours with this little offering, to talk, write, play cards, receive post, and above all consume an unlimited number of newspapers and journals » . Zweig, in fact, attributed a good measure of Vienna's cosmopolitan air to the rich daily diet of current and international information offered in the coffee-houses.

In many Classic « cafés » (for example : « Café Central » and « Café Prückel ») , piano music is played in the evening and social events like literary readings are held. In warmer months, customers can often sit outside in a « Schanigarten » . Almost all coffee-houses provide small food dishes like sausages as well as desserts, cakes and tarts, like « Apfelstrudel » , « Millirahmstrudel » , « Punschkrapfen » and « Linzer torte » .

Unlike some other « café » traditions around the world, it is completely normal for a customer to linger alone for hours and study the omnipresent newspaper. Along with coffee, the waiter will serve an obligatory glass of cold tap-water and, during a long stay, will often bring additional water unrequested, with the idea to serve the guest with an exemplary sense of attention.

In the late-19th and early-20th Centuries, leading writers of the time became attached to the atmosphere of Viennese « cafés » and were frequently seen to meet, exchange and to even write there. Literature composed in « cafés » is commonly referred to as coffee-house literature, the writers thereof as coffee-house poets. The famous journal « Die Fackel » (The Torch) by Karl Kraus is said to have been written in « cafés » to a large extent. Other coffee-house poets include Arthur Schnitzler, Alfred Polgar, Friedrich Torberg, and Egon Erwin Kisch. Famous writer and poet Peter Altenberg even had his mail delivered to his favourite « café » , the « Café Central » .

Legend has it that soldiers of the Polish-Habsburg army, while liberating Vienna from the second Turkish siege in 1683, found a number of sacks with strange beans that they initially thought were camel feed and wanted to burn. The Polish King Jan III Sobieski granted the sacks to one of his officers named Jerzy Franciszek Kulczycki, who started the first coffee-house. This story was published by the Catholic Priest Gottfried Uhlich in 1783 in his « History of the second Turkish Siege » , and he took some liberties. In reality, Kulczycki's coffee-house missed being the first by more than a year. A more factual account has been reported by Karl Teply.

After some experimentation, the legend goes on, Kulczycki added some sugar and milk, and the Viennese coffee tradition was born. This achievement has been recognized in many modern Viennese coffee-houses by hanging a picture of Kulczycki in the window. Another account is that Kulczycki, having spent 2 years in Ottoman captivity, knew perfectly well what coffee really is and tricked his superiors into granting him the beans that were considered worthless.

According to recent research, Vienna's first coffee-house was, in fact, opened by an Armenian businessman named Johannes Diodato in 1685. 15 years later, 4 Greek owned coffee-houses had the privilege to serve coffee. The new drink was well-received, and coffee-houses began to pop-up rapidly. In the early period, the various drinks

had no names, and customers would select the mixtures from a colour-shaded chart.

The heyday of the coffee-house was the turn of the 19th Century when writers like Peter Altenberg, Alfred Polgar, Karl Kraus, Hermann Broch and Friedrich Torberg made them their preferred place of work and pleasure. Many famous artists, scientists, and politicians of the period such as Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Egon Schiele, Gustav Klimt, Adolf Loos, Theodor Herzl, Alfred Adler, and even Leon Trotsky, were constant coffee-house patrons. In Prague, Budapest, Cracow, and Lviv (Lemberg) and other cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire there were also many coffee-houses according to the Viennese model.

...

Between 1890 and 1920, Vienna emerged as a site of unrivalled experimentation in art, culture, philosophy and science, and many have argued that the most concentrated and purest expression of European Modernism occurred in the Austrian capital. Coffee-houses which, by this time, had become a Viennese institution, played an important role in the city's cultural life. Along with a number of other coffee-houses, the « Café Impérial » became a hub for intellectual discussion and a daily meeting-place for artists, poets, musicians and intellectuals. While its location made it a popular retreat for musicians, the « Café » was also host to a bevy of journalists, politicians and intellectuals, who used the space to work, strategize and debate. Journalist and satirist Karl Kraus held court at the « Café Impérial » after abandoning his former haunt (« Café Central »), in 1910, on account of it being too noisy. Once he made the move, others (including Peter Altenberg, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke and Franz Werfel) followed. Kraus spent countless hours at the « Café » at his regular table, which was reserved for him daily, though few were permitted to join him as he was notoriously ornery and worked best in isolation. Friedrich Eckstein, best described as an occultist, a man of letters, a polymath, a mystic and a private investigator, was one of the few Kraus permitted to sit at his table. Eckstein was a close friend of many of the artists and thinkers in Vienna during this time, and could often be found at the « Café Impérial » in deep discussion with Sigmund Freud or the composer Anton Bruckner. Robert Hirschfeld, another « Café » regular, was a music-critic and historian who reported for the « Wiener Zeitung » newspaper. A known agitator, he regularly instigated heated arguments with the likes of Gustav Mahler and Heinrich Schenker. A novelist and writer of bold, lyrical poems, Rainer Maria Rilke also spent many days writing at the « Café » and, in fact, penned many of his eloquent letters on the hotel's stationery. While women were not expressly forbidden, coffee-house culture in « fin-de-siècle » Vienna remained very much a male domain.

### The Cafés of Vienna

In every large or small town throughout the Habsburg lands, there is a Viennese coffee-house. In it can be found marble tables, bentwood chairs and seating booths with leather covers and plush upholstery. In bent-cane newspaper-holders, the « Neue Freie Presse » hangs among the local papers on the wall ... Behind the counter sits the voluptuous and coiffured cashier. Near her looms the expressionless face of the head-waiter, who as soon as the call « " Herr " Ober, the bill ! » is issued, will vanish from the guest's field of vision. The barman lurks casually, but jumps to attention readily enough, though at no time giving the impression of hurried bustle. All in good time, the junior waiter brings the quietly clinking metal tray with its full-glass of water to your table. One orders the coffee by means

of a secret language that no one from outside the country understands : « eine Melange mehr licht » , « eine Teeschale Braun » , « eine Schale Geld passiert » .

This evocative picture of the classic Viennese « café » can be found replicated in multiple histories, memoirs, biographies and works of fiction that focus on Vienna of the late-19th Century. This quotation captures the affection and nostalgia which has long coloured any consideration, academic or otherwise, of the Viennese « café » . The image evoked, of the marble table-tops, bent-wood chairs, multiple newspapers and idiosyncratic staff, is one that has become something of a legend. The distillation of the one thousand or so coffee-houses there were in Vienna around 1900 into a single image obscures the multiplicity and complexity of this particular space-type within the city.

The following text will introduce the « cafés » of Vienna as a social space in the city and the role they played in the city's social and cultural life. A historical account of the role of the « cafés » is difficult to establish because, for the most part, it requires delving into the ephemeral realm of the everyday life and habits of the people of Vienna. This life was essentially transitory and casual in nature and as such proves resistant to recording and documentation. Various opportunities for excavating the ephemeral do however exist. A number of the « cafés » themselves survive, in a more or less altered state, as a material record of these spaces. Visual records (photographs, drawings, paintings and postcards) can also offer a window onto the nature of these spaces and the society within. In addition, literary sources, such as fiction, travel writing, biography and autobiography, provide another perspective on how the « cafés » of Vienna were used and regarded by contemporaries.

The importance of the « cafés » as part of the « story » of Vienna 1900 is not simply a nostalgic construction following the Second World War. The « café » was the foremost public social institution within the city. Unlike the theatre or the opera-house, the « café » could be visited every day and at virtually any time of day. The proliferation of « cafés » through the city indicates that they were a regular feature in the lives of many Viennese. The « café » appeared as a location in novels and other literary works of the period. Guide-books in both English and German all make particular reference to the « cafés » of the city, exclaiming on their numerousness and the quality of the service. As a ubiquitous feature of city-life, the « café » was multi-farious in its provision of services to people of different classes and genders. The ephemeral nature of the sociability it played host to continues to make it difficult to categorize, in its close relation to the complex identity of the city at the dawn of the 20th Century.

### The Café and its relation to high and low culture

The relationship of « cafés » to the development of cultural life is well-established. Jürgen Habermas presented the coffee-houses of 18th Century London as the crucibles for the formation of a bourgeois public sphere in England. These « cafés » provided a space for an active public of private individuals with shared concerns to come together and create shared discourse. The printed word made a vital contribution to the establishment, through the practices of criticism and critical debate, of the realm of public discourse :

« The predominance of the “ town ” was strengthened by new institutions that, for all their variety, in Great Britain and France took-over the same social functions : the coffee-houses in their golden age between 1680 and 1730 and

the salons in the period between the Regency and the Revolution. In both countries, they were centres of criticism (literary at first, then also political) in which began to emerge, between aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals, a certain parity of the educated. »

Habermas' thesis maintained that this public sphere declined in the late-19th and early-20th Centuries into a passive culture of mass-consumption rather than public discourse. This decline was engendered by the growth in the number of people who constituted the public until its unity, as a single public, was impossible to sustain. Within Habermas' thesis, the development of the practice of voicing public opinion spread from the arena of literature naturally into matters of political and public interest, engendering the development of a sphere in which all matters of public interest could be discussed and new ideas formulated.

Habermas' theory cannot be applied seamlessly to the role of the « café » in Vienna. For one thing, prior to 1848, prohibitions on the expression of political opinions, together with the lack of a democratic framework of any kind in which such opinions could carry weight, made the development of a public sphere of the kind evoked by Habermas largely impossible. By the late-19th Century, when the « cafés » of Vienna had become sites of intense public discourse, both literary and political, the onset of mass-culture, presented by Habermas as the antithesis of the public sphere, was also well under way. The Viennese « café » is thus a site in which the development of a public sphere is both delayed and complicated by its chronological compression. By looking at the points at which the Viennese « café » does and does not conform to the outline of public space and public sphere developed by Habermas, we can build a clearer picture of the way in which the « café » contributed to the life of the city.

### The Café as a site of leisure

Habermas' assessment of the rise of popular mass-culture at the end of the 19th Century was couched in terms of the fracturing and decline of the public sphere, as culture and ideas were packaged for consumption rather than evolving through rational debate. This view, however, sets up an artificial dichotomy between high- and low-culture, the serious and the frivolous, which obscures the essence of the « cafés » as institutions straddling both professional and recreational spheres. The « café's » function as leisure venue was an established part of its identity as a public space. The link between recreation and « café » culture in the city of Vienna goes back to the 18th Century. The « Prater » Park had been opened to the people of Vienna by Josef II in 1766 and the first « café », the « Erste Café », opened in the « Prater » in 1787. The « Zweite Café » followed in 1799. Lithographic topographies of the city in the 18th and early-19th Centuries frequently show such outdoor « cafés », either those on the « Prater » or overlooking the city bastions. Such scenes indicate the ubiquity of these « cafés » as social spaces around the city. The stroll in the park, the promenade on the bastion and later the « Ringstraße », and the visit to the « café » were intimately woven into the pattern of Viennese leisure habits from the late-18th Century onwards. Though the majority of « cafés » did not provide elaborate entertainments until the late-19th Century, their offerings of refreshments, relaxed ambiance and table-top games were enough of a draw to make them prime sites for recreation in the city. For the bourgeoisie in particular, the « cafés » of the city-centre and wealthy suburbs provided a well-loved and regularly used space outside of the home for informal, primarily but not exclusively masculine socializing and private relaxation.

The « café's » function as a place where people went to relax and as a site of urban leisure is not an aspect that can be filtered out of any discussion of its role. By the late-19th Century, the growth of mass-media, the entertainment industry and the advent of party politics, all of which Habermas viewed as sounding the death knell to true public discourse, was well under way even in Vienna. Within the supposed decline of the public sphere, the only roles left for « cafés » to play would have been either as venues of popular entertainment or as retreats for an « élite » intellectual culture, divorced from public relevance. The growth of the large-scale entertainment « cafés » in Vienna from the 1870's confirms the idea of the rise of mass-culture. From relatively simple establishments serving coffee and various other beverages, tobacco, simple snacks and table-top games, « cafés » expanded in the 19th Century to take advantage of the growing wealth of the urban middle-classes and the entertainment industry was born. Grand entertainment establishments in new hotels, in city-parks and new bourgeois suburbs took the basic idea of a « café » and extended it to include more elaborate forms of entertainment.

The new hotels built in expectation of the crowds attending the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna all included extensive « café » spaces on the ground floor of their premises. « Prasn's Café and Billiard Hall », on the « Wienzeile », which first opened in 1851, offered extensive recreational facilities, including multiple games rooms, a concert-hall, a reading-room, a refreshment-room and conservatories. « Café Volksgarten », in the city-centre, offered a fine restaurant and outdoor concerts in the smartest park in the city. The « Prater » Park, with its long history as a centre for recreation, developed to include various amusements, such as the « Venice in Vienna » attraction, opened in 1895, and the Ferris Wheel completed in 1897. The « Café Dritte », originally established in the « Prater » Park in 1802, was refurbished in time for the World's Fair, expanding on the idea of the « concert-café » to become a « café » and variety theatre with a capacity for 5,000. Although the World's Fair proved to be something of a flop, the « café » was bought up by Anton Ronacher and became a huge success, showing musical comedies, operettas and other stage-acts. Much of the expansion of the entertainment industry in the late-19th Century was undertaken under the auspices of the « café », as an established leisure-venue type. The large entertainment « cafés » did not, therefore, represent an overturning of a more worthy, intellectual and politicized « café » space, but rather an elaboration on one ongoing aspect of the identity of the Viennese « café » .

### The Biedermeier Café

Alongside the identity of the Viennese « café » as a leisure destination, its role as a centre of cultural life was also a well-established facet of its popular identity. In the late-19th Century in particular, the « café » society of the early-19th Century was celebrated nostalgically as an emblem of the past cultural and intellectual achievements of the city. This so-called « Biedermeier period » was regarded by many as the pinnacle of good taste and authentic Viennese brilliance, from which modern culture had sadly declined. Adolf Loos's design for the « Café Museum » of 1899 was a conscious attempt to revive the atmosphere and ambience of a Biedermeier « café » . The image of the Biedermeier « café » incorporated within it a suggestion of vibrant intellectual and creative discourse followed by the city at large, and is analogous with Habermas' bourgeois public sphere.

The Biedermeier « café » was a public sphere in the sense that it provided a centre for the communication and propagation of new ideas. However, as its purview was limited to the arena of culture and aesthetics, its development

was stunted in relation to the development from a cultural discourse of literary criticism to a broader, politicized public discourse. The idea of the decline of the « café » into a mere venue for mass consumer culture has been shown to be too limited, setting leisure and public discourse in opposition to one another, rather than accepting that the recreational side of « café » life has always existed alongside any more serious functions. The fact that the « cafés » of Vienna played a significant role in the developing mass-entertainment industry at the end of the 19th Century did not preclude their continued contribution to Viennese culture. Habermas' notion of the disintegration of the public sphere dealt with any lingering manifestations of public creativity and vibrancy by relegating them to the province of « élite » intellectual circles, marooned and ever more irrelevant to the wider public. This dismissal underplays the importance of « cafés » as public venues for the development of literary and artistic modernism later in the 19th Century. It exaggerates both the degree to which the earlier « café » had been inclusive and the later « café » exclusive in its attitude to public engagement with culture.

The essence of the Biedermeier « café » was encapsulated in the popular imagination by the « silver coffee-house » . This celebrated « café » , which operated between 1824 and 1846, was nicknamed « silver » on account of its glamorous interior design, which included luxurious details such as silver table-ware and other fittings. A suitably illustrious « clientèle » , including the writer Franz Grillparzer, the actor Ferdinand Raimund, the theatre director Ignaz Schuster and the musicians Josef Lanner and Johann Strauß, were drawn to the « café » as it became a well-known meeting-place for Vienna's cultural « élite » . The nostalgia felt for this lost brilliance is encapsulated in a print by Vinzenz Katzler, « Die Kassierin vom Silbernen Kaffeehaus » (The Cashier from the Silver Coffee-House) , purporting to illustrate a scene in the « café » in 1826, which was circulated as a picture supplement in the conservative political journal « Hans Jörgl » in 1871. A circle of cultural luminaries are depicted gesticulating and conversing, grouped in an admiring circle around the cashier.

The Viennese « literary café » of the Biedermeier era remained crucially different from the English model celebrated by Habermas, however, in that the cultural life associated with it remained un-politicized. The strict regulation of all forms of expression within the Habsburg Empire prohibited the development of a mature politicized public discourse. The music of Johann Strauß and the stage performances of Johann Nestroy remained light-hearted and popular in character. Grillparzer was fundamentally frustrated by the restrictions placed upon him. Prior to 1848, Vienna had only 3 daily newspapers, all either government controlled or heavily censored. A tax on newspapers, not repealed until 1900, inhibited the development of mass-circulation newspapers, although a vigorous print culture did emerge. These constrictions in the printed realm prevented the effective mobilization of individual public opinion necessary for the creation of a politically engaged public sphere.

The Viennese « café » at the turn of the 20th Century was both a delayed example of the role of the « café » in the development of public discourse and a compression of the evolution of this role. In terms of politics, the « café » provided a venue for the development of advanced political discourse, with Victor Adler and the circle of early Austrian Social-Democratic movement meeting in the « Café Griensteidl » and foreign political activists, such as Leon Trotsky, meeting their fellow socialists in the « Café Central » . The development of this semi-private discourse largely coincided with, rather than preceded, the birth of mass party politics and the commercial mass-circulation press, which Habermas presented as antithetical to the survival of the bourgeois public sphere. Similarly, the « café » continued to



play an important role as a venue for advanced cultural discourse at the same time as playing a central role in the city's social life and the development of mass-entertainment culture.

### Class and gender barriers and the Café

A number of writers have pointed out the exclusions, particularly on the basis of class and gender, which compromised the supposed unity of the public sphere. Any exploration of the role of the « café » in Viennese society also needs to take such exclusions into account. In relation to sociability, issues of class and gender in Vienna are indivisibly intertwined. In general, different « cafés » throughout the city catered for people of different social classes, with the upper- and lower- middle-classes making-up the primary constituency of patrons. Although male members of the aristocracy would occasionally attend the smarter town-centre « cafés », rigid social codes dictated that their socializing took place primarily in the private houses of the « élite » circles in which they moved.

For the working-classes, there existed « Wirthäuser », or taverns. In 1902, there were approximately 4,000 of these, in comparison to the city's 1,100 « cafés », the majority located in the outer-districts of the city. These taverns and restaurants provided venues for working-class sociability, with an emphasis on alcohol and food. W. Scott Haine, in his study of the working-class « cafés » of Paris, described the communities that formed around the different local « cafés » as providing crucial support networks for newly-arrived young urban workers attempting to negotiate the transition to life in the big city. It is likely that the « Wirthäuser » of Vienna performed a similar function for new workers flooding into the city from across the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The « cafés » of Vienna and other large cities within Austria-Hungary provided similar points of orientation and adoptive communities for newly-arrived Jews from the East. Haine's study does not discriminate between « cafés » and taverns. The distinction maintained in Vienna between the 2 types of venues, « Kaffeehäuser » and « Wirthäuser », was primarily a reflection of the class demographic of the « clientèle », rather than a reflection of any fundamental distinction in the sociability and services provided. The social institution of the « Stammtisch » (Regulars' Table) was maintained in both and the popularity of table-top games was also common. Just as a number of « cafés » were expanded into large entertainment venues, so various large entertainment facilities for the working-classes were also developed at the end of the 19th Century. Weigl's « Dreher-Park », set-up by the Dreher Brewery, offered daily concerts and variety performances and had a capacity of 20,000.

The « café » itself remained primarily a bourgeois institution, with multiple gradations between the finest « haute-bourgeoise » establishments and the lower-middle-class « cafés » of the outer-districts. Suburban coffee-houses catered primarily for local residents, so their nature reflected the demographics of different neighbourhoods. The coffee-houses of the 1st District tended towards the most elegant, but even « cafés » out in the less affluent suburbs maintained similar core features : a grand counter as a centre-piece, clusters of tables, billiard tables, newspapers and so on.

The regulation of social class and the question of which « cafés » it was appropriate to patronize were governed by the un-written rules that are maintained in all class conscious societies. The prominent figure of the head-waiter, who oversaw every aspect of each guest's visit, no doubt played a role in who was welcomed and who was not, but the system primarily ran by self-regulation. For example, in his autobiography, Stefan Zweig noted that his father, a wealthy

Jewish businessman, « avoided dining at Sachers' » (a grand Hotel and Café) and that this was « not for reasons of economy, but because of a natural feeling of respect ; it would have been distressing or unbecoming to him to sit at a table next to a Prince Schwarzenberg or a Lobkowitz » .

Despite the undoubted social divisions that regulated socializing even within the upper-middle-class, the idea of the accessibility of the public space of the « café » continued to have important currency. Habermas highlighted the importance of the emergence of the idea of the public and public sphere as, in principle at least, inclusive :

« However exclusive the public might be in any given instance, it could never close itself off entirely and become consolidated as a clique ; for it always understood and found itself immersed within a more inclusive public of all private people, persons who insofar as they were propertied and educated - as readers, listeners and spectators could avail themselves via the market of the objects that were subject to discussion. The issues discussed became “ general ” not merely in their significance, but also in their accessibility : everyone had to be able to participate. »

Zweig's often quoted statement that « the Viennese coffee-house was a sort of democratic club to which one bought admittance for the price of a cup of coffee » , is one that, even if not strictly true, reflects through its frequent repetition the importance of the principle of the accessibility of coffee-house discourse. At the very least, it suggests that within the coffee-houses a certain relaxation of the otherwise draconian observation of social propriety governing the bourgeois Viennese could be witnessed. The truth in Zweig's statement lies in the comparative accessibility of the coffee-houses, particularly within the general spectrum of the educated bourgeoisie. While he was still a school boy, Zweig and his contemporaries enjoyed the facilities of the coffee-houses. The biographies of many of Vienna's intellectuals include reference to the contacts they made in coffee-houses with established figures in their field, who served as mentors for their early careers. The school boy Hugo von Hofmannsthal's meeting with Herman Bahr in the « Café Griensteidl » and his subsequent inclusion in the « Jung Wien » circle is one of the most famous examples.

The accessibility of the « cafés » for women was, in the first instance, governed by class. The entertainment establishments and fairground « cafés » offered a space where both men and women, primarily of the working-classes and lower-middle-classes, could socialize together. Towards the bottom of the social scale, where both men and women had to work in order to keep their households going, the social niceties of who could patronize « cafés » and taverns were not so closely observed. Women of the lower-classes, taken-up as girlfriends by members of the bourgeoisie, were also welcome to accompany them to the grander « cafés » . Peter Altenberg's series, « Rules for my “ Stammtisch ” » , include various references to female companions. The line between girlfriends and prostitution was frequently blurred and certain « cafés » were also known as places where one could make the acquaintance of the « demi-monde » . However, as the waiting staff in the Viennese « cafés » were male, rather than female, the direct overlap of « café » and bordello that occurred frequently in Paris was not common in Vienna. The only consistent female presence in most « cafés » was the « Sitzkassiererrin » (cashier) . She corresponded to the role played by « La Belle Limondière » in the Parisian « café » : an attractive hostess, whose charms encouraged customer loyalty :

« Enthroned behind the bar, among the bottles and glasses is that ambassador of the fairer sex, the cashier. She is always a very sweet-tempered, accommodating representative of her sex. However cold-hearted you are, to be in the

presence of her warm heart will melt yours. Indeed, many have gone to the “ café ” to win a game and end-up losing their hearts to the cashier ! »

Haine comments that attractive or even famous young women were hired to lend lustre to the « cafés » of Paris. Alternatively, in the case of couples who ran « cafés », the wife often took the role of cashier and accountant. The city directories of 1891 and 1902 reveal that around 24 % of « cafés » were listed under the name of a female proprietor. Haine notes the common practice in Paris of the ownership of « cafés » being passed on and maintained by wives following the death of the husband and it is possible that there is a similar explanation for the comparatively large numbers of female proprietors in Vienna. Despite these female incursions into the male domain of the « café », they remained primarily masculine spaces and as such were allowed to relax the rigid observance of social hierarchies and of public morality. It is not surprising therefore that for middle-class women, for whom reputation was everything, they were largely prohibited spaces.

Alma Mahler-Werfel's diaries record the daily social life of a young middle-class woman who moved in advanced cultural and artistic circles. Despite her relative freedom to attend concerts and galleries and private parties in mixed company, Mahler-Werfel was not included in the « café-based » social life of her Secession friends and admirers. The only visits to « cafés » she records were a number of occasions on which she met with female friends in Demel's, the Imperial confectioners and « chocolatiers ». The « Café-Konditorei » that grew-up within such cake-shops were crucially different in a number of ways from regular coffee-houses. The waiting staff were female rather than male and the atmosphere remained closer to that of an « élite » shop. The « cafés » within the central parks of the city that hosted cafe-concerts were the only other type of « café » that a middle-class woman might commonly visit without the company of a man. For example, « Frau » Matzner, the ex-brothel-keeper in Joseph Roth's « String of Pearls », is deeply concerned with her respectability, but is happy to attend concerts in the « Stadtpark » and « Volksgarten cafés ». This supports the visual evidence of prints and drawings depicting the elegant men and women who attended such concerts.

Visibility played a large role in what differentiated the spectrum of respectability between different « cafés ». The open-air, high-visibility of the « café-concerts » in particular made them sufficiently respectable spaces for bourgeois women to visit unaccompanied as their conduct there was implicitly open to monitoring. The « Café-Konditorei » shared with the « concert-café » a greater degree of public visibility, as they had shop-display windows and, as retail premises, they entreated passers by to look-in. In most Viennese coffee-houses, however, the relationship between the interior and the street was more ambivalent. Unlike the broad plate-glass windows and richly illuminated interiors of the Parisian « cafés » that made « café » visitors highly-visible from the street, Viennese « café » interiors were not so immediately permeable. Windows were furnished with short curtains which guests could draw to keep-out the sun or conceal themselves from the street without obscuring their own view out, making the visibility of guests optional. The division of the « café » interior into separate rooms for reading, billiards or card-games, and the arrangement of booths with intimate seating, facilitated the free use of the space by men who could choose what activity they wanted to pursue and whether they wanted to be seen or remain concealed from anyone poking their head in the door. However, this division of space contributed to the maintenance of the « café » as a masculine space, as there was not enough visibility to guarantee respectability for female visitors.

The « café » was, therefore, primarily a masculine space, albeit one that was penetrated by women under certain conditions. A survey of the rich visual record of the « cafés » of Vienna amassed in the collections of the « Wien Museum » reinforces this perception. A number of the interiors reveal scenes of solely masculine sociability. Here and there, women appear, conforming to the exceptions outlined above. Ladies are shown being escorted to outdoor concerts, or taken for coffee in the high-ceilinged, glittering halls of the grander city-centre « cafés ». Families enjoy Sunday outings to grand « Ringstraße cafés ». There are bawdier tavern scenes, where waitresses resist being pulled into the laps of male « café » patrons. There is also an ambiguous class of female coffee-house patron, whose position is impossible to deduce from visual sources and who is also absent from the existing literature on the coffee-house. Many a predominantly masculine crowd is shown to contain a handful of female figures. Some may indeed be the « demi-mondaines » or girlfriends alluded to above, but a number of matronly figures who appear to exude respectability can also be seen. In the absence of further evidence, one can only speculate over the grounds on which they secured their dispensation to partake in male coffee-house life. It must also be noted that the period spanning the 19th to the 20th Century was one of uncertainty and contestation in relation to both class and gender norms.

### Literary Circles and the creative space

The association of the « café » with culture and the literary realm, established in the Biedermeier period, persisted into the 20th Century. After the closure of the « silver coffee-house », « Café Griensteidl » became the favoured home for the writers of Vienna. This sense of being part of a great Viennese tradition may in itself be an element of what the « café » contributed to culture (imparting a particular flavour to the experience of people frequenting the « café ») encouraging them, lending gravitas to their activities there. One of the many things the « café » offered writers and thinkers of all kinds was a place that was partially secluded, safe and home-like (private), as well as being integrated into the life of the city (public). The tensions between all these different aspects of the « café » played a major role in the vitality of the space.

The « café » challenges the established binaries commonly used for understanding space. It is a public space, and yet spaces within it, the table of the solitary « habitué » or of the established group of regulars, is rendered private or semi-private. It is an informal space, in that socializing between figures from different social backgrounds and the bending of rules in regards to extra-marital or pre-marital relationships with women are condoned. But, at the same time, it is a space governed by its own formalities and institutions : the formal dress and internal hierarchy of the waiting staff ; the opaque lexicon of the different coffee preparation names of the Viennese « café » tradition ; the ritual of service, with the coffee brought upon a metal tray, accompanied by a dish of sugar and a glass of water with the coffee spoon balanced on top of it. These formalities mirror, but do not match, the formalities that governed the world outside, in the manner of a Foucauldian heterotopia.

Michel Foucault coined the term « heterotopia » to describe spaces that were the same, but different from the real spaces of the world. These sites allowed for reflection on the real world and the enactment of many different kinds of difference :

« There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places (places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society) which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which

the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. »

Such counter-sites offer us another potential model for understanding the complex relationship of the « café » to the social and cultural life of Vienna.

The ambiguity of the « café » as a space was reflected in the attitudes of the writers who frequented them : « café » life was both celebrated and derided. Rather than embracing the idea of the Viennese « café » as a « literary institution » , many writers focused instead on the « café » as a frivolous place, thereby challenging the distinction between serious high-culture and careless, trivial, low-culture. The « Kleinkunst » developed by the « Jung Wien » was an explicit challenge to such notions of serious versus trivial endeavour and the frequenting of « cafés » was a real-life enactment of this challenge. By working in the « café » , these writers were able to associate with each other and with the everyday informal life of the city with which the « cafés » were so intrinsically bound. The Viennese « café » as a site of leisure, outlined above, had led to an established image of its « habitués » as time-wasters and layabouts, an association at least as strong as that of the celebrated Biedermeier « café » circles. The « café » was not a serious place. It was a place of idleness that contrasted with the real world of work.

In Stephan Zweig's « Ungeduld des Herzens » (Beware of Pity, 1938) , the young Second-Lieutenant Hofmiller resolves to reform his life :

« How stupid then, to idle away one's leisure time day after day at the " café " playing boring games of cards with dull-witted companions, or strolling up and down the promenade. No, from now on, no more of this torpid existence, this beastly lounging about. I would go less often to the " café ", would give-up playing billiards and that wretched Tarock, would have done once and for all with all those efforts to kill time that were of no earthly use to anyone and only blunted my own intelligence. »

Its value as a site for productive creativity was frequently criticized by writers :

« Seriousness and thoroughness do not thrive in the atmosphere of the coffee-house. This smoke impregnated air, tainted by gas jets and polluted by the sitting together of many people, this whirring of people coming and going, jabbering of guests and bustling waiters, this tangle of shadowy apparitions and indeterminable sounds, makes any quiet reflection, and collected thought impossible. »

And yet, despite this disdain, they all continued to spend significant portions of time there. The revolt against tradition witnessed in their writing, the subjective, self-reflective, ambiguous, paradoxical and transitory shifts they played with were well suited to this association with the « café » as a site of frivolity, play and fecklessness. The link between the « café » and the rise of Modernism in the late-19th Century is also well-established. Max Nordau, the influential Austro-Hungarian cultural critic and Zionist, presented the « café » as the natural habitat for the activities of the cultural « degenerates » he derided. In his famous book, « Entartung » (Degeneration, 1892) , his discussion of the

origins of the Symbolist movement in Paris tied the group closely to the « cafés » they frequented :

« Shortly after 1880, there was, in the “ Quartier Latin ” in Paris, a group of literary aspirants, all about the same age, who used to meet in an underground “ café ” at the “ Quai Saint-Michel ”, and, while drinking beer, smoking and quibbling late into the night, or early hours of the morning, abused in a scurrilous manner the well-known and successful authors of the day, while boasting of their own capacity, as yet unrevealed to the world.

(...) About 1884, the society left their paternal pot-house, and pitched their tent in the “ Café François ler ”, Boulevard Saint-Michel ”. This “ café ” attained a high-renown. It was the cradle of Symbolism. It is still the temple of a few ambitious youths who hope, by joining the Symbolist school, to acquire that advancement which they could not expect from their own abilities. It is, too, the Kaaba to which all foreign imbeciles make pilgrimage. »

Although derisive in tone, the quotation gives an indication of what the « café » as an institution offered young aspiring writers : companionship, the solidarity of like-minded individuals and a space apart from the main institutions of culture where new ideas could be gestated. Additionally, once its reputation is established, the « café » becomes a destination, drawing others of a similar caste of mind and providing a crucial hub for the growth and nourishment of a new movement. Nordau characterizes this scathingly as the refuge of the talentless. His attitude is similar in many ways to that expressed by Karl Kraus in his satirical essay, « Die demolirte Literatur » (A Literature Demolished, 1897) , in which he mock-lamented the closure of the « Café Griensteidl » and the blow this would strike to the, in his opinion, effete literary circles who met there. The many criticisms of the « café » , as asylums where the hopeless and idle found mutual empty assurance of their worth, carry within them evidence of the role of « cafés » as venues for important support networks for new cultural movements.

The « café » provided a place where those who did not fit comfortably into the established public institutions of culture (the universities and academies) felt they belonged. Andrew Barker, in his study of the ultimate « café habitué » and outsider figure, Peter Altenberg, sums up the value of the « café » environment :

« An organization for the disorganized, where young aesthetes renowned for their sensitivity felt safe from the threatening world outside. It was however, an institution where they could not only socialize, but also read and write. In addition, they could read about themselves :Vienna had long been famed for its capacity to produce and consume art, and public fascination with artists meant that their doings regularly made the newspaper headlines of the popular press, as they still do in a city neurotically aware of and sensitive to its artistic traditions. »

This quotation highlights both the community role played by the « café » and also its role as a site of communication and exchange. The practice of the majority of Viennese « cafés » in taking a selection of newspapers and journals for the use of patrons was well-established. Newspaper hawkers in the streets were forbidden, making the « cafés » important locations in which to access printed news. « Cafés » that catered to literary circles, such as « Café Griensteidl » , took a huge range of national and international newspapers and periodicals.

Altenberg's career encapsulated in many ways the nature of the relationship between the Viennese « café » and the city's modern literary culture. The written form he specialized in, the prose poem or sketch, captured the transience

and immediacy of everyday life. The ephemeral character of this form, easily dismissed as insubstantial, corresponded with general perceptions of the inadequacy of the modern literary movement. Much of Altenberg's work was first published in literary journals or newspapers so the « café » would have been a key-venue for the consumption as well as the production of his work. In addition to his published work, he was a prolific letter-writer, with many of his letters written and received in the « Café Central » .

The legend of Altenberg's initiation into the literary scene of Vienna also indicates yet another way in which the « café » , as an informal environment, facilitated the permeability of the groups that met there. In his own version of the story, Altenberg presented himself sitting in the « Café Central » , reading a newspaper that carried a cover story of a missing girl, « Joanna W » . His emotional response to her plight moved him to write the sketch « Lokale Chronik » . While he was writing at the table, Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, Salten, Beer-Hofmann and Bahr, whom he knew as fellow regulars of the « café » , came in, noticed him writing and took-up his sketch ; their admiration of it prompted them to propel him into a literary career. In Salten's version of the same story, he comments on the amazement of the « Jung Wien » circle when they found-out that the author of this literary gem was none other than Richard Engländer, the cigarette salesman from the night « café » . Altenberg's contacts with « café » regulars helped him, as a 43 year old cigarette salesman, to establish himself as a writer. The « café » remained a place where the « élite » of Vienna's art and culture could position themselves in a way that made them accessible to each other and to the wider city, while at the same time carving-out a space apart for themselves.

### Sociability and the inner-world of the Café

For all its importance in the world of cultural production, the « café » was primarily a social space. It was sufficiently respectable to be openly frequented by the most august burgers of the city, but not so respectable as to prohibit a certain relaxation of social and moral mores. What was the nature of the sociability practised within the « cafés » that enabled such a relaxed attitude ? Time in the « café » was composed of a myriad of fleeting moments : moments of private contemplation and moments of connection between old friends and casual acquaintances. Its very looseness was a striking counterpoint to the rigidity of the rest of Viennese life and customs. The « café »'s identity as a site of urban leisure, as already mentioned, is an important factor in explaining the temporary suspension of strict codes of behaviour. At the same time, the « café » was not an anarchic site of hectic pleasure but remained bound-up with respectable, bourgeois city-life. A closer look at behaviour within the « café » can help us to understand its ambiguous nature.

The « cafés » of Vienna provided spaces throughout the city where men could withdraw from the street, without going home, and spend a few pleasant hours in solitary contemplation or group conviviality. They provided an important venue for peer-group socializing for groups of bohemian artists and writers as well as for more respectable and professional circles. A German guide to Vienna from the 1860's indicated that each « café » had its noted regulars. The guide outlined in which « cafés » visitors could find different types of groups congregating : students, bureaucrats, foreigners, financiers, Jews, grocers, fops, the « demi-monde » , etc. These established social circles are linked to the already mentioned idea of the « Stammtisch » . The « Stammtisch » was a time-honoured social institution in German and Central European culture. « Stammtische » ranged from formally constituted clubs to the informal social practice

of it simply being known that certain groups of friends frequented certain « café » tables on certain days. An article in the illustrated paper « Illustrierte Wiener Zeitung » in 1912 focused on the Viennese institution of the « café » « Stammtisch » . The article was largely nostalgic, recalling the great days of the Biedermeier « Stammtische » and the luminaries who met there, but it was accompanied by a series of photographs of contemporary « Stammtische » , revealing the range of groups who met under this heading. These groups revolved around shared interests, such as the « Wintersport-Klub » that met at the « Café Kremser » , or professional ties, such as the « Stammtisch » of actors and actresses at the « Café Weghuber » or the « Stammtische » of painters or of military men.

The major contribution that the « cafés » made to Viennese social and cultural life was the hosting of such « Stammtische » . These groups were vital, for both writers and many other professional and social circles, for the exchange of informal news, gossip and so on, as well as for the dissemination and discussion of printed news. In a city in which much of the management of government, academia, the economy and the arts were bound in interminable observance of protocol and elaborate established procedure, the ability to exchange knowledge informally and establish networks behind the scenes played a vital role in keeping the system moving. The « Stammtisch » groups, though not inherently inclusive, were at least more permeable than the more strictly observed hierarchies governing professional associations and familial social circles. « Stammtisch » groups had to be formed at some point and their membership, though regular, could evolve over time.

It would certainly be easier to effect an introduction to a new social circle at a « café » table than if that group met in the privacy of one or other of the members' houses. The niches in which many of the « Stammtische » were situated were still part of the wider space of the « café » interior. The common arrangement of « café » tables, with niches fitted with upholstered benches running around the edges of the room and free-standing tables surrounded by bentwood chairs scattered across the middle of the space, did not allow for impermeable privacy. The greater visibility of the groups who met there would have made it easier for a would-be member to identify with the group they would like to join. Memoirs and autobiographies indicate that these « Stammtische » were more or less permeable. Groups evolved and coalesced around key cultural figures and transformed over time as new contacts were made or old ties were broken. Lina Loos was drawn into the Altenberg circle through her sister, who was a writer, and became a key-figure in this group, also meeting her husband Adolf Loos there. The « Jung Wien » literary movement operated in many ways like a « Stammtisch » in the « Café Griensteidl » , and later the « Café Central » , and was flexible enough to admit new members, such as Peter Altenberg, into the circle.

Another of the striking aspects about « café » sociability is the extent to which unsociable behaviour was an established norm. The solitary coffee-house « habitué » , who had minimal contact with the staff and even less with the other guests, is a common figure in accounts of the coffee-house :

« Judge Reiter appeared each day (for decades) at the “ Café Colosseum ” at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, sat down at the same table, was served a “ Mélange ” with whipped cream and 2 horn-shaped short-breads, received the evening papers first and then successively all other national and international papers, read them, paid and did not have to utter a single word during this entire procedure. »



The role of the « café » as the home of the vital new modern movement in culture, needs to be set against the background of the « café » as a staple element in conventional, bourgeois, male existence across Austria-Hungary :

« Yes, it's the District Commissioner - and what's so strange about that ? He comes here every day between 5 and 7, to read the newspaper and the official digest and to smoke a Virginia. The whole town knows that, it's what he's been doing for 30 years. »

The « café » was associated with both cultural productivity, in the form of the literary « cafés » of the Biedermeier era, and with fecklessness and indolent loungers. It was patronized by the most upstanding city fathers, but was also a place where you could take your girlfriend without attracting undue censure. The writers of the « Jung Wien » movement and the other practitioners of early modernism embraced these contradictions, finding in the « café » the perfect venue for an exploration of the tensions between art and life. « Café » life is characterized by professional and semi-professional networking, in-depth literary discussion and frivolous play. The « café » was a vital part of life within the city, but, at the same time, had a marginal quality. It was a place that could be found at the heart of both conservative and Bohemian male sociability, without any apparent resentment between the 2 groups because, after all, « café » life was not a matter to be taken too seriously. The society that went on within it was both vital to the smooth running of the city and the flourishing of its cultural life, but was also inconsequential and trivial, thereby escaping excessive social regulation. The ambiguities of « café » life allowed urban modernity to creep into a city that preferred to look back to a glorious past rather than forwards towards an uncertain future.

### Bruckner remembers his favourite dishes

Even during his Viennese years, Anton Bruckner always remembered with great pleasure the exquisite dishes his favourite restaurants in Linz served him.

### Vienna : « Graben's Café »

A clearly visible inscription on an old building (above a street « café ») located on the historic « Graben » in Vienna reminds us of the visit of Anton Bruckner.

The « Graben » (German for Trench) is one of the most famous streets in Vienna's 1st District, the city centre. It begins at « Stock-im-Eisen-Platz » next to the « Palais Équitable » and ends at the junction of Kohlmarkt and Tuchlauben.

### Vienna : The coffee-house near the Stock-Exchange

Max Graf, a student at Bruckner's University lectures, remembers :

Sometimes, Anton Bruckner honoured me by allowing me to accompany him, after his lecture, to a nearby coffee-house. We used to sit at the round-table which stood in the middle of the room. Since this particular coffee-house was situated near the Stock-Exchange (and the « Hôtel de France ») on the « Ringstraße », the guests, for the most part,

were stock-jobbers who gazed curiously at the strange composer who ordered coffee and read the newspapers. We, young students, would sit and wait patiently until Bruckner finished reading. Once he read about the great pogrom in Kishinev (1881-1882) where hundreds of Jews had been killed, he looked distressed and timid when he laid the newspaper down. Anxiously, he looked at the guests who were sitting in the « café », discussing rates of exchange and market quotations, and said to us, with a half-shy, half-respectful glance at the Jewish guests :

« Jesus and Mary ! Now they have killed, in Russia, so many (with lowered voice ...) “ Jewish gentlemen ” ! »

Is Max Graf referring here to the « Café Central » who opened-up in 1876 in the former Vienna Stock-Exchange premises in « Palais Ferstel », on Number 14 « Herrengasse » ?

It has always been home to great philosophers, poets and leaders (such as Leo Trotzky, Arthur Schnitzler, Peter Altenberg or Sigmund Freud) .

### Vienna : « Café Central »

« Café Central » is a traditional Viennese « café » located at Number 14 « Herrengasse » in the « Innere-Stadt », 1st District of Vienna. The « café » occupies the ground-floor of the former Bank and Stock-Market Building, today called the « Palais Ferstel » after its architect Heinrich von Ferstel.

The « café » was opened in 1876, and, in the late- 19th Century, it became a key meeting-place of the Viennese intellectual scene. Key-regulars included : Peter Altenberg, Theodor Herzl, Alfred Adler, Egon Friedell, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Anton Kuh, Adolf Loos, Leo Perutz, Alfred Polgar and Leon Trotsky. In January 1913 alone, Josip Broz Tito, Sigmund Freud, Adolf Hitler, Vladimir Lenin, and Leon Trotsky (the latter two being regulars) were patrons of the establishment.

The « café » was often referred to as the « University of Chess » (« Die Schach-hochschule ») because of the presence of many chess-players who used the first floor for their games.

Members of the Vienna Circle of logical positivists held many meetings at the « café » before and after World War I.

A well-known story is that when Victor Adler objected to Count Berchtold, foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, that war would provoke revolution in Russia, even if not in the Habsburg monarchy, he replied :

« And who will lead this revolution ? Perhaps, Mister Bronstein (Leon Trotsky) sitting over there at the “ Café ” Central ? »

The « café » closed at the end of World War II.

**1856-1860** : The young architect Heinrich von Ferstel builds in the centre of Vienna the opulent « Palais » with its

fantastic Venetian cum Florentine cum Trecento architecture, inspired from his long journey through Italy. « The Ferstel » was the most fashionable building of the period. It originally housed the Austro-Hungarian National Bank and the Stock-Exchange as well as bazaar and a « café » popular with artists and men of letters. This prestigious building in the style of those put-up along the « Ringstraße » boulevard still catches the eye today.

**1860** : The Vienna Stock-Exchange rents the ground-floor, today's « Café Central » . And the Austro-Hungarian national Bank is based at « Palais Ferstel » .

From the Stock-Exchange's founding Charter of 1771 regarding its business hours :

« The Stock-Exchange shall be open on all days with the exception of Sundays and prescribed holidays from 11 am to 1 pm ; and between Michaelmas (29 September) and St. George's Day (23 April) from 3 pm to 4 pm ; and between St. George's Day and Michaelmas from 3 pm to 5 pm. »

The Vienna Stock-Exchange was intended on the one hand to raise money for the Austrian State, whose finances were always in poor shape, by means of government bonds. On the other hand, it was meant to stem unregulated dealing in these bonds and in the paper money which had been issued since 1762. It was feared that unauthorized brokers would buy bonds and notes at very low-prices, and thus, reduce the income the State received from the such loans. It was also intended that prospective buyers should no longer acquire their notes from the institution responsible for the fund, for example the Vienna City Bank (« Wiener Stadtbank ») , but do so on the stock-exchange for the highest possible price. The Vienna Stock-Exchange was put in the charge of a stock-exchange commissioner, who had a military guard at his disposal - in case there were disturbances. The actual business of the exchange was done by brokers, with the rules stipulating that under no circumstances should they be bankrupt traders or under 25 years of age.

It was, though, only a relatively small group who were admitted to the Stock-Exchange, even if all the estates were permitted : those who had to remain outside included « idiots » , bankrupts, convicted criminals - and women.

In contrast to other stock-exchanges in Europe, the Vienna Exchange was allowed to deal only in government bonds and currencies and not in commodities. The first shares (for a bank) were issued in 1816 and, then again, in 1842 (for the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway) . From the middle of the 19th Century, the exchange played a key-role in raising the capital for new industrial enterprises. A branch-like system of exchanges was therefore set-up throughout the Habsburg territories, whose rates were all based on those of the Stock-Exchange in Vienna.

...

A revolutionary (Trosky) , a psychoanalyst (Freud) , several writers and poets (including Polgar, Zweig and Altenberg) and an architect (Loos) walked into a « café » . What sounds like the start of a joke was an everyday occurrence at « Café Central » (established in 1876) . Over coffee, cake and the odd cigar, some of the greatest poets, philosophers and (it has to be said) story-tellers the world has ever seen, got together in Vienna's most attractive coffee-house.

In his « Theorie des Café Central » (Theory of « Café Central »), Viennese dramatist and essayist Alfred Polgar (1873-1955) gives a detailed insight into the nature and essence of « Centralists », as « Café Central's » regulars were known. A number of famous personalities regarded this place of tranquility, upheaval, cigars, coffee, chess and billiards as their home.

Alfred Polgar :

« “ Central ” is not a coffee-house like any other - it's a philosophy. »

« A proper “ Centralist ”, locked in his coffee-house, has the feeling of being cast-out into the harsh world, exposed to strange coincidences, anomalies and the cruelties of the unknown. »

« “ Café Central ” is located below Vienna's line of latitude, on the meridian of loneliness. Its inhabitants are mainly people whose misanthropy is as strong as the craving for people who want to be alone, but also want company as they do so. »

« It's a coffee-house, take everything on balance. You'll never come across another place like it. »

They held court at hotly contested regulars' tables, notable names including Polgar, Loos, Werfel, Hofmannsthal, Altenberg, Musil, Kraus, Kuh, Schnitzler, Zweig, and a few revolutionaries to boot - Trotsky, Lenin and Stalin.

Naturally, this aura of intellectual exhilaration had a magical effect on the ladies, so every now and again a heart was destined to be broken. One such belonged to Peter Altenberg, who had idolized the wife of Adolf Loos, Lina.

In the lulls between heated debates, out came the chess-boards. The play was of the highest-quality :

Alfred Polgar was a dreaded opponent and defeating Leon Trotsky (alias « “ Herr ” Bronstein ») was a rare and scarcely believable honour.

Peter Altenberg can still be found in « Café Central » to this day - although only as a « papier mâché » figure. He sits next to the entrance, casting a rather grim, yet curious eye over guests as they arrive.

**Vienna : « Café Größenwahn » (« Griensteidl »)**

Anton Bruckner liked very much the old « Café Griensteidl » (in his time, called : the « Café Größenwahn ») and spent a lot of time there.

« Café Griensteidl » is a traditional Viennese « café » located at « Michælerplatz » Number 2 across from St. Michael's Gate at the « Hofburg » Palace, in the « Innere Stadt », 1st District of Vienna. The « Café » was founded in 1847 by former pharmacist Heinrich Griensteidl. In the January 1897, the original building was demolished during the course

of the renovation of the « Michaelerplatz ». In 1900, the « Café » was re-opened and became a popular location among the Viennese coffee-house culture. During the early- 20th Century, the « Café » was frequented by many artists, musicians, and writers, including Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler, Arnold Schönberg, Hermann Bahr, Friedrich Eckstein, Rudolf Steiner, Hugo Wolf, and Stefan Zweig.

### Vienna : « Café Schwarzenberg »

The « Café Schwarzenberg » is the first establishment of its kind in Vienna to have opened (1860) on the « Ring » (circular boulevard) . Located at « Kärntner Ring » Number 17, it has been the meeting-place and work-place of many artists, writers, policy-makers and businessmen.

Piano concerts are heard very close to the « Café » , at the « Musikverein » , the « Konzerthaus » and the « Ronacher » .

Almost opposite, the Imperial Hotel, which was inaugurated in 1873, seduced even the faithfuls of « Café Schwarzenberg » like Sigmund Freud and Anton Bruckner. In an elegant atmosphere, you can taste the Imperial cake, a very popular delight, while listening to the Bösendorfer grand-piano.

### Where Viennese tradition is at home : « Konzert Café Schwarzenberg »

The Viennese coffee-house has been a stronghold of Austrian culinary tradition for Centuries. This tradition continues to be fostered in our days at the « Café Schwarzenberg » . Since its opening in the 19th Century, the « Café Schwarzenberg » has been a favourite with both locals and visitors to Vienna.

Enjoy laid-back conversations in Vienna's first « Café » on the « Ringstraße » over traditional coffee specialties, fine pastries and delicious treats of the Viennese cuisine. Tea-lovers will be surprised by the wide range of teas on offer.

The culinary offers are rounded-off by cultural events such as exhibitions, concerts or readings. Furthermore, visitors can choose from a wide-range of international newspapers.

In 1861, Europe's greatest boulevard was being built. The « Ringstraße » was taking its shape and evolved into the « Korso » between today's Opera and the « Stadtpark » , a promenade unknown to this point.

It was in those days when the « Café Schwarzenberg » , the oldest « Café » on the « Ringstraße » today, was opened by the Hochleitner family.

The « Café Schwarzenberg » has been a meeting-place for business people from the very beginning.

Although never an artists' or writers' « Café » , one famous visitor was a regular to his coffee-house for many years : The architect Josef Hoffmann, founder of the « Wiener Werkstätte » , used to be dropped-off by his driver to have lunch, read the newspaper and put his ideas down on sketching paper (« Quadratel Hoffmann ») . Many of his

outstanding works were created at the « Schwarzenberg » .

After 1945, officers of the Soviet Army occupied the rooms for their events and destroyed the furniture.

The « Café Schwarzenberg » today is one of the last « Cafés » on the « Ringstraße » upholding the typical atmosphere and tradition of a Viennese « Café » .

A popular meeting-place with the Viennese, an attraction for foreign visitors, a place to see and be seen.

...

« Café Schwarzenberg » is a traditional Viennese coffee-house, located on the « Ringstraße » boulevard (« Kärntner-Ring, Number 17 ») near the « Schwarzenbergplatz » , in the central « Innere Stadt » District of Vienna. Unlike many other traditional Viennese coffee-houses, the « Café Schwarzenberg » did not cater to a clientele of artists and intellectuals. The interior is notable for having remained largely unchanged since it was opened in the 19th Century.

« Café Schwarzenberg » is the oldest existing « Ringstraße » coffee-house, opened during the construction of the prestigious boulevard, in 1861, by a married couple with the family name Hochleitner. It quickly became an important meeting-place for influential entrepreneurs and financiers. Among the famous frequent guests was the architect Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956) , one of the founders of the artistic « Wiener Werkstätte » manufacturing company. Many of Hoffmann's designs were drafted at the « Café Schwarzenberg » .

### Vienna : « Café Impérial »

The « Café Impérial » located at « Kärntner Ring » Number 16, between the « Hofoper » and the « Musikverein » , was at the centre of Viennese intellectual life at the turn of the 19th Century.

The former private palace of the Duke of Wuerttemberg, completed around 1866 and never inhabited by the duke, was converted into a hotel for the 1873 World Exposition. It is one of the legendary palaces along the « Ringstraße » .

Since 1873 when the palatial town-house of the debt-ridden Duke Philipp of Württemberg was turned into an hotel by the « hôtelier » Johann Frohner (general-manager from 1873 to 1894 ; he died on 7 July 1894 ; his manager was G. von Rüling) , it has had an elegant, roomy coffee-house, which would be adorned with pictures by Moritz von Schwind. Hardly, a Viennese figure of prominence would not find his way to one or another « Imperial “ Stammtisch ” » .

On 1 May 1873, Emperor Franz-Josef opened the largest World Fair up to that time. Until November, Vienna was the stage on which the world and his wife were guests. 53,000 exhibitors brought speciality items from around the globe into the Imperial City. Among the guests of the « Hôtel Impérial » during a summer of such significance to Vienna was Brazil's Emperor Dom Pedro II. Denmark's Christian IX also lodged here, and liked to take carriage rides to the « Volksgarten » , where he listened to the « Deutschmeister » band giving concerts.

One of the most often (wrongly) quoted legends used to be that the « Hôtel » was opened by the Emperor. His Apostolic Majesty, Franz-Josef I, personally visited the hotel in 1879. The occasion was the visit of Prince Bismarck, who discussed an alliance with Count Andrassy of Hungary in one of the parlours on the second floor. 11 Prussian secret policemen kept watch over their prince. On 7 October 1879, the time had come : the treaty between Hungary and Prussia was sealed. That Franz-Josef I chose to go to the Imperial was a mark of great respect to his honoured guest.

« Discrétion oblige » : The head-concierge enjoys the reputation of being « the most important person » in any hotel, and the guest who befriends him is a wise and far-sighted person indeed. Nevertheless, the man with 138 keys « on his belt » (together with his team) really is in charge for everything that happens between arrival and departure. Being passionate about Opera, he is also a preferred conversation partner of all great Mæstros arriving at the hotel.

**Richard Wagner** composed and re-arranged the main-parts of his « Tannhäuser » while staying at the « Hôtel Impérial » , in 1875, to prepare for a new performance of the Opera under his supervision, in Vienna. He and his family occupied 7 rooms of the hotel, and he had a piano set-up in the parlour where he worked on the new arrangements. He also worked on the arrangements of « Lohengrin » (a Romantic fairy-tale Opera, in 3 acts) at the « Impérial » . See the memorial plaque erected by the Schubert Association in 1933, on the right of the hotel entrance.

Among the other regulars who frequented the elegant coffee-house :

- **Johannes Brahms** who liked to sip slowly his favourite coffee. He also composed at the « Hôtel Impérial » .

- **Anton Bruckner** who loved large portions of home-made « Kugelhupf » .

A « Kugelhupf » (also « Gugelhupf » , « Guglhupf » , « Gugelhupf ») is a light, yeasted marble-cake, traditionally baked in a distinctive circular Bundt mold. It is popular in a wide region of Central Europe, including southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland and Alsace.

In late-Medieval Austria, a « Gugelhupf » was served at major community events such as weddings, and was decorated with flowers, leaves, candles, and seasonal fruits. The name persisted through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, eventually becoming standardized in Viennese cook-books as a refined, rich cake, flavoured with rosewater and almond. Many regional variations exist, testifying to the wide-spread popularity of the Gugelhupf tradition.

A speciality of the house is the « Imperial Tart » (« Imperial Torte ») which is a chocolate truffle, supposedly based on a secret recipe that is said to have been created by an apprentice cook who fashioned it when Emperor Franz-Josef opened the Hotel, in 1873. The confection comes in either a plain pine-wood box or a card-board box (for shipments) , each containing a single torte or group of small tortes. Tortes vary in size, from ones that are the size of an individually-wrapped candy to others that are the size of a small cake (approximately 6 inches or 15 centimeters) . A complementary torte box is provided to each guest-room and additional boxes can be ordered from the hotel for shipment.

- **Gustav Mahler**, the director of the « Wiener Hofoper » (always in tail-coat) . Mahler was a regular at the « Imperial

» for 3 years, as his widow would later be.

- **Franz Schalk**, Mahler's assistant at the Opera, would be regularly seen here, in tails, before performances in white tie and tails, which led the uninitiated to confuse him with the head-waiter.

- **Alma Mahler** who reminisces vivaciously in her memoirs how her German nationalist step-father, the artist Carl Moll, wanted to beat-up Karl Kraus here.

- **Carl Moll**, the famous « Jugendstil » painter.

- **Friedrich Eckstein**, the great polymath and mystic ; patron of Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf. His « Stammtisch » could be found in the second room on the left. One saw him, sitting there from morning till night, as Bruno Walter and others reported.

They all refer to the same source when they needed a reliable witness to back-up their claims : the aged head-waiter named Julius. The latter claimed that he had ushered Eckstein to the same table as an apprentice. Friedrich Eckstein was the brother of the suffragette, Therese Schlesinger, and the Austro-Marxist, Gustav Eckstein, and father of the writer, Percy Eckstein, and husband of a novelist, who made a reputation under the name of « Sir Galahad » . We find Eckstein's traces in the works of Sigmund Freud. He was the hero of Ludwig Hevesi's book, « Mac Ecke's Curious Journey » and the undiminished central figure in an Ecksteinian autobiography, « Old Unnamable Days ! » . He turns-up in the memoirs of Max Graf, Stefan Großmann, Roda Roda, in the venerable Albert Fuch's unsurpassed, « Geistige Strömungen in Österreich » and in Friedrich Torberg's legendary, « Tante Jolesch » . Hermann Bahr erected a literary monument to him in his novel, « Die Rahl » .

- **Karl Kraus**, critic and pamphleteer who, since 1900, appreciated the silence of the « Café Impérial » ; few people (except Eckstein) were allowed to approach this solitary character.

The editor of the « Fackel » even immortalized the coffee-house in his 1913 polemic, « The Lion's Head or the Dangers of Technology » . He would regularly meet with the architect, Adolf Loos, here. The editor of Innsbruck's « Brenner » , Ludwig von Ficker, would introduce the latter to Ludwig Wittgenstein here, on July 24, 1914 :

« We met at “ Café Impérial ”, where there ensued a somewhat strenuous, but positively stimulating conversation between him and the hard-of-hearing builder of the still controversial “ Haus am Michaelerplatz ”, on questions of modern architecture, which seemed to interest Wittgenstein. »

Later, Wittgenstein had a less than enthused view of Loos, as we see in a letter to his friend, the Loos pupil, Paul Engelmann, on the 2nd of September 1919. Nevertheless, in September 1924, Loos, ever the friend of the language-purist, Karl Kraus, presented Wittgenstein with a copy of his book, « Ins Leere gesprochen » (Spoken into the Void) , in remembrance of their animated conversation in the summer before the War. The friendly, if curious, sentence in which Loos expressed his good wishes ran : « for Ludwig Wittgenstein with thanks and most amicably : thankful for his stimulation, most amicably in the hope that he reciprocates these sentiments » . So saluted, he did not reciprocate the



sentiments. Moreover, he passed the tome on to his sister, Hermine, as she celebrated her 50th birthday that December with the words :

« I did not forget your birthday. I merely did not know what I could present to you that would fit the occasion. It recently occurred to me that you might not object to receiving Loos' book with his inscription :

“ Herewith, it passes over to your possession. ” »

- **Sigmund Freud**, the Father of psychoanalysis. It is rumoured that Freud conceived of his dream interpretation study while working at the « Café » , and he was known to hold impromptu psychoanalytical consultations at his table. He took his daily coffee at the « Café » and met with other academics and critics, including Friedrich Eckstein with whom he regularly shared a table.

- **Ludwig Münz**, art-historian.

- **Robert Hirschfeld**, historian and music-critic for the « Wiener Zeitung » .

- **Heinrich Schenker**, music theorist, music-critic, teacher, pianist, and composer.

- **Arthur Schnitzler**, author, dramatist and physician. Schnitzler remarked disrespectfully of him in his note-book of October 3, 1892 :

« Eckstein, very stupid. »

Mentioned in Schnitzler's novel, « The Road to the Open » , described by Roda Roda in his memoirs, the coffee-house on the « Ring » had soon become the meeting-place of literature and music.

- Writers **Peter Altenberg**, **Hugo von Hofmannsthal**, **Gustav Meyrink**, **Rainer Maria Rilke**, **Roda Roda**, **Franz Werfel**.

- **Carl Zuckmayer**, German writer and playwright.

- **Charlie Chaplin** : « Stay at the Imperial and feel like an Emperor. »

Charlie Chaplin arrived in Vienna for a few relaxing days. But otherwise, the occasionally warm Viennese heart knew no pity for the greatest film star of his time : Chaplin was badgered incessantly. Even his arrival resulted in a triumphal procession from the North Railway Station to the Imperial, with a crowd of 4,000 cheering the star. People climbed into trees to see him. Then, he spoke his first words ever into a microphone. His nervous cry of « Guten Tak, Guten Tak ! » (The Viennese physically carried him out of the railway station, and he could only hold onto his hat and cane with one hand) became what is probably the shortest interview for this new (and to Chaplin as yet not trusted) medium.

« I can only effectively assume to the role of The Tramp in mime. » , he explained to the press, who wanted to know

why he didn't continue speaking into the microphone. He did not yet want to make his voice known to the world.

Conductor **Herbert von Karajan**, who became artistic director of the Vienna State Opera in 1956, considered the Imperial as his occasional base camp, rang the concierge in a fury :

« I want to take a shower, and there is no water ! »

In truth, there was a burst pipe. The damage was repaired in no time at all. How, though, can you apologize to such a great Master of music without seeming ridiculous ? General-manager Littig gave him a small packet of coffee, the hotel's own blend, which Karajan so much appreciated. From this day forward, without a word, a packet of coffee was presented to Karajan on every of his arrival.

...

Das Hotel Imperial Wien liegt, wie der Name schon erahnen läßt, in Wien auf der bekannten Ringstraße. Es ist eines der auffälligsten Gebäude dieser Straße im 1. Gemeindebezirk.

Das Gebäude, ursprünglich unter dem Namen Palais Württemberg erbaut, ist ein fünfgeschoßiger Baublock mit sechssachsigem schwach hervortretendem Mittelrisalit. Im Giebel befindet sich eine Figurengruppe, die eine Frauengestalt auf Triumphwagen, von Hirschen und Löwen (den württembergischen Wappentieren) gezogen, darstellt. Im dritten und vierten Geschoß liegen im Mittelrisalit große Steinbalkone. Der Vorbau des Haupteinganges ist mit weißem Carraramarmor verkleidet.

Das Haus wurde 1862-1865 nach Plänen von Arnold Zenetti und Heinrich Adam erbaut. Unter anderem war Carl Kayer für die Inneneinrichtung zuständig. Es sollte als privates Palais für den Prinzen Philip von Württemberg dienen, der mit der Großnichte Kaiser Franz-Josefs I verheiratet war. Dokumenten zufolge ist es aber auch möglich, daß das Palais eine Morgengabe von Erzherzog Albrecht (der Vater von Maria Theresia) war.

Als 1928 die Aufstockung um zwei Geschoße erfolgte, wurde die ursprüngliche Dachbalustrade mit der großen Mittelkuppel entfernt. Im Jahr 1946 erfolgte der Umbau des Haupteinganges ; schon 1872-1873 wandelte man das Gebäude in das Hotel Imperial um.

Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg und während der Besatzungszeit diente das Hotel den Sowjets als Quartier. Dabei trug das Gebäude nur wenige Schäden davon. Insgesamt hat sich im Inneren nicht zuletzt durch Sanierung vieles verändert. Dennoch sind einige Repräsentationsräume und Salons erhalten geblieben. Die Festtreppe zeigt eine Skulptur von Heinrich Gasser, das « Donauweibchen » .

Seit jeher ist das Hotel Imperial im Palais Württemberg am Kärntner Ring eine der ersten Adressen Wiens. Es beherbergte und beherbergt Staatsgäste und unzählige Prominente aus Film, Politik, Musik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.

1994 wurde das Hotel zum Besten der Welt gewählt - es ist bekannt für die Erfüllung der ausgefallensten Wünsche

seiner Gäste.

### University student Friedrich Eckstein

Friend and intermediary for Anton Bruckner. He vacationed with the Master and, later, met Franz and Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, and Karl Almeroth through Bruckner.

**Autumn 1879** : Through a « Kapellmeister » friend, the young Friedrich Eckstein gets to know Professor Anton Bruckner.

**Summer 1880 (?)** : Friedrich Eckstein who attends Professor Anton Bruckner's University lectures, comes into contact with him through the mediation of Ferdinand Löwe and the Schalk brothers.

**Tuesday, 25 July 1882** : Splendid banquet in the great-hall of the Bayreuth Festival's restaurant. Friedrich Eckstein finally arrives at destination after a walk of several days.

**Wednesday, 25 July 1882** : Friedrich Eckstein meets Anton Bruckner, Josef Schalk and August Göllerich junior in Bayreuth.

**Wednesday, 3 January 1883** : Letter from Hans von Wolzogen to Friedrich Eckstein :

Richard Wagner is quite aware of the consequences of the previous long-term hardships. He decides to spend the winter months in southern Europe.

**Friday, 16 May 1884** : Fire at the « Wiener Stadt-Theater » . The same day, Anton Bruckner has a chance to get closer to Friedrich Eckstein. Sitting at a « café » with him, he asks for advice on a Latin text by Bernhard von Clairvaux.

**Saturday, 17 May 1884** : Despite a rejection a few months earlier, Friedrich Eckstein finally becomes the private secretary of Anton Bruckner.

**Thursday, 4 December 1884** : Post-card from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Friedrich Eckstein : Bruckner asks Eckstein to come tomorrow at 12 o'clock.

**Saturday, 27 December 1884** : Whether Anton Bruckner traveled alone or accompanied (with Friedrich Eckstein) , is unanswered.

**Friday, 2 January 1885** : We ignore if Anton Bruckner was in Vienna on this day. Friedrich Eckstein is not sure if he will travel with the Master.

**Wednesday, 8 April 1885** : Performance in Cologne by the Heckmann String Quartet of Bruckner's Quintet (**WAB 112**)

(without the Finale) . Also on the programme, works by Philipp Julius Wolfrum and Johan Svendsen (who are present) .

In the audience : Friedrich Eckstein, Doctor Emil Kleser, Doctor August Guckeisen and Professor Doctor Franz Wüllner.

**Saturday, 2 May 1885** : Anton Bruckner conducts his « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) with soloists Marie Ullrich-Linde (soprano) , Emilie Zips (Alto) , Richard Erxleben (tenor) and Heinrich Gaßner (bass) accompanied by the « Musikverein » Choir which include Hildegard Zweigelt (soprano) , Hedwig von Liszt, Franz Schumann (tenor) , Josef von Wöb, Friedrich Eckstein and his sister Emma Eckstein.

Also on the programme :

Songs by Franz Liszt (« Es muß ein Wunderbares sein » , « Du bist wie eine Blume ») and Richard Wagner (« Lenzeslied » from « Die Walküre ») , sung by Heinrich Adolphi and Bertha Ehn.

**Wednesday, 20 May 1885** :

« I hereby authorize my dear friend, Director Friedrich Eckstein, with regard to the publishing of my “ Te Deum ” (**WAB 45**) , to take the necessary steps at his discretion.

Vienna, 20 May 1885.

Anton Bruckner, m.p. »

**Mid-November 1885** : Letter from the German musician, music-publisher and editor Ernst Wilhelm Fritsch (1840-1902) to Anton Bruckner :

Whether the enclosed photograph is suitable for an article (30 December 1885, etc.) in the « Musikalischen Wochenblatt » . Anton Bruckner may give details of his « curriculum vitæ » and his work to Doctor Theodor Helm, who will write the final text.

Friedrich Eckstein is commissioned to answer the question and to visit Helm. Bruckner's paper note remains in Eckstein's possession.

...

If the German occult sub-culture was well-developed before the First World War, Vienna could also look back on a ripe tradition of occult interest. The story of this tradition is closely linked with Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) . The personal secretary of composer Anton Bruckner, this brilliant polymath cultivated a wide-circle of acquaintance amongst the leading thinkers, writers and musicians of Vienna. His penchant for occultism first became evident as a member of a « Lebensreform » group who had practised vegetarianism and discussed the doctrines of Pythagoras and the neo-

Platonists in Vienna, at the end of the 1870's. His esoteric interests later extended to German and Spanish mysticism, the legends surrounding the Templars, and the Freemasons, Wagnerian mythology, and oriental religions. In 1880, he befriended the Viennese mathematician Oskar Simony, who was impressed by the metaphysical theories of Professor Friedrich Zöllner of Leipzig. Zöllner had hypothesized that spiritualistic phenomena confirmed the existence of a 4th dimension. Eckstein and Simony were also associated with the Austrian psychical researcher, Lazar von Hellenbach, who performed scientific experiments with mediums in a state of trance and contributed to « Die Sphinx ». Following his cordial meeting with Blavatsky, in 1886, Eckstein gathered a group of theosophists in Vienna. During the late 1880's, both Franz Hartmann and the young Rudolf Steiner were « habitués » of this circle. Eckstein was also acquainted with the mystical group around the illiterate Christian pietist, Alois Mailänder (1844-1905) , who was lionized at Kempten and later at Darmstadt by many theosophists, including Hartmann and Hübbe-Schleiden. Eckstein corresponded with Gustav Meyrink, founder of the « Blue Star » theosophical lodge at Prague, in 1891, who later achieved renown as an occult novelist before the First World War. In 1887, a Vienna Theosophical Society was founded with Eckstein as president and Count Karl zu Leiningen-Billingheim, as secretary.

...

The Austrian polymath and theosophist Friedrich Eckstein was born on 17 February 1861 in Perchtoldsdorf, Lower-Austria, and died on 10 November 1939 in Vienna. He was a friend and temporary co-worker of Sigmund Freud.

He appears anonymously in Freud's « Civilization and its Discontents » as a « friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments », including « the practices of Yoga. He sees in them a physiological basis, as it were, for much of the wisdom of mysticism » .

Also the husband of fellow-theosophist and writer Bertha Diener, Eckstein's penchant for occultism first became evident as a member of a vegetarian group which discussed the doctrines of Pythagoras and the neo-Platonists in Vienna at the end of the 1870's. His esoteric interests later extended to German and Spanish mysticism, the legends surrounding the Templars and the Freemasons, Wagnerian mythology and oriental religions. In 1886, in the week after the tragedy at Mayerling, in which Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria, and his mistress were found dead in mysterious circumstances, he and his friend, the composer Anton Bruckner (Eckstein was his road-secretary) traveled to the monastery of « Stift Heiligenkreuz » to ask the abbot there for details of what happened.

...

The proof sheets of Bruckner's Quintet, which at the time were in the possession of Friedrich Eckstein, « show many corrections in Bruckner's hand », which reveal that « the last actual manuscript handed in by Bruckner before the printing did not mark the conclusion of his work on the composition » .

...

One of Bruckner's pupils and closest friends, Friedrich Eckstein, visited the composer regularly at this time, and he was

often able to inspect the sketches for whichever work was then in progress. Eckstein was struck by how unusually the 7th's opening-theme came into being. His remarks about Bruckner's normal working habits (and how the opening of the 7th differed from these) is worth quoting at length :

« Almost every time I visited Bruckner at his apartment on the “ Heßgasse ”, I found him sitting at his old fashioned, bulky Bösendorfer grand-piano, deep in the sketch of one of his Symphonies, laboriously, with shaking hands, coaxing-out the harmonies. These musical outlines were in themselves quite remarkable. As a rule only, the violin or the top woodwind line was filled-in, and in the bottom, the bass ; in between was a yawning gap, and it wasn't until much later that the remaining orchestral voices were added. The harmonic dimension and the arrangement of the orchestral voices were already clearly established in the Master's inner-ear, and here and there, underneath the bass-line, would stand a note, usually in the form of a capital letter, to indicate the harmonic “ fundamental tone ” of the passage in question. »

« But what a wealth of unimagined beauty was revealed when I saw the very first bars of one newly-begun work, the wonderful 7th Symphony : where the string tremolos launch a deeply moving harmonic sequence that arches through a splendid chain of suspensions, bathing the main-theme, on horn and cellos, in shafts of radiant sunlight ! »

### Emma Eckstein

Emma Eckstein (1865-1924) was an Austrian author. She was « one of Sigmund Freud's most important patients and, for a short period of time around 1897, became a psychoanalyst herself » : she has, indeed, been described as « the first woman analyst. Emma Eckstein became both colleague and patient » for Freud. As analyst, while « working mainly in the area of sexual and social hygiene, she also explored how “ day-dreams, those ' parasitic plants ', invaded the life of young girls ” » .

Ernest Jones placed her with such figures as Lou Andreas-Salomé and Joan Riviere as a « type of woman, of a more intellectual and, perhaps, masculine cast who played a part in his life, accessory to his male friends though of a finer calibre » .

« Emma Eckstein was born in Vienna, on 28 January 1865, to a well-known bourgeois family » with close connections to Freud : « one of her brothers was Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , a Social-Democrat and associate of Karl Kautsky, the leader of the Socialist Party ; and a sister, Therese Schlesinger, a Socialist, was one of the first women members of parliament » . Another brother, Friedrich, appears (anonymously) in Freud's « Civilization and its Discontents » as a « friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments » , including « the practices of Yoga. He sees in them a physiological basis, as it were, for much of the wisdom of mysticism » .

Emma, herself, was active in the Viennese women's movement, « collaborating with “ Dokumente der Frauen and Neues Frauenleben ” » .

After an nose operation in 1910, however, « Emma took to her couch, and remained a partial invalid until she died on (Wednesday) 30 July 1924 of a cerebral hæmmorrhage » .

When she was 27, she went to Freud, seeking treatment for vague symptoms including stomach ailments and slight depression related to menstruation. Freud diagnosed Eckstein as suffering from hysteria and believed that she masturbated to excess ; masturbation, in those days, was considered dangerous to mental health. Her « treatment lasted something in the region of 3 years - one of the most protracted and detailed of Freud's early cases » .

In her analysis, Emma Eckstein « supplied Freud with the material that would allow him to theorize hysteric symptomology » taught Freud about « the no-man's land between fantasy and memory, resonating with sadistic acts and fantasies of a former historical epoch » . Her « eager collaboration in her analysis gave Freud much precious material, contributed substantial changes and fundamental new elements to his theories : the wish theory of psychosis and dream ; the transferential reconstruction of her early pleasures and fantastic scenes from her inner-life » . In particular, Freud's theory of deferred action owed much to « Emma Eckstein's twinned scenes in shops » . « Now, this case is typical of repression in hysteria. We invariably find that a memory has been repressed which has only become a trauma through deferred action. »

Freud suspected, in addition to hysteria, a « nasal reflex neurosis » , a condition popularized by his friend and collaborator Wilhelm Fließ - an ear, nose, and throat specialist. Fließ had been treating « nasal reflex neurosis » by cauterizing the inside of the nose under local anesthesia, with cocaine used as the anesthetic. Fließ found that the treatment yielded positive results, in that his patients became less depressed. Fließ conjectured that if temporary cauterization was temporarily useful, perhaps, surgery would yield more permanent results. He began operating on the noses of patients he diagnosed with the disorder, including Emma Eckstein and even Freud, himself.

Eckstein's surgery was a disaster. She suffered from terrible infections for some time, and profuse bleeding. Freud called in a specialist, his old school friend, Doctor Ignaz Rosanes, who removed a mass of surgical gauze that Fließ had not removed. Eckstein's nasal passages were so damaged that she was left permanently disfigured. Freud initially attributed this damage to the surgery, but later, as an attempt to reassure his friend that he shouldn't blame himself, Freud reiterated his belief that the initial nasal symptoms had been due to hysteria.

Guilt over the episode has been identified as contributing to the dream of Irma's injection in « The Interpretation of Dreams » :

« Max Schur grasped right away the significance of the episode to the “ Irma ” dream in his paper on the specimen dream. »

Eckstein is also associated with Freud's seduction theory. In 1897, Freud cites her analytic findings to Fließ as support for his « so-called seduction theory, the claim that all neuroses are the consequences of an adult's, usually a father's, sexual abuse of a child » . Freud wrote that :

« Eckstein deliberately treated her patient in such a manner as not to give her the slightest hint of what would

emerge from the unconscious and in the process obtained from her the identical scenes with the father. »

Jeffrey Masson in his assault on Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory makes much of Eckstein's role, linking Freud's « abandonment » of her position with respect to the Fließ surgery to his « abandonment » of her evidence for the paternal etiology of neurosis : for « the idea (which even Masson concedes is crazy) that all neurotic patients had been sexually abused » .

Yet, while few (since Max Schur) would dissent that in regard to the failed surgery « Freud's evasiveness is blatant. Freud was eager to protect Fließ from the obvious charge of careless, almost fatal malpractice » , there is, at the same time, much to suggest that « as far as the seduction theory is concerned, Eckstein is a red herring, no more relevant than Freud's other patients. The fact that Masson lavishes so much attention on her is because Emma Eckstein is, for him, a woman whom Freud and Fließ abused. She is, thus, the prototypical psychoanalytic victim of this symbolic function. »

In 1904, « Eckstein had published a small book on the sexual education of children » , although, in it, « she does not mention Freud » . A few years later, however, in his open letter on « The Sexual Enlightenment of Children » , Freud refers to her book approvingly, highlighting « the charming letter of explanation which a certain “ Frau ” Emma Eckstein quotes as having been written by her to her son when he was about 10 years old » .

...

Emma Eckstein's relationship to Sigmund Freud and to psychoanalysis has been shrouded in mystery. Only vague hints as to her connection with Freud have emerged from the standard sources. Ernest Jones (Volume 2 ; pages 469) writes that Freud found the psychology of women more enigmatic than that of men. Freud was interested in another type of woman, of a more intellectual and, perhaps, masculine cast. Such women, several times, played a part in his life, accessory to his men friends though of a finer caliber, but they had no erotic attraction for him. Minna Bemays, then, in chronological order : Emma Eckstein ; Loe Kann ; Lou Andreas-Salome ; Joan Riviere ; Marie Bonaparte. It is not clear from whom Jones heard this, whether from Freud himself, or, more likely, from his daughter Mathilde. (The letters between Jones and Mathilde are in the Jones Archives in the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, in London. I could not find any reference to Emma Eckstein, there.)

Emma Eckstein was born in Vienna on January 28, 1865, the child of Albert (born in 1825) and Amalia (born Wehle, in 1836) Eckstein, and died on July 30, 1924, of « apoplexiacerebri » . Emma Eckstein had 5 sisters and 2 brothers. Her eldest sister, Kathe Hirsch, was the mother of Albert Hirst and Doctor A. Elias, both of whom granted interviews to K. R. Eißler in the 1950's about their « Aunt » Emma. (These interviews are now at the Library of Congress, in sealed archives.) One of Emma's brothers, Friedrich Eckstein, was referred to, by Freud, in : « Civilization and Its Discontents » (SE, 21 ; page 72) .

According to Anna Freud :



« Another friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments and has ended by giving him encyclopædic knowledge, has assured me that through the practices of Yoga, by withdrawing from the world, by fixing the attention on bodily functions and by peculiar methods of breathing, one can in fact evoke new sensations and “ cœnesthesias ” in oneself, which he regards as regressions to primordial states of mind which have long ago been overlaid. »

Friedrich Eckstein, called « the philosopher of the “ Ringstraße ” », was a Sanskritist, a vegetarian, a close friend of Hugo Wolf, Anton Bruckner, and other musicians, and wrote articles about psychoanalysis. His autobiography, which Freud took with him to London, « “ Alte unnennbare Tage ! ” Erinnerungen aus 70 Lehr- und Wanderjahren » (Ineffable Days of Old Memories of 70 Years of Travel and Study) , edited in 1936 by Herbert Reichner (Vienna / Leipzig / Zürich) , mentions Freud several times (pages 20-24) .

There is some information given about the father, Albert Eckstein, an inventor, who had a parchment factory but, otherwise, he says little about the family. Emma Eckstein is not mentioned by name.

The other brother, Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , a Social-Democrat, was an associate of Karl Kautsky, the leader of the Socialist Party, in Austria. Gustav died of tuberculosis, at an early age. He is mentioned on page 214 of the « Österreichische Biographische Lexikon » (1815-1950) .

Karl Kautsky's son, an obstetrician, was a friend of Emma Eckstein. According to Mrs. Ella Heinz, a friend of his, whom I interviewed in Berkeley, in 1981, he spoke of an ill-fated gynecological operation that Freud encouraged, which eventually led to Emma Eckstein's death. I have not been able to confirm this from any other source, and Mrs. Heinz's memory of what Doctor Kautsky told her about this was rather vague. Emma Eckstein's sister, Therese Schlesinger, was one of the first women members of parliament. Her biography is found in : Alfred Magaziner. « Die Wegbereiter : Aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung » , Volksbuchverlag, Vienna (1975) ; pages 216-219.

We do not know much about Emma Eckstein's early life. Until 1905, she wrote articles ; after that, she seems to have withdrawn from the world and lived in a room, surrounded by books, never leaving her couch, apparently confined to it by a puzzling ailment which those around her considered hysterical in origin but which she felt was organic. A single mysterious line from an unpublished passage in a letter to Fließ (12 December 1897) indicates that Emma Eckstein, at Freud's request, saw patients. The passage itself is about the seduction theory.

The first line begins :

« Die Eckstein hat ihre Patientin so behandelt, daß sie ... » (Eckstein treated her patient in such a way that ...)

From the rest of the passage, it is clear that the treatment she used was nothing other than psychoanalysis. It is, unfortunately, the only such passage in the letters - nothing further is said about Emma's seeing patients. Fließ seems to have known about it, since Freud does not feel it necessary to explain to him why Emma would be seeing patients. Under what circumstances, for how long, and with what results, are all questions that cannot be answered.

In the Library of Congress, there is a series of 14 unpublished letters, given to the library by Emma Eckstein's nephew, Albert Hirst, that Freud wrote to Emma Eckstein between 1895 and 1910. One of these is simply a visiting-card, which reads, on the envelope :

« Fraulein Emma Eckstein  
V Siebenbrunnengasse 15 »

On the other side, it is written :

« Doktor Sigmund Freud  
Dozent für Nervenkrankheiten an der Universität  
Wien,  
ord. 3-5 h. IX, Berggasse 19  
Dies ist Fraulein Stella Pfeffer, 19 Jahr Ihr  
Pflegekind und so weiter »

The card is not dated. But since Freud uses the title « Dozent » , this was before he received the title of « Außerordentlicher » (associate-professor) before 1902.

The text reads :

« This is to introduce Miss Stella Pfeffer, 19 years old, your foster child, etc. No doubt the “ etc. ” referred to the fact that Freud had already discussed the “ case ” with Emma Eckstein before sending her. It appears to be a referral of a patient. »

Emma Eckstein had written about the sexual enlightenment of children as early as 1899, in an article published in the socialist « Die neue Zeit » entitled, « Eine wichtige Erziehungsfrage » - An Important Question in Education (« Die neue Zeit, Revue des geistigen und öffentlichen Lebens » , Band 18, 1899-1900 ; pages 666-669) . She writes there that a child knows shame only slightly, or not at all, knows no sexual feelings of any kind, and so, can only guess that there are other reasons, besides the desire to have children, that would fuel the desire to have sexual intercourse.

...

... moreover, « of a highly-fantastic kind » . Could this possibly be a reference to the shame she felt at having had ideas of being seduced as a child ? No doubt, by this time, she was well-aware that Freud felt she had never, in fact, been seduced, but was a severe masturbator, given-over to inventing stories « of a highly-fantastic kind » . At the end of her book, Emma Eckstein speaks of a fear that many young women had that « by dancing, by topical (medical) treatment such as massages and the like, or through a kiss, they could become pregnant » (page 30) . She hints that she, herself, « treated » such cases :

« Here, I wish to stress as well : I am not aware of a single case that can be thought of as the result of a constitutional predisposition to illness or lack of intelligence. When I, for the first time, succeeded with much difficulty in eliciting such a secret from a well-read, gifted 18 year old girl who had been educated accordingly when, for the first time, I came to see the emotional anguish of such a helpless being, I believed, deeply shaken, I was faced with the specific product of a diseased imagination. Once my attention had been drawn to it, though, experience taught me that this fantasy was not at all unusual, but is the exceedingly painful result of a lack of knowledge. »

She, then, proceeds to the device of an invented letter :

« I believe the best way to express my views and ideas, in regard to this subject, is by means of the following letter which is conceived (“ gedacht ”) as part of a correspondence between a mother and her child and is to provide the desired enlightenment from afar. »

Why would Emma choose to include a letter that could be mistaken for a real one to an imaginary son (who could also be mistaken for a real son) ? The theme of an unmarried mother (vaguely hinted at by the fact that the mother is writing to her son from far away - almost as if they were not to meet again) was very important to Emma Eckstein. She has a short article, in : « Dokumente der Frauen, “ Das Dienstmädchen als Mutter ” » (Servant as Mother) , published in 1899 (« Dokumente der Frauen » , Volume 2, Number 14, 1899-1900, edited by August Fickert, Marie Lang, and Rosa Mayreder ; pages 594-598) . The article is about « unmarried girls who come, at a very tender age, from the country to the city » (page 595) , where they take-up service in a wealthy household, convinced they are « under the protection of the family » . But, in reality, their protectors too often turn into their seducers :

« The inexperienced girls are only too easily made the victims of the men of the household. »

Emma, then, points-out :

« Our laws, which protect all our property, do not recognize the honour of somebody who serves, and these poor young girls are without rights and without protection even in the eyes of the law. A telling proof of this is paragraph Number 504 of our “ Laws of Tort ” : A guest in the house who dishonours a minor daughter, or a minor relative of the male or female head of the house who belongs to the household, is liable, for this transgression, to be punished with incarceration from 1 to 3 months according to the relationship to the family. Paragraph 505 says that the same punishment is to be meted-out to a woman servant in the family who commits a sexual felony on a minor son or a minor relative who is living in the house. So, we see : according to Austrian law, ... »

...

Freud adds :

« I do not believe that this touching letter brought the 2 sisters the enlightenment they wanted. Later on, the writer of it fell ill from unanswered questions of obsessional brooding. »

Freud clearly knows a great deal about the letter and the person who wrote it, and the person who did not answer it. As if impelled by some inner-need that he does not communicate, Freud adds a foot-note, in 1924 :

« After some years, however, her obsessional brooding gave way to a dementia præcox. »

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Emma Eckstein had an illegitimate child, and that her letter is, in fact, based on reality. If the child was 10, at the time this book was written in 1904, then, she would have given birth in 1894, during her analysis. Being in analysis, she would have told Freud, and possibly nobody else. I must stress that none of the 6 people I spoke to, who knew Emma Eckstein, had ever heard any such rumor. Nor do I believe this is anything more than speculation. But it is one more piece of evidence that the mystery surrounding Emma Eckstein has, by no means, been resolved.

One more, perhaps minor, but nevertheless intriguing revelation comes from an unpublished letter that Freud wrote to Emma Eckstein, on April 17, 1904 :

« Dear Emma :

At last, I can give you the answer I owe you - I have been speaking so much that I did not get around to writing. So, as far as the thesis (or sentence) is concerned, you can make whatever use of it you wish. As soon as your work has seen the light of day, I will write, in accordance with your ideas, a review, add to it the censure (“ Tadel ? ”) you and I both wish and, then, offer the whole thing to the “ Neue Freie Presse ”. Anyway, it will take some time before it is printed. I will not demand that it appear in the Sunday issue. I know that such wishes do not allow themselves to be fulfilled and, in any event, it is entirely immaterial (on what day the review appears) . »

This comes from the collection of 14 unpublished letters to Emma Eckstein in the Library of Congress. It could well be that because Freud never did manage to publish the review, the open letter to Doctor Furst appeared in place of the promised review. From a later letter of February 11, 1905, from Freud to Emma Eckstein, we learn that the « Neue Freie Presse » rejected the review, and Freud intended to re-write it and send it elsewhere :

« Dear Emma :

So that you don't do away with yourself, which would be a grave loss for me, I am enclosing the response of the “ Neue Freie Presse ” to the letter we discussed. I answered :

“ I am perfectly prepared to re-write it but, this time, I must request assurance that it will appear next Sunday. ”  
As of now, there has been no answer. And now, I believe we are finally free of the “ Neue Freie Presse ” and can write the article for another newspaper and I hope get it published. And this time, it should be better.

Cordial greetings,

Your Doctor Freud »

Whether he ever did so, or whether he repaid this « debt » to a patient with the reference to her, in the 1907 article, is not known. My attempts to find the review have been unsuccessful.

At the end of his life, in 1937, Freud published « Analysis Terminable and Interminable » (SE, 23) . It would seem that, to the end of his days, he was preoccupied with Emma Eckstein. For, if I am not mistaken, that work contains a hidden reference to her case. Freud writes (page 222) :

« I now pass on to my second example, which raises the same problem (as Ferenczi's analysis) . An unmarried woman, no longer young, had been cut-off from life since puberty by an inability to walk, owing to severe pains in the legs. Her condition was obviously of a hysterical nature, and it had defied many kinds of treatment. An analysis lasting 3 quarters of a year removed the trouble and restored to the patient, an excellent and worthy person, her right to a share in life. In the years following her recovery, she was consistently unfortunate. There were disasters in her family, and financial losses, and, as she grew older, she saw every hope of happiness in love and marriage vanish. But the one-time invalid stood-up to all this valiantly and was a support to her family in difficult times. I cannot remember whether it was 12 or 14 years after the end of her analysis that, owing to profuse haemorrhages, she was obliged to undergo a gynecological examination. A myoma was found, which made a complete hysterectomy advisable. From the time of this operation, the woman became ill, once more. She fell in love with her surgeon, wallowed in masochistic phantasies about the fearful changes in her inside-phantasies with which she concealed her romance - and proved inaccessible to a further attempt at analysis. She remained abnormal to the end of her life. The successful analytic treatment took place so long ago that we cannot expect too much from it ; it was in the earliest years of my work as an analyst. No doubt, the patient's second illness may have sprung from the same source as her first one which had been successfully overcome : it may have been a different manifestation of the same repressed impulses, which the analysis had only incompletely resolved. But I am inclined to think that, were it not for the new trauma, there would have been no fresh outbreaks of neurosis. »

Certain facts speak in favour of identifying this patient as Emma Eckstein. First of all, the dates : when Freud speaks of the analysis having taken place « in the earliest years of my work as an analyst » , we must assume this to be between 1894 and 1898. Emma Eckstein's analysis certainly fell within this period. The letters to Fließ about her cover a period of about 3 quarters of a year, precisely the time Freud mentions as having been given-over to her analysis. The gynecological operation took place 12 to 14 years later, between 1908 and 1912. Do we have anything from that period that would indicate that Freud was in contact with Emma Eckstein ? Yes. In the Library of Congress, among the papers that Emma Eckstein left her nephew, Albert Hirst, is a medical prescription, dated May 24, 1910. It is for boric acid for the vagina. It is made-out to Miss Emma Eckstein (Emma Eckstein never married) , and it is signed by Sigmund Freud. Freud says that this was one of his earliest cases. Albert Hirst, her nephew, in an interview with K. R. Eißler, on March 16, 1952 (from the Jones Archives in London) , writes :

« This “ Aunt ” Emma, Freud's first patient, while her whole life was marred by a hysteria, still had unusual qualities. »

Freud says that she was « an excellent and worthy person » . Freud writes that the analysis of this patient was a success. Hirst also wrote an autobiography, « Analysed and Re-educated by Freud Himself » , which was never

published. (Albert Hirst's niece, Doctor Hanna E. Kapit, in New York, kindly sent me a copy of this autobiography.) He begins the chapter entitled, « Aunt Emma » with these words :

« One of Freud's earliest successes as an analyst, perhaps his earliest, was the cure of the neurosis of my aunt Emma. »

In the interview with Eißler, he said :

« I think it was of importance to him (Freud) in his practice that he had this great success, this well-known girl, this girl of a well-known family. Now, she was a very beautiful woman and after he had this great success, she, for several years, led a perfectly normal life. »

Freud says :

« She was a support to her family. »

Hirst, in the interview, says :

« She also, after the marriage of her 2 older sisters, ran my grandmother's household. That was quite a task - 6 members, and always open-house. »

Freud tells us that this patient suffered a relapse. Hirst, in his chapter on Emma Eckstein, writes :

« Then, Emma suffered a relapse. I have a notion that she was all her life in love with a certain Vienna architect, and that her relapse came after he got married, or after she became convinced in some other way that her love was hopeless. »

Freud says that there were disasters in the family and financial losses, and Hirst (interview) says that :

« She ran a rather complicated household which had to be run in a certain way on very little money, with most incredible efficiency. »

As for the symptom of not being able to walk, Hirst (autobiography) writes that :

« She spent all her days on her couch, never left her room, not even for meals, could not walk. »

(This is also mentioned in a letter to Fließ.)

Freud writes that :

« She proved inaccessible to a further attempt at analysis. »

And Hirst (interview) says :

« There was a time when, I remember, I don't think it was during the time that I was in analysis, but it may have been. Anyhow, Freud would come to her and try to continue the analysis. There was a conflict between him and her. »

Freud ends by saying that :

« She remained abnormal to the end of her life. »

Hirst (autobiography) writes :

« Emma soon returned to her couch on which she had lived so long. She survived, as a hopeless invalid, for another 10 years. »

### A Letter to Emma Eckstein

« November 30, 1905.

Dear Emma :

It won't do you any good if you deprive me of my title. It cannot change much between us, and I change my sentiments with as much difficulty as I do my opinions. Let me, therefore, repeat that it is only a nasty accident if I cannot resume your treatment. As though it had waited for you, the onslaught started after you stayed away so that within 1 week, I had to accept 4 patients and decline 2. You are only too familiar with the sad necessity of having to make a living ; and the touchiness you betray, though at a distance (that I should have treated you without expecting money from you) is something that is so little like you that I am convinced this will be the first thing you will take back. But it naturally has as much to do with the other. That you could be so misled, could so misunderstand the freedom to say anything in the treatment, and attribute to me the intention of offending you when I relied on my unshakable trust in your friendship and your love of truth, in order to permit you to obtain insight into a delicate but, nevertheless, usual and expectable transference - that, it is true, did not shake my opinion of you, but it did, again, instill in me respect for the elemental femaleness with which I constantly have to struggle. I am not surprised then that you also do not comprehend other sentences in my letter which cannot be misunderstood. I cannot possibly have meant anything but that it is impossible for me to let the discontinuation of treatment (the interruption, I hope) be explained with the pretext that I regard your pains as organic. That you would have to say something else instead which is closer to the truth, to explain the break, for example, that we had a quarrel ; that you could not accept something that I asserted and the like ; that you wanted some time in which to think things over or something similar.

May I, at the end, draw your attention to a small contradiction which is, in fact, at the bottom of your being angry. At one time, I am supposed to have offended you by denying you the qualities that would attract a man ; the other time, I must have offended you by explaining to you how it happened that in our relationship love did not appear. Can both injuries really be comprehended from the same stand-point ? I hope you will soon tell me : No (which, after

all, you like to say) and, therefore, I remain with cordial greetings,

Your Doctor Freud »

The 1952 interview with Emma's nephew, Albert Hirst, is instructive. He tells Doctor Eißler :

« There was a Viennese woman physician, the daughter of a rather well-known physician - a Doctor Dora Teleky. Now, she was a friend of the family and I thought she was a very good-looking woman, incidentally, and I admired her. She, one day, was visiting Emma, while Freud was analyzing Emma in the second stage, and discovered a ... oh, some ulcer or something, anyhow, some pus collection on her abdomen, and pretended to operate it and that was supposed to be the answer for the trouble, and Emma immediately had a great recovery and could get-up, and here was the proof that this thing was physical. And that must have happened while I was in analysis because I remember how indignant Freud was about Doctor Teleky for this interference, and he immediately stopped the analysis and said :

« Well, that's the end of Emma. That dooms her from now on, nobody can cure her neurosis. »

Hirst tells the same story, slightly differently, in his unpublished autobiography :

« The second event : Doctor Dora T(eleky) , a friend of the family, a woman physician, came to see Emma as a friendly visitor. She claimed suddenly to have discovered an abscess near Emma's navel and drained it. Dora claimed that she had found the source of Emma's illness and had cured it. She, thus, confirmed Emma in her rejection of Freud's diagnosis of a recurrence of her old neurosis. When I told that to Freud the next day, he was furious. He took Dora's " diagnosis " as a fake. That, to him, was a matter of course. He called it a highly-unprofessional ... »

**Vienna : Restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel »**

Anton Bruckner loves the Viennese Restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel » (To the Golden Cannonball) located at « Am Hof Platz » Number 11, next to the « Kirche am Hof » (also known as « Kirche zu den neun Chören der Engel ») . He enjoys his « Pilsner » and his favourite dish, rich in protein : roast pork with cabbage.

The original house, located at « Hausstadt » Number 340 B, was first mentioned in 1447. Its value fluctuated strongly : between 1454 and 1459, it rose from 45 to 200 Austrian Pfennig ! In 1504, it was sold for 154 Austrian Pfennig. The next buyer paid 380 Austrian Pfennig (the sale took place between 1527 and 1567) .

During the second siege of Vienna by the Ottomans in 1683 (the Second Turkish siege) , a group of 5 picturesque little houses, which closed the « Am Hof Platz » (who served as a market-square) organically towards the north, was the scene of clashes. On August 6, an Ottoman cannonball fell in the old, crooked structure (« Hausstadt » Number 340 B) . The ammunition was left trapped into the wall.

The baker's parade, which had become customary after 1683, ended on this market-square.



In 1686, the building was acquired by Michael Motz, the Outer Councillor and Commander of the Rumor Guard. He decided to open a tavern on the ground-floor. Motz had the brilliant idea of removing the Turkish cannonball from the wall, gold-plating it, and hang it outside to the façade as a memorial. Thus, he named the « Gasthof » and the building itself : « Zur goldenen Kugel » (The Golden Cannonball) . Around 1700, the « Gasthof » became very popular with merchants and craftsmen. Motz's successor will bring the tavern to its heyday. Between 1749 and 1771, the building was structurally connected to the next one (Number 340 A) , which was the Guild-house of the leather colliery maker.

From the 1870's until 1882, the building housed on the ground-floor the Nikola Market Café, a low-arched restaurant equipped with the most basic facilities. It enjoyed a lot of popularity with the market dealers and local people because of its good and generous breakfast served during the early morning hours. The furnishing consisted of large round marble tables, curved wooden arm-chairs, wall-mirrors, straight-armed bronze chandeliers, and 2 simple billiard-tables covered with wooden panels (on which the market baskets could be left) .

In 1882, the old building plus 2 neighbouring houses were demolished to make way, in 1883 (the year of the great memorial exhibition and the Bicentenary celebrations of the Second Turks Campaign) , for a brand new 5 storey palace with a magnificent façade, built accordingly to the plans of architect Ludwig Tischler (1840-1906) . It was originally called « Ledererhof » .

Born in Trieste, Tischler is one of the most active builders in Vienna (he is credited for 250 buildings) . He is often referred to as « the last Viennese Baroque architect » .

After the completion of the « Ledererhof » , it was decided to put above the portal the iconic Turkish cannonball with the inscription : « 6 August 1683 » . Eventually, the « Ledererhof » was called « Haus zur goldenen Kugel » (today's « Türkenkugel Haus ») . Fortunately, the famous restaurant, located on the ground-floor, survived the transition.

Between 1933 and 1934, the façade of the « Haus zur goldenen Kugel » was redesigned by Otto Großthal (1878-1961) and Emil Hoppe (1876-1957) . Damaged by World War II bombings, it was given a simpler look by Emil Hoppe in 1948. At the beginning of the 1990's, it was restored based on the original plan of 1883.

...

« Zur goldenen Kugel » (I. Bezirk, Am Hof Nummer 11, Teil, Konskriptionsnummer 340 B) .

Die I. urkundliche Erwähnung des Haus Stadt 340 B stammt aus dem Jahr 1447. Im Zuge der zweiten Belagerung Wiens durch die Osmanen im Jahr 1683 (Zweite Türkenbelagerung) schlug in dieses alte, verwinkelte Haus eine osmanische Kanonenkugel ein, die man später einmauerte. Im Haus befand sich ein Gasthof, der (wie das Haus) dem Äußeren Rat und Rumormeister (Kommandant der Rumorwache) Michael Motz gehörte. Er ließ die Kugel vergolden und gab damit dem Haus seinen Namen. Die Nachfolger von Motz brachten das Wirtshaus zu großer Blüte. Zwischen 1749

und 1771 wurde es mit dem Nachbarhaus Stadt 340 A, das ehemals das Zunfthaus der Ledererzeche gewesen war, baulich verbunden.

Im 19. Jahrhundert befand sich ab den 70er Jahren bis 1883 im Haus das Marktcafé Nikola, ein niedriggewölbtes Lokal mit einfachster Ausstattung, das sich aber bei den Marktleuten wegen seines in den frühen Morgenstunden servierten guten und reichhaltigen Frühstücks großer Beliebtheit erfreute. Die Ausstattung bestand aus großen, runden Marmortischen, Rohrsesseln aus gebogenem Holz, Mauerspiegeln, geradarmigen Bronzelustern und 2 einfachen Billardtischen, die mit Holzplatten abgedeckt wurden, auf denen die Marktkörbe abgestellt werden konnten.

1883 entstand an der Stelle des alten Hauses sowie zweier anderer Gebäude ein Neubau mit prachtvoller Fassade, auf den der Name « Zur goldenen Kugel » übertragen wurde (siehe Ledererhof) . Auch die namensgebende Kugel wurde in diesen integriert.

### Lederhof (Ledererhof)

Die Bezeichnung Lederhof umfaßte im späten Mittelalter mehrere Gebäude. Eines davon diente der Ledererzeche (communitas cerdonum) als Zunfthaus (Haus Stadt 340) . Davon leitet sich der Name des Hofes ab. Der « Lederhof » wird 1341, 1349 und 1353 genannt (ab 1366 mit dem Zusatz « an des Herzogen Hof ») . 1326 war das Bürgerspital Grundherr über acht Häuschen sowie neun Lederer- oder Sohl Schneiderische Am Hof. Erst ab dem 15. Jahrhundert ist es möglich, die verzeichneten Besitzer den einzelnen Gebäuden zuzuordnen. Das Gewerbe der Lederer und Färber war an das Wasser gebunden. Die Produktionsstätten befanden sich vor den Toren der Stadt (am Tiefen Graben und in der Vorstadt vor dem Werdertors) . Das Zunfthaus und die Verkaufstische lagen jedoch innerhalb der Stadt am Platz Am Hof. Vom späten 14. bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert war der Hof von neun Häusern umgeben. Die Bezeichnungen wechselten (1457 und 1476 « Am Hof bei den Sohl Schneidern » , 1449 und 1463 « Am Hof unter den Lederern ») , bis 1547 auf dem Plan von Augustin Hirschvogel die nördlich gelegene Gasse als « Am Leder Hof » aufscheint. Die Zahl der Hausparzellen reduzierte sich im Lauf der Zeit, die Bezeichnung Ledererhof wird ab 1795 häufiger, obwohl weiterhin andere Bezeichnungen existierten (1658 « Zu den sieben Häusern ») . Um 1770 standen hier nur noch fünf Häuser, die einen unregelmäßigen, hufeisenförmigen Baukomplex bildeten. Da die rückwärtigen Häuser Stadt 337 (Ledererhof Nummer 9) und 338 (Ledererhof Nummer 7) nicht in den Neubau von 1883 integriert wurden und eigenständige Objekte blieben, werden sie in diesem Artikel nicht berücksichtigt.

**Haus B** : Nummer 11 : Ledererhof (Konskriptionsnummer 336-340 ; darunter Konskriptionsnummer 340 : « Zur goldenen Kugel » , ursprünglich 2 Häuser, in einem das Marktcafé Nikola) .

Dieses Haus wird 1447 zum 1. Mal urkundlich genannt. In der Folgezeit schwankte sein Verkaufswert stark : Zwischen 1454 und 1459 stieg er von 45 auf 200 Pfund Wiener Pfennig ! 1504 wurde es um 154 Pfund Wiener Pfennig verkauft, doch der nächste Käufer zahlte bereits 380 Pfund Wiener Pfennig (dieser Verkauf fand zwischen 1527 und 1567 statt) . 1686 wurde es von Michael Motz erworben. Er unterhielt hier die beliebte Gastwirtschaft « Zur goldenen Kugel » . Deren Name, der auch für das Haus verwendet wurde, leitete sich angeblich von einer osmanischen Kanonenkugel ab, die im Zuge der Belagerung von 1683 (2. Türkenbelagerung) in das Haus einschlug. Diese wurde

danach in die Hauswand eingemauert und später vergoldet.

Zwischen den Jahren 1749 und 1771 wurden die beiden Häuser baulich verbunden. Seit den 1870er Jahren befand sich das sehr beliebte Marktcafé Nikola in diesem Gebäude. Obwohl es 1883 niedergerissen wurde, ist es im Häuserkataster von 1885 noch verzeichnet.

...

Das Haus « Zur goldenen Kugel » am Hof Nummer 11 in der Wiener Innenstadt verdankt seinen Namen einer türkischen Kanonenkugel, die 1683 an dieser Stelle eingeschlagen haben soll. Später wurde sie vergoldet und an der Fassade des Hauses angebracht.

Zur Zeit der 2. Türkenbelagerung Wiens standen an der Stelle des heutigen Hauses am Hof 11 « eine Gruppe von 5 malerischen kleinen Häusern, die den Platz organisch gegen Norden abschlossen ». Eines davon wurde der Erzählung nach im Jahr 1683 von einer steinernen türkischen Kanonenkugel getroffen. Der damalige Besitzer, der Äußere Rat und städtische Rumormeister Michael Motz, ließ die Kugel daraufhin vergolden und 1686 als Hauszeichen über dem Tor anbringen. Das Haus erhielt dadurch den Namen « Zur goldenen Kugel » und war schon um 1700 eine beliebte Gastwirtschaft bei Marktleuten und Handwerkern.

Am Hof hatte der Babenbergerherzog Heinrich II. Jasomirgott, der Stifter des nahe gelegenen Schottenklosters, seine 1. Wiener Residenz aufgeschlagen.

Zur Zeit der 2. Türkenbelagerung diente der Platz Am Hof als Marktplatz und für Volksbelustigungen. Hier endete auch der nach 1683 üblich gewordene Bäckerumzug.

Ab den 1870er Jahren war in diesem Haus das Marktkaffee Nikola untergebracht.

1882 wurde das alte Gebäude demoliert und im Jahr darauf ein fünfstöckiges Mietspalais, der Neubau des so genannten « Ledererhofs » nach den Plänen Ludwig Tischlers (1840-1906) errichtet. Mit rund 250 Bauwerken allein im Raum Wien zählt der in Triest geborene Architekt zu den meistbeschäftigten Baumeistern Wiens. Er wird auch gerne als « letzter Wiener Barockarchitekt » bezeichnet.

Auch die Türkenkugel bekam nach Fertigstellung des heutigen Gebäudes 1883 (« im Jahr der großen Gedächtnisausstellung und der 200-Jahr-Feiern zur Zweiten Türkenbelagerung ») wieder einen Platz. Sie wurde (so wie am Vorgängerbau) oberhalb des Portals angebracht und mit der Inschrift « 6. August 1683 » versehen.

1933-1934 wurde die Fassade des Hauses von Otto Schönthal (1878-1961) und Emil Hoppe (1876-1957) umgestaltet. Doch die Freude darüber sollte nicht lange andauern. Durch ein Bombardement im 2. Weltkrieg schwer beschädigt, wurde der Ledererhof 1948 von Emil Hoppe mit vereinfachter Fassade restauriert. Anfang der 1990er Jahre wurde sie wieder in ihrer ursprünglichen Form hergestellt.

Heute ist in dem Gebäude am Hof 11 eine Versicherungsgesellschaft untergebracht. Diese stiftete auch die Gedenktafel, die unter der vergoldeten Kugel angebracht ist. Die Inschrift lautet folgendermaßen :

TÜRKENKUGEL  
AUS DEM JAHR 1683 -  
SPÄTER EINGEMAUERT UND  
VERGOLDET - GAB DER EINST HIER  
BEFINDLICHEN GASTWIRTSCHAFT  
UND DEM HAUS DEN NAMEN  
EA•GENERALI

Das späthistoristische Wohnhaus (Nummer 11) trägt eine vergoldete Türkenkugel aus der 2. Türkenbelagerung am Portal und wurde 1882-1883 erbaut, die Fassade 1933 von Otto Schönthal und Emil Hoppe umgestaltet. Um 2010 erfolgte ein Dachausbau in Anlehnung in den Kriegswirren verloren gegangenen historischen Proportionen.

Hier befand sich das « Haus zur goldenen Kugel », das ein bekanntes Gasthaus, später ein beliebtes Marktlokal beherbergte. Daneben stand der Ledererhof, der aus dem Haus « Zu den fünf Kronen » und vier kleineren Nachbarhäusern hervorgegangen war und seinen Namen nach der Lederer-Innung trug, die sich wie auch die Färber ihr Zunfthaus in der Nähe des Tiefen Grabens bauten, da ihr Beruf an die Nähe des Wassers gebunden war.

#### Gewerbe und Firmen innerhalb des Hauses im Laufe der Jahre

Gastwirtschaft « Zur goldenen Kugel » .

« Marktcafé Nikola » (1. Bezirk, Färbergasse Nummer 2, Ledererhof) :

Auf der Freyung und Am Hof in der Inneren Stadt fand im 19. Jahrhundert nach Mitternacht stets ein buntes Treiben statt, wenn ungarische, slowakische, böhmische, mährische und deutsche Bauern ihre Marktprodukte zur Schau stellten. In der Nacht konnten die landwirtschaftlichen Produkte verkauft werden, doch am nächsten Morgen wurde der teilweise ohne Genehmigung veranstaltete Markt durch die Ordnungskräfte aufgelöst. Die Straßen wurden gereinigt und für den öffentlichen Verkehr wieder zugänglich gemacht. Die Marktleute fanden sich daraufhin meist geschlossen in Kaffeehäusern ein, wodurch sich die sogenannten Marktcafés etablierten. Eines dieser, vor allem von Marktleuten frequentierten Kaffeehäuser war das Café Nikola in der Färbergasse. Die Verkäufer kehrten sowohl bei Nacht, als auch am Morgen in diesem Kaffeehaus ein. Das Café war in einem niederen, gewölbten Lokal mit einer sehr einfachen Ausstattung, die aus runden Marmortischen, Rohrsesseln, Spiegeln und einfachen Bronzelustern bestand, untergebracht. Außerdem befanden sich 2 Billardtische im Café. Das Lokal konnte nicht mit anderen eleganten Etablissements der Zeit verglichen werden. Es diente vor allem dazu, den Marktleuten einen günstigen Kaffee in großen einfachen Tassen zu bieten. In Zeiten des größten Ansturms wurden auf die beiden Billardtische große Holzbretter gelegt, auf denen die Marktleute ihre Körbe und andere Utensilien abstellen konnten. Nach Mitternacht war das Café Nikola immer derart stark besucht, daß kein Platz mehr frei war. In dem verrauchten Lokal wurde über die Marktlage diskutiert und debattiert.

« Café Kugel » (Kaffeehaus) : Hier verkehrte unter anderen Alfred Polgar.

### Vienna : « Gasthaus zum Kühfuß »

Anton Bruckner enjoys his « Pilsner » beer at the « Gasthaus zum Kühfuß » , at « Kühfußgasse » Number 2 (« Tuchlauben » Nummer 10) near the « Petersplatz » , in the 1st District.

...

Hier standen ursprünglich 2 Häuser :

#### Haus A

Die 1. Erwähnung dieses Hauses stammt aus dem Jahr 1468. Bei diesem Haus (Stadt 148 beziehungsweise 146 in den Hofquartierbüchern von 1566 beziehungsweise 1587) scheint erstmals 1587 das Schild « beim Khüefuß » auf. Der Name könnte sich vom nahe gelegenen Milchgässchen und dem dortigen Milchmarkt ableiten, da hier viele Kühe untergebracht waren. Sicher ist, daß er nicht von der im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert nachweisbaren Bürgerfamilie Kühfußer (Stefan, Fleischhacker, Ratsherr 1455, 1457 ; Philipp, Ratsherr 1425, 1428) abzuleiten ist, da diese nicht in der Liste der Hausbesitzer aufscheint.

1609 kauft der kaiserliche Diener und Rat des Erzherzogs Maximilian, Elias Bayer, das Haus. Er wird zu den bedeutendsten Kaufleuten jener Zeit gezählt, die gemeinsam eine nicht zu unterschätzende Macht darstellten. 1663 wird ein zum Haus gehörendes « Stöchl » an den Handelsmann und äußeren Rat Peter Krafft (Khrappf ; siehe Haus B) verkauft. Am 28. September 1713 kauft der kaiserliche Hofagent und bischöfliche Secretarius Norbert Franz Haymerle das Haus, das er 1727 mit dem angrenzenden (Konskriptions-nummer 149 von 1566) besitzrechtlich vereint.

#### Haus B

Dieses Haus wird erstmals 1438 urkundlich erwähnt. 1505 fällt es unter anderem wegen Baufälligkeit an die Stadt, die es 1513 wieder verkauft. 1663 kommt es in den Besitz des Handelsmannes und äußeren Rates Peter Krafft (Khrappf ; siehe Haus A) . Am 27. November 1727 wird es an Maximilian Dominik Haymerle verkauft und mit Haus A besitzrechtlich vereint.

Zu dieser Zeit befindet sich im Haus ein renomiertes Bierlokal mit dem Schildnamen « Zum Kühfuß » (1904 ins Haus I, Naglergasse I verlegt) , das bereits auf Salomon Kleiners Stich von 1733 erkennbar ist. Auf einer Steintafel stand die Inschrift « O Mensch, thue Büß / denn hier ist der Kühfuß » .

#### Umbau 1749

1749 werden beide Häuser zu einem verbaut, wobei die alte Gastwirtschaft erhalten bleibt. Darüberhinaus befand sich

die Weinhandlung von Stefan Ferrich, Ritter von Ferrenhain, der auch ein Gastlokal angeschlossen war, im Gebäude. 1904 wird das Haus demoliert.

### Neubau 1904

1904-1906 wird der noch bestehende Neubau errichtet. Die an den Tuchlauben liegende Schmalseite schmückt ein Relief, das sich in der Mitte oberhalb des zweiten Stockes befindet und eine Mutter Gottes mit zum Gebet gefalteten Händen zeigt und von einem Laubkranz umrahmt wird. Statt der alten Gastwirtschaft eröffnet im Paterre des Neubaus das noch heute hier bestehende « Café Korb » .

1911 kauft die « Kaiser Franz-Josef Jubiläums Renten Versicherungsanstalt » das Haus, das sie am 1. Februar 1918 der « I. allgemeinen Unfall- und Schadenversicherungsgesellschaft » verkauft.

### The « Pilsner » Beer

« Pilsner Urquell » was the first « Pilsner » type beer in the world. In 1842, a brewery in Plzeň employed Josef Groll, a German brewer who was experienced in the Bavarian lager method of making beer. Beer in Pilsen, at the time, was not of very good quality and they needed to compete. Groll developed a golden « Pilsner » beer, the first light coloured beer ever brewed. It became an immediate success, and was exported all over the Austrian Empire. A special train of beer travelled from Plzeň to Vienna every morning. Exports of Czech beer reached Paris and the United States by 1874.

...

The New Town of Plzeň was founded at the confluence of 4 rivers : Radbuza, Mze, Uhlava and Uslava, following a decree issued by the Czech King Wenceslas II. He did so in 1295. Since the very beginning, the town became a busy trade-centre located at the cross-roads of 2 important trade-routes. They were linking the Czech lands with German cities Nuremburg and Regensburg. In the 14th Century, Plzeň was the third largest town after Prague and Kutna Hora. It comprised 290 houses on an area of 20 hectares. Its population was 3,000 inhabitants. In the 16th Century, after several fires that damaged the inner-centre of the town, Italian architects and builders contributed significantly to the changing character of the city. The most renowned among them was Giovanni de Statia. The Holy Roman Emperor, Czech King Rudolf II, resided in Plzeň twice between 1599-1600. It was in the time of the Estates revolt. He fell in love with the city. He even bought 2 houses neighbouring with the town-hall and had them reconstructed according to his taste. Later, in 1618, Plzeň was besieged and captured by Count Mansfeld's army. Many Baroque style buildings dating to the end of the 17th Century were designed by Jakub Auguston. Sculptures were done by Kristian Widman.

Plzeň experienced a tremendous growth in the first half of the 19th Century. The City Brewery was founded in 1842 and the Škoda Works, in 1859. With the population of 167, 000 inhabitants, Plzeň prides itself on being the seat of the University of West Bohemia and Bishopric.

...

« Pilsner » (also, Pilsen, or simply Pils) is a type of pale lager. It takes its name from the city of Plzeň, in Bohemia, Czech Republic, where it was first produced in 1842.

The City of Plzeň began brewing in 1295, but until the mid-1840's, most Bohemian beers were top-fermented. The taste and standards of quality often varied widely and, in 1838, consumers dumped whole barrels to show their dissatisfaction. The officials of Plzeň founded a city-owned brewery in 1839, called Měšťanský pivovar Plzeň (« Bürger-Brauerei » , in German ; Citizens' Brewery, in English) , which was to brew beer in the pioneering Bavarian style. Brewers had begun aging beer made with bottom-fermenting yeasts in caves (« lager » ; « gelagert » in German meaning « stored ») , which improved the beer's clarity and shelf-life. Part of this research benefited from the knowledge already expounded on in a book (printed in German, in 1794 ; in Czech, in 1799) , written by Czech brewer František Ondřej Poupě (Franz Andreas Paupie) (1753-1805) from Brno.

The Plzeň brewery recruited the Bavarian brewer Josef Groll (1813-1887) who, using new techniques and paler malts, presented his first batch of modern « Pilsner » , on 5 October 1842. The combination of brighter malt prepared by English technology, Pilsen's remarkably soft water, local Saaz noble hops from nearby Žatec and Bavarian-style lagering produced a clear, golden beer that was regarded as a sensation. 3 years later, in 1845, Groll returned to Vilshofen and, there, later inherited his father's brewery.

In 1853, the beer was available in 35 pubs in Prague ; in 1856, came to Vienna ; and, in 1862, to Paris. Improving transport and communications also meant that this new beer was soon available throughout Europe, and the « Pilsner » style of brewing was soon widely imitated. In 1859, « Pilsner Bier » was registered as a brand name at the Chamber of Commerce and Trade, in Plzeň. In 1898, the « Pilsner Urquell » trade-mark was created to put emphasis on being the original brewery.

...

In 1838, the citizens of Plzeň, Bohemia (The Czech Republic, now) saw something that would make any beer-lover cringe. The brew Masters of the town rolled 36 barrels of ale out into the street, opened them up, and spilled the beer in the main-square of town, letting it run into the ditches and, finally, into the nearby Radbuza River. The brewers had decided that the ale had become undrinkable. Even for breweries of Plzeň, with over 800 years of brewing experience, issues of contamination could still come-up. Ales were prone to being spoiled either by wild yeasts or bacteria.

### A New Beginning

This time, though, would be different. The brewers gathered after watching their work run down the street and decided that they to take drastic measures to make sure that this would not happen again. By this time, brewers in Bohemia and across Europe had learned of the importance of yeast to the brewing process. There was some debate about

whether fermentation was a living process or the by-product of the death of yeast, but there was no question that this mysterious little life form had a big affect on the character of a beer.

They hired Josef Groll, a Bavarian brewer, to come to Plzeň and teach them the German lagering method of brewing. Legend holds that, in 1840, a monk smuggled some of the precious lager yeast out of Bavaria. Whether this is the case or not, when Groll arrived in Plzeň there was a supply of lager yeast available. He also found a nearby source of excellent Saaz hops, a noble variety of hops that he would have been familiar with from Germany. The brewers of Plzeň had a well that supplied very soft water. With caverns carved for lagering in the local sand-stone, the stage was set for lager brewing.

### A New Recipe

Using light barley that was only partially malted and none of the roasted or smoked barley that the German brewers were using, Groll added generous portions of the fragrant Saaz hops to his brew. On October 5, 1842, he and the other brewers of Plzeň gathered for their first taste of the new beer.

### A New Beer

When they tapped the cask, they saw a beer unlike any other that they or anyone else in the world had seen. The colour of straw, it was light and clear. One could see right through it to the other side of the Bohemian crystal glass. Still cool from the lagering tunnels, this was a surprisingly refreshing beer, not dark and heavy like the ales that they were used to.

The brewers of Plzeň knew that they had a great new beer, here. Thanks to the Radbuza River, not only did news of this new beer from Bohemia spread, but so did a lot of the beer itself. « Plzeň » , or « Pilsner » , beer was born.

### Historic Dates

**976** : First written record of a castle called Plzeň.

**992** : Bishop St. Vojtech founded a small monastery and a church Kostelec of the Virgin Mary, nowadays' Church of St. George in Doubravka.

**1295** : New Plzeň was founded at the order of King Wenceslas II. Plans were made by the royal architect Jindřich. The town stretched on 20 hectares. Its layout was formed by a rectangular net of 15 streets and a square.

**1307** : First written record about a brewery in Plzeň. The oldest known town seal was attached to the document.

**1328** : First mention of a Latin school in the town.



**1411** : Master John Hus wrote a letter to the Pilsners, in which he prided their moral behaviour and appealed to them for persisting.

**1414** : Burghers led by the priest Václav Koranda senior expelled members of the Order of German Knights out of the town.

**November 1419** : Václav Koranda senior brought a group of South-Bohemian Hussites to Plzeň. They were led by John Hus.

**March 1420** : Hussites left the town for Tábor. Pilsen has stayed loyal to the Roman-Catholic Church since.

**1421** : Jan Žižka besieged Plzeň for the first time - without success.

**1427** : Hussites besieged the town, later again in 1431 and 1433-1434.

**Friday, 19 September 1434** : Emperor Zikmund Lucemburský's (Sigismund of Luxembourg) « Golden Bull » freed the town citizens from royal tallage, duties, tolls, and other charges.

**1449** : Plzeň became member of the anti-Podebrady Unity of Strakonice.

**1460** : The Great Bolevec Lake is founded.

**1466** : Pilsners turned away from the Czech King George of Poděbrady.

**1466** : Prague Chapter receiving Communion of consecrated bread resided in Plzeň till 1478.

**1468** : Pilsners recognized Hunyadi Mátyás of Hungary as the Czech King.

**1468** : First Czech book (Trojanska Chronicle) was printed in Plzeň.

**1480** : Pilsners gained the town magistrate's office.

**1507** : Devastating fire destroyed 2/3 of the town ; further fires in 1525, 1526, 1601, 1604, 1729, 1792, and 1835.

**1546** : After the death of Matouš of Švihov, the last parson of the Order of the German Knights, the town received a patronage right over the parish church.

**1578** : Town-council agreed that no non-Catholic person can become a town « burgher » . Since, Plzeň has stayed a faithful Catholic town.

**1599** : Emperor Rudolf II escaped to Plzeň from the plague epidemic in Prague. He resided in the town till 1600. Plzeň became, thus temporarily, the capital of the Empire.

**1633** : Albrecht of Valdštejn stayed in the town till February 1634. He was murdered in Cheb on 25 February 1634.

**1635** : Plague in Plzeň, further epidemics in 1648, 1680, 1714. 1832 : outbreak of cholera.

**1681** : Plague column erected at the town-square. It bears the first marks of Baroque in Plzeň.

**1695** : Jan Sladký Kozina was executed in Plzeň ; he was the leader of rebels of Domažlice region. His carcass was left hanging on the gallows for more than a year.

**1714** : Dominican convent founded.

**1776** : Grammar school established in Plzeň.

**1779** : Elisabethan property reforms : serfs allowed to rent and use shares of the town lordly yards.

**1786** : Population of the city rose to 5,246 inhabitants.

**1788** : Municipal government established in the town.

**1795** : Demolition of medieval town walls began.

**1799** : Russian army passed via the town. The Russians were an ally of Austria in the War against Napoléon Bonaparte. General Alexander Suvorov stayed in the town on 16 to 18 December.

**1804** : Philosophical institute established.

**1818** : First Czech theatre performance shown in Plzeň.

**1819** : Czech trivial school founded - the first Czech school in the town.

**1827** : D. L. Levita's tannery founded, the third biggest in Bohemia.

**1832** : First stone theatre in Plzeň founded, hospital opened-up.

**1835** : Fire damaged the spire of St. Bartholomew's Church.

**Tuesday, 2 February 1836** : Josef Vojtěch Sedláček died. He was a representative of the first revivalistic generation in

Plzeň.

**1840-1843** : Composer Bedřich Smetana studied in Plzeň.

Beer in Plzeň used to be brewed alternately by individual burghers with brewing rights. The quality varied, so the burghers of Plzeň had the idea of setting-up their own brewery to make good beer.

**Wednesday, 5 October 1842** : In the new Burghers' Brewery, the brewer Josef Groll brewed the first batch of the new « Pilsen » beer that would soon conquer the world.

**April 1843** : The Prague tailor Jakub Pinkas has his friend Martin Salzman bring in 2 buckets of « Pilsen » lager. He falls for its magic, gives his original trade the boot and opens a pub. The beer proves so popular that the premises soon needed to be extended into the neighbouring building. The pub would later be visited by prominent figures such as Czech philologist and historian Josef Dobrovský, historian and politician František Palacký, businessman Tomáš Baťa, and many more.

### The Master Brewers

In 1842, Josef Groll was the brew-master who made the first ever batch of what became known as « Pilsner Urquell ». Since then, only a small number of people have held the title of brew-master.

### Josef Groll (1842-1845)

Josef Groll, born in Vilshofen, Bavaria, in 1813, learnt his trade from his brew-master father in his home-town. Groll was invited to Plzeň by Martin Stelzer, the man who built the new Burghers' Brewery (that was the brewery's original name, reflecting how it was run by the citizens of Plzeň) . The 28 year old Groll brought an expertise in lager brewing and was responsible for using a new malting technique which gave a bright, golden beer. He fared well in the job and had an initial contract for 3 years after which the Burghers' Brewery Committee was obliged to interview more candidates. Groll applied for the position but didn't get the job so he returned to Vilshofen to take-over his father's brewery. Despite being a legendary figure in the beer world, his father is said to have described him as the « rudest man in Bavaria ». Regardless of his rudeness, he is one of the most famous brewers the world has known and the man who brewed the world's first golden lager. He died in Vilshofen in 1887.

### Sebastian Baumgärtner (1845-1850)

Bavarian brewer Sebastian Baumgärtner was hired as Groll's successor in 1845 after he tendered the most favourable terms for the available brew-master's position - he promised advantageous conditions for investors and large profits. He was offered a 5 year contract at the brewery, though little is known about him other than that he stayed for the duration of that contract and that he was seen as more of a businessman than brewer. The people of Plzeň didn't deem his tenure to be especially successful.

### Jakub Blöchl (1850-1879)

With 34 years of total service at the brewery, Jakub Blöchl is a very important figure in the evolution of « Pilsner Urquell » and he was able to develop the growing reputation of the beer and increase the output from 10,000 hectoliters a year to over 200,000 hectoliters. Born in Bavaria in 1820, he joined the brewery in 1845 with Baumgärtner and was his assistant. In 1850, another tender was sought to find the next brew-master and Blöchl was hired. We don't know whether this was a surprise or well-deserved but he was a great success and his era in Plzeň was lined with achievements. Blöchl was committed to the expansion and modernisation of the brewery and, during his time, ever-increasing sales led to the building of a new cellar, 2 new malt-house threshing room floors with rollers, installation of air-conditioning and a new cooperage. Upon retiring, he oversaw the conversion of a former Plzeň pub into a grand hotel followed by opening a beer house in the Prague suburbs. He retired at the age of 58 in January 1879 and died 4 months later. Thanks to his service, he became an honorary citizen of Plzeň.

### Josef Binder (1879-1900)

Josef Binder learnt to brew in his home-town of Kreuzberg and gained further experience in breweries in Munich, Passau and Linz. He went to Plzeň at the invitation of Jakub Blöchl when he was 26, and got the job of boiler in the brewery in 1863, being promoted to senior boiler in 1866. He then worked as a cellar-man before becoming a brewer's assistant in 1868. He became junior-brewer in 1871 and retained that position for 8 years, eventually substituting for chief-brewer Jakub Blöchl during his spells of illness. He was appointed to brewer in February 1879 and was soon promoted to the chief-brewer of the Burghers' Brewery. He was very successful in the position ; during this time, the Burghers' Brewery in Plzeň was awarded a number of prizes at both domestic and international exhibitions and trade-fairs, and the beer production increased by 100 % . He also oversaw the introduction of electric light and heating, which gradually replaced gas from 1881 - the project was finally completed in 1896. In 1885, Škoda engineering-built artificial cooling technology was installed at the brewery which began to replace the practice of using blocks of ice to cool the fermentation cellars. He was said to be a strict but fair boss who trained many experts to later become successful brewers themselves. After his tenure as brew-master, he became technical director and his total time spent at the brewery was 37 years. He died in March 1900 after a long illness.

### Adolf Bayer (1900-1929)

The son of a brewer, Adolf Bayer was born in Dobřany, near Plzeň, where he learnt the brewing-trade. He worked in 2 further breweries before moving to Plzeň in 1887 as a junior-brewer ; he became brew-master after his predecessor's death. He was heavily involved in many brewing organizations in the region and, from 1911, served as the Chairman of the Czech Brewing Industry Society. Bayer's time coincided with the construction of one of the defining features of the brewery : the water tower. Built by Eduard Kroh, it took 2 years to complete and was opened in 1907. It was also under Bayer that the brewery surpassed the 1 million hectoliters per year mark in 1913. He spent a total of 42 years at the brewery and, even with ailing health, was still working at the age of 70 ; he died after a short illness and we are told that right to the end, he was receiving and sending messages about brewery operations - a true brew-master.

### Jan Šebelík (1929-1946)

Bohemian brewer Jan Šebelík, born in Sušice in 1891, learnt his trade at his local town brewery and in Protivín, both located south of Plzeň. From 1912-1922, he worked as a chemist and controller in Plzeň's Svetovar Brewery (which, along with Gambrinus Brewery, merged with the « Pilsner Urquell » brewery in 1932) , then worked as a junior-brewer at Plzeň's Prior Brewery. In 1924, he was hired as an assistant brew-master at « Pilsner Urquell » . Šebelík became brew-master after Adolf Bayer's death, a position he stayed in until 1946 when he became technical director. Šebelík oversaw the reconstruction and modernisation of the electric power plant in 1938 ; this new plant enabled all the major brewery facilities to receive hot water.

### Antonín Vlasák (1946-1958)

Born in 1898, Antonín Vlasák joined the brewery in 1924 as a trained chemist. He was appointed a brewer in 1936, moving through the brewery to become head brew-master in 1946. Vlasák was responsible for over-seeing the rebuilding (in terms of production volume and the physical rebuild) following World War II as the brewery received substantial bomb damage during the war - on one night, in April 1945, it received 111 direct hits, causing extensive damage to the power station, malt-house, cooperage, water-plant and rail-tracks. In 1949, Vlasák introduced a lower-alcohol 8° beer, which remained for almost 40 years.

### Ivo Hlaváček (1959-1964)

Born in 1926, Ivo Hlaváček worked for 5 years at the West Bohemian Brewery in Staňkov before being appointed deputy technical director at « Pilsner Urquell » in 1958. One year later, he took-over the head brew-master position, which had been vacant for a year. He was brew-master until 1964 but remained at the brewery and worked several other top-positions in the company, including production manager. Hlaváček is a man of considerable note in the history of « Pilsner Urquell » and is seen as being responsible for saving the beer's original recipe. As a new brew-house was being build in early 1970's, there was a strong push from Communist Party members to have stainless-steel brewing kettles and to use steam-heating, which would have fundamentally changed the taste of the beer. It was Hlaváček who took on the role of travelling to the Communist headquarters in Prague and putting-up the fight to preserve the originality of « Pilsner Urquell » for following generations by insisting that copper brewing vessels and direct flame heating remained. We know now that he succeeded in doing so. He retired in 1987.

### Jiří Heller (1965-1976)

Born in 1915, Jiří Heller was the son of a Staňkov brewery worker. He started work in the same brewery as his father, becoming the brew-master, then, the director of the Plasy brewery in 1950. He joined « Pilsner Urquell » as a production manager in February 1959 and was appointed head brew-master in January 1965. In the same year, the water source was boosted with the opening of a third well and the brewery celebrated reaching an annual production of 1 million hectoliters for the first time since 1913 ; the Jubilee barrel was tapped on 23 December 1965 in the Plzeň pub U Salzmannu.

## Josef Schejbal (1976-1986)

Josef Schejbal was born in 1925 and trained as a brewery worker in Chudenice, before moving to Plzeň in 1949. From 1958 until 1976, he worked in the bottling plant, first as deputy manager, then manager. After studying fermentation technology, he was named head brew-master in September 1976. Schejbal was at the helm during the inception and building of the modern-day malt-house, opened in 1986 - the same year he retired. He died in Plzeň in June 1994.

...

The legendary pub U Pinkasů is located in the centre of Prague, not far from Wenceslas Square. It was the first pub in Prague to offer its customers beer produced in Plzeň by the Prazdroj brewery. The history of the famous « Pilsner Urquell », brewed since 1842, is closely linked to that of the restaurant, explains Karel Doubek, general-manager of the company, which owns the establishment :

« The first Mister Pinkas was called Jakub. He was originally from Budětice, a small village near Plzeň. He was a tailor by profession and had come to Prague with his wife for an apprenticeship. They moved into a downtown house where he made clothes, among others, for the monks of the nearby Franciscan monastery.

Jakub Pinkas had a friend, Martin Salzmann, who was a carrier from Plzeň, and who would often sleep over at his house. One day, it was in **April 1843**, Salzmann brought him 2 barrels of beer, which they had just started brewing in Plzeň. »

Jakub Pinkas wasn't exactly sure what to do with so much beer, so he put it in the cellar and started offering the brew to his customers. As you can imagine, people quickly took a liking to the « Pilsen » beer and started coming for the drinks rather than to have their clothes made.

Eventually, Jakub Pinkas decided to hang-up his craft as a tailor and make a living as an inn-keeper instead. His lack of experience in the business actually proved to be an advantage, explains Karel Doubek :

« At the time, beer was served in large jugs, which would stand on the tables, and people would pour the beer directly in their glasses. Because of that, the beer didn't taste so good, but it saved a lot of work for the waiters.

However, Jakub Pinkas didn't know this and he would fetch the beer in the cellar, pouring it into the glass straight from the barrel. The quality of the beer vastly improved and, in turn, attracted even larger crowds. »

U Pinkasů soon became a centre of Czech society and culture. A great number of famous people started frequenting the tavern, including actors, politicians and intellectuals of the National Revival movement, such as František Palacký or Josef Jungmann. Among regular guests was also president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and his son Jan.

**1849** : Saský bridge (nowaday's Roosevelt bridge) made accessible.

**Friday, 11 July 1856** : Josefa Kajetána Tyla died in Plzeň. He is buried at the Mikuláš cemetery.

**1858** : Telegraph connection to Marienbad established, Plzeň square and main-streets were lit by gas-lamp.

**1859** : Waldstein engineering enterprise established, it was purchased by Emil Škoda in 1869.

**1859** : Town-square (nowaday's Square of the Republic) was paved with cobble-stones.

As the popularity of « Pilsen » lager spread throughout Bohemia and the countries around, imitations started to appear. So ...

**1859** : The Burghers' Brewery had « Pilsner Bier » registered as a trade-mark, although this is also used by other beers from Plzeň.

**Monday, 18 February 1861** : Poet J. F. Smetana died. He was a representative of the second generation of Plzeň revivalists.

**1861** : Rail connection linked Plzeň to Furth-im-Wald, further tracks allowed connection of Plzeň and Prague in 1862 ; České Budějovice and Vienna, in 1868 ; Plzeň and Cheb, in 1872 ; Plzeň and Žatec, in 1873 ; Plzeň and Železná Ruda, in 1878.

**1866** : 2 month occupation by Prussian soldiers.

**Saturday, 15 October 1870** : Launch of the First Joint-Stock Brewery (now « Gambrinus » - a beer brewed at the Plzeňský Prazdroj brewery) , established by 20 prominent entrepreneurs headed by Emil Škoda.

**December 1870** : The first trade-mark, « Pilsner Actien Brauerei » , is registered.

**1873** : Both the Burghers' Brewery and the First Joint-Stock Brewery celebrate their first successful exports to the United States in the same year.

**1874** : « Pilsner » lager is being exported regularly to North America, and, by the end of the 19th Century, has reached Latin America, Africa and the Middle-East as well.

**1874** : František Ringhoffer buys a brewery with a mill, fermenting cellar and malt kiln for his estate in Kamenice, and founds the Velké Popovice Brewery.

**15 December 1874** : The first 60 hectolitres batch of beer sees the light of day at the Velké Popovice Brewery.

**1875** : The Velké Popovice Brewery is producing 18,000 hectolitres of beer - a figure which increases to 80,000

hectolitres of beer after extensive reconstruction work in 1902.

**1876** : The Burghers' Brewery and the First Joint-Stock Brewery are leasing and later purchasing their first railway wagons from the State Railway. They also set-up their own railway siding to replace the horse-drawn carriages.

**1887** : The Burghers' Brewery starts to bottle some of its lager. The First Joint-Stock Brewery follows suit.

**1888** : The First Joint-Stock Brewery launches its own bottling-plant, in response to the growing demand for bottled beer.

**1889** : New town water-works established at Homolka.

**1892** : The Burghers' Brewery celebrates its 50th anniversary, and to mark the occasion builds the Jubilee Gateway, which becomes the symbol of the brewery, the firm and the « Pilsner Urquell » brand.

**1895** : The Burghers' Brewery buys a locomotive.

**1897** : « Pilsner Urquell » takes pride in its consistent flavour - a fact that has also been confirmed by expert analyses. Measurements conducted by a Swiss laboratory in St. Gallen record the qualitative parameters of « Pilsner Urquell » beer.

**1898** : The General Customs Office in London had already designated « Pilsner » Beer as a special type of beer, regardless of its origin. So, the « Plzeňský Prazdroj - Pilsner Urquell » trade-mark was registered to protect the unique brand which serves as the model for all « Pilsner » type beers.

**1899** : The Burghers' Brewery builds its first bottling-plant, which will keep running for the next 70 years.

**1899** : At the World Exhibition in Paris, the Burghers' Brewery presents its own model of a refrigerated beer-wagon. It soon has 258 of these wagons.

**1900** : The « beer-train » of the Burghers' Brewery starts to make the run from Plzeň to Vienna every morning. A similar train is soon carrying beer to Bremen, where they are loaded onto ships for the U.S. markets.

**1914** : The Burghers' Brewery owns 388 wagons as well as its first cargo truck and car.

**2000** : Period materials are discovered in the gateway of « Pilsner Urquell » . Documents describing the modern history of the brewery are walled-up in it - as a message to future generations.

The joys of smoking versus addiction to tobacco



Whether it was done for medical purposes, as an addiction or for enjoyment with possible erotic effects, smoking was indulged in by all social classes.

Unlike chocolate, coffee and tea, tobacco was not consumed only by the upper social classes. 17th Century paintings show noblemen and noblewomen smoking, just as they show journeymen, mercenaries and peasant women smoking. In addition, things used by smokers such as pipes and snuff-boxes were popular motifs for painters of still-lives. Even though smoking was common in all social classes, it was also seen as a status symbol and a matter of prestige, depending on whether it was a pipe of clay or one of silver that was used. It seems likely that it was above all the poorer classes who used the tobacco that they smoked, snuffed or chewed as a means of satisfying their hunger. There were regional differences too in the way tobacco was used : in the late- 18th Century, people in Galicia, Hungary and the South Slav regions tended to smoke, whereas those in the Austrian territories preferred to snuff their tobacco. The upper-ranks of aristocracy were also very fond of tobacco as snuff, with the French Court serving as a model. When Marie Antoinette married the Dauphin, later King Louis XVI, she was given more than 50 gold snuff-boxes as wedding presents.

While people were convinced that chocolate had the ability to increase potency, coffee and tobacco were reputed to have the opposite effect, with the result that Catholic clergy were urged to smoke. However, when a tobacco factory was set-up by the Papacy in 1779, this was done rather for economic reasons. Meanwhile, contemporary doctors drew attention both to the dangers of addiction to tobacco and to its therapeutic function.

Unlike many of the other products that came from America, in the case of tobacco, the peasantry could substitute their home-grown product for expensive imports. However, the Habsburgs were against this practice because it undermined their tobacco monopoly. To ensure that they continued to profit from smoking, in 1723 Charles VI founded an Imperial tobacco manufactory.

Tobacco had already played an important role for the Austrian monarchs long before the reign of Emperor Franz-Josef I. The first Habsburg to appreciate the financial advantages offered by tobacco was Leopold I. In 1670, he needed money in order to fund his expensive hunting-games. Count Khevenhüller, his « Grand Master of the Hunt » , suggested leasing the monopoly for the cultivation and sale of tobacco to him to cover the Imperial hunt expenses. From then on (whatever the personal preference was for tobacco of the individual rulers) , the tobacco monopoly was placed under varying degrees of State control. Josef II eventually decreed an exclusive State monopoly over tobacco production in 1784, thus, founding the Austrian Tobacco Monopoly (« Austria Tabak ») .

### When non-smoking threatened the Monarchy

Archduke Ludwig regarded this « cigar story » as « a childish prank » , but one that he thought was « extremely unpleasant » . To put it more drastically, in 1848, it was a danger for the entire Monarchy. The people of Lombardy had decided to refuse to smoke in order to protest against the political system. In itself, this would not have been a significant threat, if only the refusal to smoke had not turned into a prelude to the Revolution of 1848. Field Marshall Count Radetzky, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, had special leave

and additional rations of cigars granted to the soldiers stationed there - on condition that they smoked them conspicuously in the streets of Milan. The non-smoking inhabitants of Lombardy thereupon threw stones at the smoking soldiers, and soon, street battles broke-out, in the course of which many people died.

It was not only the uprising that the Habsburgs had to worry about but also the loss of taxes. After all, the State profited from the people's taste for smoking, with 20 to 30 % of tax-revenue coming from the State tobacco monopoly - and, in Lombardy, it was above all expensive cigars that people smoked. That was why tobacco factories were the first targets of other rebellions, not least because of the use of the double-headed eagle as a symbol of the State monopoly.

In times of political crisis, the tobacco monopoly was often suspended, but was re-introduced as soon as the situation had calmed down. It was not necessarily the case that (non-)smoking as a form of protest against measures imposed by the State ended in violence. In the south of Styria, for example, the rebellious population went in for large-scale tobacco smuggling, and this was sometimes seen as a character quality typical of this region. On the other hand, people in Tyrol could get round the tobacco monopoly quite legally : as loyal marksmen in the struggle against Napoléon they had, as it were, earned the right to grow tobacco, even though this was granted for a short time only.

### The Austrian tobacco monopoly

Tobacco is still today a State monopoly in Austria and has served all the times to replenish the treasury of the government.

The tobacco monopoly was created 1784 by Josef II. , only the State was allowed to cultivate, produce and sell tobacco. These rights were then conceded against a fee or pre-payment, whereby e.g. cigarette stores were given to disabled ex-service men. Josef II. was a pragmatic who turned a vice into something fruitful for the community. Several times in history, the tobacco monopoly was a valuable asset, e.g. used to secure critical loans after the World War I.

In the 1848 Italian Revolution, the population was called to stop smoking in order to damage the Austrian Government ! 4.5 million lire was the Austrian income from tobacco sales in Italy alone. Less than a 100 years later, in 1934, the then in Austria illegal National-Socialists called for an identical boy-cott and appealed to stop smoking. Thereupon, « sudden stop of smoking » was declared illegal by the government.

With the entry of Austria into the European union, the tobacco monopoly loosened-up. For retail, there is still the need for a concession given by the monopoly administration, but the production and wholesale is open to competition. The State has secured himself his income via taxes on tobacco products.

It should be quoted the remark by Victor von Kahler :

« The 2 largest accomplishment that tied the Monarchy together was the menu in the restaurants and the tobacco monopoly » .

The State profited from the people's taste for smoking. In the 19th Century, up to 20 % of tax-revenue came from its tobacco monopoly. The figure would have been even higher if there had not been a great deal of tobacco smuggling, which people indulged in more and more as a form of resistance against such impositions by the State.

### Jewish Families and the Habsburg Tobacco Monopoly

Tobacco was unknown in Europe before the discovery of America. However, unlike other imports from the Americas that enriched European cuisine and coffers, European society did not uniformly embrace tobacco. At first welcomed as a miracle drug and cherished as a stimulant by « élite » circles, it was soon condemned by religious authorities for its « detrimental effects » on order and morality, and tobacco thereafter lost its exclusive and exotic reputation.

In Europe, the « new vice » was excoriated by religious reform movements that prescribed discipline and sobriety, as well as by societal forces in the early modern period that advocated self-control, restraint and moderation among citizens. English King James I (1566-1625) was among the first prominent tobacco opponents after gaining the throne in 1603. In his short tract « A Counterblaste to Tobbaco » (1604) , he condemned smoking as a « savage costume », adopted from the « barbarous Indians » that threatened to undermine English civilization. He further argued that the addictive character of tobacco destabilized the established hierarchy between husbands and wives, Masters and servants - and corrupted the mores and manners of English society. By his way of thinking, moral corruption would be followed by an economic decay that would jeopardize the health of his subjects, and the nation as a whole.

The « new vice » entered Central Europe during the Thirty-Years War (1618-1648) via English soldiers. Although opposed by the Catholic and Protestant churches as well as traditional rabbis, tobacco was rapidly adopted by soldiers of both sides of the conflict and through them disseminated to the general population. In the second half of the 17th Century, the countries north of the Alps began organizing a tobacco trade. In 1701, the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I published a general charter for all his provinces, where he declared that tobacco trade and production was to be a State monopoly. Like the Spanish King, he embraced tobacco as a taxable commodity and source of revenue for the crown.

The revenues generated by tobacco taxes did not live-up to the hopes of the Emperor and his Treasury, and the Treasury decided in 1722 to set-up its own tobacco factories, as was standard in the Western European countries. The first and primary factory was erected in September 1722 in Hainburg (Lower-Austria) with Baußart von Sonnenfeld, a privy councilor at the Imperial Treasury, as its first director. In 1723, the Treasury expanded its tobacco bureaucracy across the Empire, establishing provincial branches of the central tobacco administration in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Upper-Austria, Styria-Carinthia, Carinola and the Austrian Littoral (i.e. : the area of Trieste, Istria and Gorizia) . These main provincial offices erected additional factories and managed tobacco production as well as retail sale.

The erection of State-owned factories, provincial and District administration offices, all manned by properly paid civil servants was expected to be the first step toward proper organization of the tobacco monopoly in the Habsburg Monarchy. However, short-comings on the local level resulted in corruption, rising prices and a simultaneous decrease in product quality. These short-comings lend to an enhanced black-market trade and contraband.

In response to the threat from the black-market, during 1725, Charles VI (1685-1740) invited to Vienna Diego First Baron d'Aguilar of the Holy Roman Empire aka Moses Lopes Pereira (born Mogadouro, Portugal around 1699-1759) to bring order to the market-place. He belonged to a Portuguese family of New Christians that had been active in the tobacco business on the Iberian Peninsula since 1653. Diego learned the business in Portugal from his father, Manuel Lopes Pereira, before moving to London in 1722, where he officially returned to Judaism, together with his family.

Given the Lopes Pereira family's expertise in the tobacco business, Diego d'Aguilar quickly pin-pointed the deficiencies in the organization of the Habsburg monopoly after his arrival in Vienna in 1725. He elaborated a plan, according to which he would lease the monopoly for the whole Monarchy for 8 years (enough time for efficient re-structuring) , paying an annual rent beyond the profit of the best year. In return, he stipulated terms that would allow him to effectively eradicate the reigning defects and deficits. The Court Treasury dismissed the propositions ; partly because of economic conservatism, partly because of anti-Semitism. They were scandalized by the idea of a Jew ruling over Austrian civil servants. Moreover, they conjured the threat of d'Aguilar « infiltrating » Austrian tobacco trade with huge numbers of Jews that would considerably augment the (legally restricted) number of Jews residing in the Bohemian Lands.

After 2 months of tedious negotiations, d'Aguilar agreed leasing the monopoly for the whole Monarchy, together with a Christian companion, the Marchese Carignani for a yearly rent of 400,000 Florins during the first 5 years, and 500,000 Florins during the remaining 3. Furthermore, he and his associate Carignani had to sign a « Letter of Commitment » neither to employ Jews in the administration nor in points of sale ; for retail sale, they were permitted to use the services of Jews, who were legal residents of the Habsburg Monarchy - i.e. : no foreign Jews.

Despite innumerable schemes against his person, Diego d'Aguilar tried re-organizing the monopoly according to the Iberian model and, for the first time, provided the Imperial Treasury with constantly growing revenue for almost 25 years. However, he had to commit himself not to employ Jews in public administration and points-of-sale and, in the Bohemian Lands, he could only hire few Jewish sub-contractors. Although he had personally risen to unprecedented positions of power and authority in the Monarchy, the impact of d'Aguilar's economic activities on the modernization process of Habsburg Jewry was thus limited. This should significantly change with d'Aguilar's successors during the next quarter of the Century.

In 1726, Charles VI ennobled Diego in gratitude for his achievements and awarded him the title Baron d'Aguilar. Thereafter, Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria (1717-1780) appointed him privy councilor to the Crown of the Netherlands and Italy, the highest bodies of foreign politics in the Monarchy, in the 1740's. While Diego's Jewishness was generously disregarded in these appointments, his Jewish background was a well-known and much discussed fact that, time and again, thwarted his business transactions.

In Moravia, Jacob Moses Dobruschka, who had established himself as an army supplier in Brno (Brünn) in the first half of the 18th Century, in 1750 began leasing the tobacco monopoly for Moravia together with his son Salomon Dobruschka (1715-1774) . One member of the Dobruschka family, Moses Dobruschka (1753-1794) (alias Franz Thomas von Schönfeld, alias Junius Frey) gained dubious fame because of his association with the false messiah Jacob Frank,

and later joined revolutionary forces in France in 1792 and was executed on the guillotine together with Danton. The family employed numerous Moravian Jews as sub-contractors and in retail sales, thus, providing many Jewish families with a comfortable income and the opportunity for upward social mobility.

The founder of the Lobel Honig « dynasty », (Jehuda) Löbel Hönig (Edler von Honigsberg) was born in Kuttienplan / Chodová Planá, in Western Bohemia at the beginning of the 18th Century. He made his money as an army-supplier during the Austrian War of Succession (1740-1742) . In 1752, he leased the tobacco monopoly for Prague, together with his sons Israel Hönig von Hönigsberg (1724-1808) and (Aaron) Moses Honig (1730-1787) , for a period of 10 years. Having gained the necessary experience in Prague, the Hönig family established a tobacco company together with other affluent Bohemian Jews - e.g. : Judah Löwel Baruch from Königswart (Kynžvart) who later adopted the surname Königswart ; the entrepreneur and Court supplier Wolf Joachim Edler von Popper (1730-1795) from Prague.

The Löbel Hönig company bid for the tobacco monopoly of the entire Monarchy in 1763, taking-over the Moravian trade controlled up to that time by the Dobruschka family. Over the stated opposition of the Empress Maria Theresa, who favoured a search for Christian lease-holders, the company secured a 10 year contract in 1765. The company fulfilled the contract by creating a network of Jewish sub-contractors that efficiently eradicated contraband and black-marketing. This successful and profitable business model enabled the company to renew its contract a decade later, in 1775, by offering an enormous payment to the treasury of 1,600,000 Florins annually. The Imperial Treasury insured compliance with the contract terms by appointing 4 Court commissioners to take control of the lease-holders' book-keeping and to remain familiar with the company's business affairs.

Despite these restrictions on its freedom of action, the monopoly lease remained lucrative as tobacco consumption within the Monarchy continued to rise. Maria Theresa's son, Josef II, Holy Roman Emperor decided to nationalize the monopoly in 1784, having paved the way to State control through the conditions of the 1775 contract that introduced the Court commissioners to the details of the business. Emperor secured the continuity of the enterprise by appointing Israel and Moses Hönig as directors of the national tobacco administration, without restricting their authority. Thus, Israel and Moses Hönig advanced to high-ranking State officials. How effectively this Jewish business network functioned, we learn from a complaint, filed by Count Strassoldo in 1790. Strassoldo documented that in Bohemia, 38 of 43 District lease-holders were Jews, who allegedly deprived the State and the Christian population of money and job opportunities.

Terrified by the events in revolutionary France, the Emperor ennobled Israel Hönig in September 1789, the first Jew so honoured in the Habsburg Empire. Due to their high official position and great economic power within the Empire, the Hönig family played a role in enabled upward social mobility among numerous Jewish lease-holders and sub-contractors for another 25 years.

Among the colourful Jewish intellectual figures of the 19th Century were descendants of the early Habsburg tobacco monopolists, including the writer and journalist Ludwig August Frankl (1810 in Chrast - 1894 in Vienna) , the American publisher, journalist and abolitionist Isidor Busch (born in Lodenice in 1822 - died in St. Louis in 1898) who played a major role in keeping Missouri within the Union during the American Civil War, and the painter Leopold Pollak (born

in Lodenice in 1806 - died in Rome in 1880) . All were scions of a single extended family that had made its fortune in the Habsburg tobacco trade.

...

**1850** : Closure in Linz of the woollen mill. A tobacco factory is established in its place as an emergency measure for the unemployed work-force.

**The Medical-Surgical Military Academy : Anatomical wax-models and tobacco enemas**

**The « Josephinum » as a training institution for medical students**

For the first time, practical medical training, using wax-models and medical instruments, was provided in the « Josephinum » , named after Josef II.

Short-comings in the medical care of the army persuaded Josef II to improve medical and surgical training. For instance, field-surgeons, who had hitherto only acquired very basic techniques, would henceforth also be trained in surgery. For this purpose, in addition to the medical studies provided in the University of Vienna, the Medical-Surgical Military Academy was opened in 1785 - known for short as the « Josephinum » . In order to provide students with the best possible education, learning aids such as wax-models, medical instruments and a specialist library were provided. The special wax-models of human body-parts that were produced in Florence for this purpose were intended to provide practical preparation for future anatomical and obstetric procedures. Josef II commissioned 1,192 such models, with a total value of 30,000 Gulden.

One revolutionary technique was the use of a tobacco enema. This instrument was used for re-animation. Warm tobacco smoke was blown into the rectum with bellows ; this, it was hoped, would stimulate the bowel, thereby, setting in motion a process of resuscitation. This invention was fully in the spirit of « Enlightenment » philanthropy. But to achieve this, it was first necessary to overcome prejudices - such as the belief that touching dead bodies made the living unclean. Maria Theresa's personal physician, Gerard van Swieten, attempted to eliminate this superstition in his Patent « über das Rettungswesen » published in 1769, which he wrote of the possibility of using resuscitation to bring-back to life people in a state of suspended animation, and those who were drowned, hanged or suffocated. At the same time, he sought to counter the myth of vampires that was spreading from Eastern Europe. The fear of swollen bodies, which oozed fluid and blood, fed the popular superstition that this was the work of (un-)dead persons who would rise from their graves at night in search of human blood. Bram Stoker's well-known figure of the vampire hunter, van Helsing (brought to life in the novel of 1897) was a tribute to van Swieten.

...

The « Josephinum » was founded by Emperor Josef II as a medico-surgical military academy and completed in 1785 based on architectural drawings by Isidor Canevale. It is the most prominent example of neo-Classical architecture in

Vienna and an important legacy of the Age of Enlightenment in Austria. In connection with the Vienna General Hospital and the nearby mental hospital named « Narrenturm » (Fool's Tower) , this entity of important medical and scientific institutions, all created within Josef's II short reign of 10 years, formed an important structural development still defining Vienna's urban landscape today.

The « Josephinum » houses the world-renowned collection of nearly 1,200 anatomical wax-models commissioned by Josef II in Florence for the newly-established academy, the historical library with scripts and volumes from the 15th to the 18th Century, as well as numerous additional collections of the Medical University of Vienna documenting the history of medicine and the great contribution of the « Vienna School of Medicine » .

The « Josephinum » is the historical gateway to the Medical University of Vienna and remains to date an important place for teaching, research and the exchange of ideas.

...

The historic « Vienna School of Surgeons » is officially called « Collegium Medico-Chirurgicum-Josephinum » , but generally rather known simply as « Josephinum » . It can be found north of the « Votivkirche » , in the 9th District of Vienna, the « Alsergrund » . It was founded in 1782 as a centralized academy for the training of surgeons that served in the Habsburg armies.

The « Josephinum » was named after and founded by Emperor Josef II, the great Emperor of Enlightenment in Austria. The « Josephinum's » headquarter is (like many things that were built under the rule of Josef II) a very important example for neo-Classical style and the most important piece of work by Isidor Marcellus Amandus Canevale. The latter one was a significant architect of this period.

The construction of the « Josephinum » was connected to the development of a nearby military hospital, the « Militär-Garnisons-Hauptspital » on today's « Van-Swieten-Gasse » . Both buildings were erected between 1783 and 1785. According to a much disputed view by Hans Tietze, the « Josephinum » is a Classical mini-version of the Baroque Austrian National Library at the « Hofburg » . The central entrance area was built in very expensive stone from the quarries of Kaisersteinbruch.

Upon the occasion of the « Josephinum's » opening, Emperor Josef II had a special coin designed. He endowed a library of 6,000 volumes and donated 30,000 Gulden towards the acquisition of anatomical wax-models for the Anatomic-Pathologic Museum, which was and still is attached to the « Josephinum » . In addition, the « Josephinum » was given a collection of zoological, geological and botanical specimens.

In 1786, the « Josephinum » Academy was elevated to the same rank as a University College and gained the right to award Master degrees and Doctorates for surgery. Another move upwards was performed in 1822, when the « Josephinum's » chair, Johann Nepomuk Isfordink, succeeded in convincing Emperor Franz I to elevate the « Josephinum » to the status of a full-university. In 1849, the « Josephinum » was closed-down and its duties were merged with the

University of Vienna. However, in 1854, it was re-opened as a division of the Military Academy, once again providing training for military surgeons.

Today, the « Josephinum » is home to the Institute for the History of Medicine of the Medical University of Vienna. Beyond that, it houses a museum that exhibits the anatomical specimens of the « Josephinum » collection. In the front-yard, a fountain depicts the goddess of medicine, Hygeia. It was made in 1787 by Johann Martin Fischer (who saved the « Donnerbrunnen » fountain) .

### What do Franz-Josef and a woman revolutionary have in common ?

For the one, it was a matter of political conviction, for the other, probably rather a source of pleasure, but it is unlikely that the two of them would ever have indulged in this vice together.

Franz-Josef was the first Emperor to smoke. In the years before the Revolution of 1848, smoking was frowned upon at Court and people were forbidden to smoke, at least in public, smoking being seen as a fire hazard because timber was still widely used to build houses until well into the 19th Century. This ban on smoking was, however, increasingly seen as a political imposition.

For example, in 1831, a pamphlet proclaimed :

« Unless smoking tobacco in the streets of the town is permitted forthwith there will be a revolution. The Imperial-Royal Lower-Austrian Rebels. »

People who nevertheless smoked in public were considered dangerous trouble-makers and Democrats. How smoking could indeed provoke a revolution was demonstrated in Vienna in 1846, when a brawl broke-out between students and the police after the former had smoked in the street. One of the first « achievements » of the Revolution of 1848 was to have the smoking ban lifted - at least, for men. Women were still subject to a social « smoking ban » . This led to tragedy for Archduchess Mathilde : she was burned to death in 1867 after she hid a cigarette under her clothes because she did not want to be caught smoking.

Besides, the State profited from the people's taste for smoking, as in the 19th century, up to 20 % of tax-revenue came from its tobacco monopoly. The figure would have been even higher if there had not been a great deal of tobacco smuggling, which people indulged in more and more as a form of resistance against such impositions by the State.

...

Of all the Monarchs of his time, Emperor Franz-Josef I was perhaps one of the most modest as far as his personal needs were concerned. His daily routine was strictly regulated (he got-up every day at 3:30 am !) and his private life was free from any extravagance apart from the occasional visit to the theatre and the pleasures of the hunt (you can



see many stuffed animals in the « Kaiservilla ») . He drank and ate only in strict moderation. Nevertheless, he did have one vice : **smoking**.

Eugen Ketterl, the Emperor's personal servant, reports this in his memoirs :

« When the Emperor sat alone with Count Paar in the train compartment, inter-course between the two was limited to the creation of huge billows of smoke, with the result that Emperor and general-adjutant were hardly to be distinguished any longer in the thick fog of tobacco smoke. »

### Bruckner, Emperor Franz-Josef and Virginia Cigars

« Bruckner - A Character Sketch » by Hans Ferdinand Redlich (from « Bruckner & Mahler » , The Master Musicians series) re-printed in the Boston Symphony Orchestra 94th Season Program (1974-1975) .

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« Bruckner must have cut a strange figure : ambling along, as in a day-dream, on the populous boulevard-like pavements of the elegant, new-built “ Ringstraße ” with its brand-new Parisian Opera House of 1868, both the visual symbols of Vienna's irrepressible gaiety, frivolity and sensuousness, even after the recent defeat of Sadowa. (...) A stockily built figure, carrying an imperious head on broad peasant's shoulders ; a profile whose aquiline nose recalled a Roman Emperor rather than a provincial organist from the back-woods of Upper-Austria ; clad in garments of strangely old-fashioned cut, black, with short, baggy trousers of grotesque width (apt trouser-legs for one contending with organ pedals) ; with a broad-brimmed slouch-hat (instead of the customary topper) and with a huge red, tobacco-stained handkerchief flapping from one of the bulging coat-pockets ; in his hand the inevitable snuff-box (in place of the customary elongated “ Virginia ” cigar) ; close-shaven (save for a ridiculously small suggestion of a moustache right under the nose) and the hair closely cropped (instead of the flowing locks and picturesque beard worn by artists and intellectuals) ; the mighty profile with the Roman nose and the deep-seated eyes expressing at once childish surprise and, as it were, a permanent silent quest. »

The « Virginia » Cigar originates from the alpine countries. The construction includes a short mouth-piece and an « Alicante » straw rolled into the structure. The straw is withdrawn before lighting-up. This produces an air-channel through the length of the cigar to cool the smoke.

Max Graf :

« At 6:00 in the morning, the Emperor sat at his desk in the palace, or at Schönbrunn and signed documents. On the desk stood a box of Virginia cigars. Nearby were the ministers in frock-coats and black cravats, who reported the order of the day. »

« Viennese soldiers returned from service in Italy, whistling Italian opera melodies. From Italy, too, Viennese officers

imported the greeting « Ciao » . Though it sounded Chinese, it was a contraction of the Italian word « schiavo » (servant) . From Italy, the soldiers brought the Virginia cigar which has become the « people's cigar » of Austria. »

« In the Strauß marches, one saw the typical Viennese soldier, his hat cocked over one eye, Virginia cigar in the corner of his mouth. »

### The new Vienna Conservatory

**Monday, 4 October 1869** : The Society of Friends of Music's « Conservatoire » in the new « Musikverein » building on « Karlsplatz » is officially open to students. The school occupies the second floor, in the right-wing of the « Musikvereingeäude » .

### The sour throat of little Mahler

**1870** : (Jihlava) The 10 year old Gustav Mahler suffers from sour throats. It will also be the case during adulthood.

### The new « Musikverein »

**Wednesday, 5 January 1870** : The building as a whole is finally completed. Emperor Franz-Joseph I lays the cap-stone at a ceremony marking the official inauguration.

The physical home of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » was regarded from the very beginning as a key-element of Vienna's cultural life.

This was a day of celebration for the whole of Vienna. Thousands of people flocked around the new music complex to watch all the high-ranking State dignitaries, eminent figures from the art-world and other distinguished individuals arrive in their carriages. The Society's President, Doctor Franz Egger, welcomed the official guests in the lobby, while the Vice-President, Nikolaus Dumba, greeted them in the main concert-hall. Once the Emperor and the archdukes had taken their seats, Dumba read-out the foundation document, which was signed immediately afterwards by the Emperor, who then proceeded to lay the final stone. The day after this ceremony was held, the « Musikverein » concert-hall finally fulfilled its true purpose by staging a festive concert with a programme of music by Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert, Bach and Mozart.

The leading role that Dumba had played in the construction of the new « Musikverein » building was officially recognized by the award of a special medal. On the occasion of the building's inauguration, Dumba and the leading architect Theophil von Hansen were awarded the Order of the Iron Crown by the Emperor. At Dumba's orders and expense, Theophil von Hansen's brother, Karl, undertook the decoration of the Propylæa at the University of Athens - more precisely, the coloured frescoes on the side of the building.

The Vienna « Ringstraße » era heralds an opportunity for the « Musikverein » to erect a new and magnificent building of its own. As early as 1858 (just as the demolition of the medieval city-wall was beginning) , the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » had approached the Emperor with a plea for a building plot to be granted, as a larger building is deemed urgently necessary. This time now arrives, and the Emperor gifts the « Gesellschaft » a building plot on the left-bank of the river Wien.

**1867**

The architect Theophil Hansen is contracted to build the new « Musikverein » building. The funding comes not only from the Austrian State (the Emperor grants funding from the State lotteries) but also and mainly from private donors. Members and friends of the « Musikverein » are closely involved with the fund-raising effort and contribute to the building costs. The « Gesellschaft » itself creates incentives by providing special privileges to « Benefactors » and « Founders » .

A major donor was Nikolaus Dumba, industrialist and Liberal politician of Greek descent, whose name the Austrian government gave to one of the streets surrounding the « Musikverein » .

The « Singverein » and the Orchestra of the « Gesellschaft » under Johann Herbeck stage the premiere performance of Johannes Brahms' « German Requiem » .

**1881**

Franz Liszt conducts a concert performance of his own works by the « Gesellschaft » . He too is closely connected with the « Musikverein » , having been granted honorary membership by the « Gesellschaft » as early as 1838.

**1885**

At the initiative of the « Gesellschaft » , an international tuning pitch conference takes place in Vienna, to set an agreed pitch standard for the concert pitch A (at that time 870 simple harmonic oscillations) .

### « Musikverein » : Inaugural concerts

The Small Hall (« Kleiner-Musikvereinssaal ») located at « Musikvereinsplatz » Number 1 is known as the 598 seats « Brahms-Saal » since 1937. The inaugural concert was given by Clara Schumann.

At the opening ball, Johann Strauß conducts his waltz « Freuet Euch des Lebens » , which he dedicates to the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » : one of many Johann Strauß premieres that will take place in the « Musikverein » .

**Wednesday, 5 January 1870** : Final rehearsal by Johann Herbeck in anticipation of the « Musikverein » opening

concert.

**Thursday, 6 January 1870** (Epiphany Feast Day) : The first « Gesellschaft » concert takes place in the « Großer-Musikvereinssaal » . Johann Herbeck conducts the Society's Concert Orchestra in a programme that reveals the multiple acoustic advantages of the new auditorium. Works by Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz-Josef Haydn, Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Franz Schubert.

The first visitors express their delight at the « wonderful harmony of the architecture » (Eduard Hanslick) . The design of the « Musikverein » building by Theophil Hansen, a Danish architect who had previously spent several years working in Athens, is acclaimed as a historicist masterpiece.

Anton Bruckner has certainly attended one of the 2 inaugural concerts.

The impact of the concert-hall upon visitors was overwhelming !

The critics immediately praised the grandiose acoustics of the large-hall, whose fame spread throughout the world in a short time.

The press wrote :

« As high as any expectations could be, they would still be exceeded by the first impression of the hall which displays an architectural beauty and a stylish splendour making it the only one of its kind. »

The impression must have been overwhelming - so overwhelming that Vienna's leading critic, Eduard Hanslick, irritatingly brought-up the question of whether this « Großer Musikvereinssaal was not too sparkling and magnificent for a concert-hall. From all sides spring gold and colours. »

Was this splendour, as Hanslick as a shocked ascetic supposed, not a distraction from the music ? Or does it rather have the exact opposite effect of directing the attention towards the music ?

The festive atmosphere of this hall throws off everything « which reminds one of everyday life » , wrote one Viennese critic, Carl Eduard Schelle. He thought that the « Großer Musikvereinssaal » did not only provide the ideal atmosphere for music but was music in itself :

« ... in the architectural details, in the ornament, the tones of colour such as in the separation of masses a perception does in fact manifest itself which one would like to call musical ; should it be possible to think of Mozart's great " Jupiter " Symphony constructed in solid, visible forms, then this new concert hall in the " Musikverein " building would provide a suitable picture. Hansen and Mozart really do have related characteristics in common. »

**But the organ case was still empty !**

In the course of the ambitious building project, at immense financial outlay, to build its new concert building, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna had initially given less priority to the organ project. However, since the 1868 study plan created for the « Gesellschaft's » own Conservatory envisaged organ-playing as an important component of musical education, the plans for an organ began immediately thereafter.

**Monday, 11 January 1869** : Meeting of the organ commission.

Are attending :

Anton Bruckner, Leopold Alexander Zellner, Josef Hellmesberger senior, Johann Herbeck, Pius Richter, Emil Rotter, organ-builder Peter Titz, « Herr » Franz Wilt, Baron Peter Anton von Prandau-Hillebrand. Organ-builders Friedrich Ladegast, Eberhard Friedrich Walcker, Schulze, Ibach & Söhne, Merklin & Schütze, Aristide Cavallé-Coll and Titz-Hesse.

The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » invited proposals from renowned organ-builders, including the famed Aristide Cavallé-Coll in Paris, who however showed no interest in the commission, and also Merklin & Schütze, also from Paris, who at first failed to respond at all to the invitation. A specially assembled organ commission, including Anton Bruckner as the organ professor from the Conservatory of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , « Hofkapellmeister » Johann Herbeck and Josef Hellmesberger senior, Court organist Pius Richter and Leopold Alexander Zellner as General-secretary of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , eventually gave the commission to Friedrich Ladegast from Weißenfels-an-der-Saale, at that time regarded as the leading organ-builder in the German-speaking world. The organ Ladegast designed with 44 stops, 3 manuals, and 1 pedal-board was expanded to 52 in total at the behest of the commission, and contained numerous technical innovations intended to improve performance.

Before long, however, the organ's technical innovations proved to be problematic ...

General-secretary Leopold Alexander Zellner, who was also an acoustician, organist and composer, examined the organ himself, and attempted various experiments and improvements.

According to Robert Hirschfeld's book « Geschichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » :

« One could find Master Zellner at all times (...) in his hidden laboratory, where he (...) devoted himself like a medieval master-student to the secret service of the organ. »

In 1880, Zellner gave-up and noted :

« All my own work, but now I have had enough. »

The numerous technical innovations which were intended to improve its performance, in fact, soon created irreparable problems, which eventually rendered the organ unusable.

**Summer-Autumn 1870** : After Johann von Herbeck retires as artistic director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » at the end of the 1869-1870 season, the position of conductor of the Society's orchestral concerts is offered to Johannes Brahms.

**Saturday, 8 October 1870** : Brahms informs his father that he has « had to decline it for several reasons », adding that he may take it next year. For the 1870-1871 season, the direction of these concerts is now entrusted to Josef Hellmesberger senior, while Ernst Frank is appointed chorus master of the « Singverein » .

(The proposed separation of the 2 positions, both of which Johann Herbeck had occupied simultaneously, is in fact one of the reasons for Brahms's refusal. They will once more be combined when Anton Rubinstein takes over for the 1871-1872 season and will remain so under Brahms's eventual tenure of the artistic directorship.)

**Thursday, 16 November 1871** : After the resignation of Anton Rubinstein, the Concerts Committee proposed that Johannes Brahms should become the new conductor of the Society's Concert Orchestra and choir-Master of its Choral Society. Nikolaus Dumba and Doctor Josef Standhartner were appointed by the Society to negotiate terms with the composer. At the meeting held on **Monday, 27 November 1871**, they were already in the position to announce that Brahms was asking for a basic salary of 2,000 Gulden, plus an extra-fee of 1,000 Gulden for any additional concerts that he might be asked to do.

**Sunday, 10 November 1872** : Johannes Brahms has directed his first concert for the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in his new role as Concert Director.

It was the new organ's first « outing » .

Programme :

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concert aria « Ch'io mi scordi di te ? » (K. 505) for orchestra. Soloists : « Frau » Marie Wilt (soprano) , Johannes Brahms (piano obbligato) .

Franz Schubert : Sonata in C major for piano 4 hands, « Grand Duo » (D. 812) in an orchestral arrangement by Josef Joachim. The work was billed as : « Symphony in C major » . Soloists : « Frau » Marie Wilt (soprano) , Julius Epstein (piano) , Josef Hellmesberger senior (violin) .

Brahms wrote to Joachim :

« I don't have time to describe how beautiful you make everything sound, and what “ symphonic matters ” ran through my head on this occasion. »

Johannes Eccard, Heinrich Isaac : « A capella » choruses sung by the Vienna « Singverein » .

Georg Friedrich Händel : « Dettingen “ Te Deum ” » (HWV 283) sung by the Vienna « Singverein » . Brahms' setting called for the continuo, for which the organ now came into use. Soloists : Rosa Girzick (contralto) , Emil Krauß (baritone) , Rudolf Bibl (continuo) .

Krauß was also a qualified physician.

Brahms became artistic director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . This function combined the duties of a chief-conductor with those of a director. Brahms, who was uncomfortable with the administrative duties in particular, left this position after 3 years. He remained closely connected to the « Musikverein » , however, until the end of his life.

**Friday, 15 November 1872** (1:30 pm) : Inaugural concert of the Ladegast organ.

Within Theophil Hansen's visually and acoustically brilliant « Großer-Musikvereinsaal » , the instrument forms the central element. Prominently located at the front of the auditorium, it harmonizes in clarity and consistency with the homogeneity and opulence of the design, modelled upon Greek antiquity.

Attending the concert : Doctor August Wilhelm Ambros, Eduard Hanslick, Franz Pyllemann (1841-1873) , Ludwig Benedikt Hahn, and Friedrich Ladegast.

Programme :

For this occasion, Josef Weilen was commissioned to produce a celebratory poem, entitled « The Organ » , performed by « Burgtheater » actor Josef Lewinsky :

« So brause Orgel mächtigen Choral,  
Durch diesen stolzen kunstgeweihten Saal,  
Wie aus der höhern Welt ein Mahnungsruf (...) »

Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata in D minor (BWV 565) . Soloist : Dresden organist Carl August Fischer.

Free improvisations by Anton Bruckner, in all registers, on themes from the F minor Mass (**WAB 28**) and the « Kaiserhymne » . Duration : 30 minutes.

(His imagination had elevated him to mighty, hymnic tonal constructions. But Bruckner was not able to impress his expert opponent Johannes Brahms and « other honest musicians » .)

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach : Organ Concerto. Soloist : Dresden organist Carl August Fischer.

Franz Schubert : « Die Allmacht » , Opus 79, No. 2 (D. 852) . Soloists : « Frau » Marie Wilt (soprano) ; Gustav Walter

(tenor) .

Felix Mendelssohn : Organ Sonata in B-flat major, Opus 65, No. 4. Soloist : Dresden organist Carl August Fischer.

Alessandro Stradella : Church Aria. Soloists : « Frau » Marie Wilt (soprano) ; Gustav Walter (tenor) .

Franz Liszt : Fantasy and Fugue for organ on the Theme B-A-C-H. Soloist : Dresden organist Carl August Fischer.

Johannes Eccard, Heinrich Isaac : « A capella » choruses sung by the Vienna « Singverein » under its artistic director, Johannes Brahms.

Professor Doctor Heinrich M. Schuster reported :

« Today, nobody can polyphonically improvise on the organ. Only once, however, this was granted to us : in 1872, at the inauguration of the great organ in the large-hall of the “ Musikverein ” where Anton Bruckner started with a splendid fantasy on the National anthem. »

« One could have expected more from such a famous Master than the exact acquaintance with certain neo-German musical innovations » , was the negative reaction of the conservatives.

From this, we may learn the good news of a harmonically high-explosive improvisation : Bruckner turned and twisted in chromatic non-harmonical inventions, authorized by the exponents of the new German compositional tradition, Liszt and Wagner, and that was the new kind of music which kindled the enthusiasm of Bruckner's students, too.

In Hans Rott's Symphony in E major, the « neo-German » seed came-up with a most beautiful fruit, although a conservative like Brahms did not like the « new tones » and (considering his own concept) what could he do but reject young Rott's score. In addition, the exponent of the « New Music » had the reputation of coming from Bruckner.

Bruckner's manuscripts, letters and autograph notes can be found in the archives of the « Musikverein » .

**Saturday, 16 November 1872** : Music-review of yesterday's concert in the « Österreichischen Volkszeitung » :

« Organ Concert.

Yesterday, the Society of Friends of Music introduced the giant organ to the Viennese audience. Our local organist, “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner, and the virtuoso organist from Dresden, “ Herr ” Carl August Fischer, competed with each other by highlighting all the possibilities of the beautiful instrument. “ Herr ” Fischer was decidedly superior. (...) The audience was very satisfied and very grateful. »



...

In 1904, a decision was taken to have a new organ especially built for the « Musikverein » .

The commission was given to the Imperial and Royal Court organ-builders (« Kaiserlich und Königlich Hof-Orgelfabrik ») Gebrüder Rieger from Jägerndorf in Austrian Silesia (known today as Krnov in the Czech Republic) . For this instrument with 71 stops, changes were also undertaken to the organ case and the façade was expanded to include more pipes. The organ console, which replaced the Ladegast console at podium level and was now located in the gallery, was encompassed by the centrally located balustrade that it retains today. In a performance directed by Franz Schalk of Johann Sebastian Bach's Mass in B minor on 12 November 1907, the Rieger organ was played for the first time, before being presented as a solo instrument on 11 December by Court organists Rudolf Dittrich, Josef Labor and Georg Valker.

This organ too, however, faced misfortune. When a grenade found its way into the « Musikverein » building in the last days of the War in 1945, the organ was damaged and initially underwent emergency repairs. In the course of renovation by Friedrich Molzer, in 1948, the disposition was changed and the stops expanded to 80. Not long after, however, wear and tear on the electronic tracker actions built-in, at that time, affected the precision functioning of the instrument.

### Doctor Karl Schiedermayr

**Tuesday, 21 June 1870** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to District physician Doctor Karl Schiedermayr :

Thanks for the Name-Day greetings (13 June) . Anton Bruckner congratulates Doctor Schiedermayr on the occasion of St. John the Baptist Day (24 June) . Death of Kreuzen's physician Doctor Maximilian Keyhl. Bruckner talks of his health examinations of June 18th and 23rd. Academic year lasts until the end of July. Greetings to Karl Schiedermayr's sisters (?) .

...

The Austrian physician, botanist and choir-Master Doctor Karl B. Schiedermayr was born on 3 November 1818 in Linz and died on 29 October 1895 in Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems, Upper-Austria.

He was the son of the ecclesiastical composer Johann Baptist Schiedermayr senior (1779-1840) and his wife, Barbara Schiedermayr (« née » Eggerstorfer) from Bavaria, who was living in Kirchdorf since 1804. He first studied at a secondary school in Linz from the early 1830's onwards. Then, he moved to Kremsmünster to study at the abbey college (« Gymnasium ») where Father Marian (Koller) raised his interest in natural sciences. After graduating with distinction, he studied medicine at the University of Vienna from October 1837 to 1841. In 1843, he received his doctorate of medicine after writing his Master's thesis in obstetrics (« Magister obstetriciæ ») . In 1844, he received his doctorate in surgery. At the University, he was particularly enthusiastic about the « Lehrkanzel der Botany » , the

lectures by Stephan Ladislaus Finite, and chemists Adolf Martin Pleischl and Josef Redtenbacher.

After his medical practice at the General Hospital of Vienna, he returned to Linz in 1845, where he worked as a military doctor, but also at the Institute for Deaf (Mute) and Blind. Then, he moved to Kirchdorf in October 1849, where he practised from 1853 to 1871 as provisional District doctor. He particularly distinguished himself during the plague and cholera epidemic of 1855 in Linz. In 1871, he became physician (and botanist) of the province of Upper-Austria for the Districts of Kirchdorf-an-Krems and Steyr. In 1874, he was named District doctor of the Statutory City of Linz and District doctor of Perg (also based in Linz) . The same year, he was appointed substitute medical officer for the province of Upper-Austria. On 25 March 1875, he was appointed Provincial Councilor and first medical officer for the province of Upper-Austria. He retired on 8 June 1890. In autumn of 1893, he published (in his town of Kirchdorf) an extensive supplement of his principal works. He was a correspondent of the Meteorological Central Institute and a member of several scientific societies and associations.

Karl Schiedermayr was regarded as musically talented ; he also composed music. In 1845, he was one of the founding members of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » of Linz. On 1852, he founded the « Liedertafel » in Kirchdorf and was elected first choir-Master.

A few days before his 77th birthday, Schiedermayr died on 29 October 1895 in Kirchdorf, after a long and severe illness.

...

Doktor Karl B. Schiedermayr, österreichischer Arzt und Botaniker : geboren 3. November 1818 in Linz ; gestorben 29. Oktober 1895 in Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems. Seltener wurde sein Name auch Carl Schiedermayr geschrieben ; sein Namenskürzel lautet Schied.

Karl Schiedermayr wurde am 3. November 1818 als Sohn des seit 1804 hier lebenden und aus Bayern stammenden kirchlichen Komponisten und Domorganisten Johann Baptist Schiedermayr senior (1779-1840) und dessen Ehefrau Barbara Schiedermayr, « née » Eggerstorfer, in Linz geboren. Mit Johann Baptist Schiedermayr junior, einem Seelsorger und Geistlichen, und Josef Schiedermayr, einem Juristen, hatte er unter anderem 2 Brüder. Selbst besuchte Karl Schiedermayr nach der Normalhauptschule ab den frühen 1830er Jahren ein Linzer Gymnasium, ehe er in der 4. Klasse als Konvikts-Stipendist in das Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster, wo Pater Marian (Wolfgang) Koller sein Interesse für die Naturwissenschaften weckte, wechselte. Nach seinem Abschluß mit Auszeichnung vom Stiftsgymnasium studierte er von Oktober 1837 bis 1841 Medizin an der Universität Wien und erhielt im Jahre 1843 die Titel Doktor der Medizin und Magister obstetriciæ, den Magistertitel in Geburtshilfe. 1844 folgte die Promotion zum Doktor der Chirurgie, An der Universität zeigte er sich vor allem durch Vorlesungen von Stephan Ladislaus Endlicher, von der Lehrkanzel der Botanik, aber auch von Vorträgen der Chemiker Adolf Martin Pleischl und Josef Redtenbacher begeistert.

Nach seiner Spitalspraxis am Allgemeinen Krankenhaus Wien kehrte er im Jahre 1845 zurück nach Linz, wo er als Armenarzt, sowie am Blinden- und Taubstummeninstitut tätig war. In weiterer Folge übersiedelte er im Oktober 1849

nach Kirchdorf, wo er von 1853 bis 1871 als provisorischer Bezirksarzt praktizierte. Dabei zeichnete er sich vor allem bei der Blattern und Cholera-Epidemie im Jahre 1855 aus. Im Jahre 1871 wurde er zum landesfürstlichen Bezirksarzt der politischen Bezirke Kirchdorf an der Krems und Steyr. 3 Jahre später war er Bezirksarzt der Statutarstadt Linz und des politischen Bezirks Perg mit Sitz in Linz und wurde noch im gleichen Jahr zum substituierenden Landessanitätsreferenten für Oberösterreich ernannt. Am 25. März 1875 wurde er zum Statthaltereirat und offiziellen Landessanitätsreferenten für Oberösterreich ernannt, ehe er am 8. Juni 1890 in den Ruhestand ging. Weiters war er Korrespondent der meteorologischen Zentralanstalt und Mitglied mehrerer naturwissenschaftlicher Gesellschaften und Vereine.

Nachdem er sich bereits seit seiner Schul- beziehungsweise Studienzeit mit Botanik beschäftigt hatte, schloß er sich im Juni 1844 nach der Promotion und der abgelegten Spitalspraxis den Botanikern Brittinger, Hinterhuber und Franz Sailer an und erkundete die heimische Flora. Bald darauf kamen Ende der 1840er beziehungsweise in den 1850er Jahren weitere Botaniker wie Franz Aspöck, Johann Duftschmid, Pather Gotthard Hinterberger, Hofstätter, von Mörl, Franz Oberleitner, Ignaz Sigismund Pötsch, Robert Rauscher, Anton Eleutherius Sauter, sowie die Professoren Kermer und Friedrich Simony, sowie weitere Botaniker hinzu, die sich ebenfalls um die Landesforschung und die heimische Fauna bemühten. Dabei entstand auch eine Freundschaft mit dem Geologen Franz Carl Ehrlich vom Museum Francisco-Carolinum und eine Bekanntschaft mit dem Botaniker Josef Ritter von Mor auf Suneg und Morberg. Im Jahre 1849 trat er erstmals wissenschaftlich einer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit über Die Vegetationsverhältnisse in der Umgebung von Linz an die Öffentlichkeit, woraufhin er vom Francisco-Carolinum als Referent für Botanik in den Verwaltungsausschuß gewählt und mit der Ordnung des Herbars beauftragt wurde.

1856 nahm er die Verbindung zum aus Böhmen stammenden Mediziner und Botaniker Ignaz Sigismund Pötsch auf und begann mit diesem eine systematische Aufzeichnung der oberösterreichischen Kryptogamen. Hierbei widmete er sich im Speziellen der Bearbeitung der Algen und Pilze und Pötsch der Bearbeitung der Flechten, Moose und Farne. 1872 erschien in Zusammenarbeit mit Ignaz Sigismund Pötsch das Hauptwerk Schiedermayrs, die Systematische Aufzählung der im Erzherzogthume Österreich ob der Enns bisher beobachteten samenlosen Pflanzen (Kryptogamen), das von der Kaiserlich-Königliche zoologisch-botanischen Gesellschaft in Wien herausgegeben wurde. Weiters unterhielt er Kontakte zum Mediziner und Botaniker Anton Eleutherius Sauter, zum Beamten, Lokalhistoriker, Schriftsteller und Botaniker Ludwig Heufler von Hohenbühel, sowie zu diversen anderen Botanikern. Vor allem durch Sauter, dem damaligen Kreisarzt von Steyr und Nestor der österreichischen Kryptogamenforschung, kam er zu seinem Hauptgebiet, der Kryptogamenforschung.

Ab 1847 trat er als Ausschußmitglied des Musealvereins Francisco-Carolinum in Linz in Erscheinung und war ab 1890 Ehrenmitglied des Museums. Ab 1881 war er zudem Präses des Vereins für Naturkunde in Österreich ob der Enns (Oberösterreich). Verdient machte er sich vor allem um die Erforschung der bereits genannten Kryptogamen, befaßte sich jedoch auch mit Blütenpflanzen. Gleich mehrere von ihm, aber auch von anderen Botanikern entdeckte Pflanzenarten tragen seinen Namen. Außerdem machte er sich durch das Sammeln und Ordnen von paläontologischen Material verdient. Seine reichhaltige botanische Sammlung, sowie seine umfangreiche Bibliothek befinden sich heute im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum in seiner Heimatstadt Linz. Neben den erwähnten botanischen Studien nahm er auch mikroskopische Untersuchungen des Wassers der Donau, sowie der Brunnen in Linz vor, die den Bau der 1893

eröffneten Linzer Wasserleitung anregten. Noch zeitlebens erhielt er vom Geistlichen und Botaniker Franz de Paula Stieglitz einen Teil dessen mehr als 400 Arten umfassenden Flechtenherbars, der Großteil dieses Herbariums ging nach dem Tod von Stieglitz an das Stift Kremsmünster.

Durch seine Familie, der Vater Johann Baptist senior war Komponist und Organist, der Großvater Johann Georg Schiedermayr ein Schullehrer und Musiker, der Onkel Georg Schiedermayr ebenfalls ein Organist und der Onkel Franz Xaver Schiedermayr ein Lehrer und Komponist, kam auch Karl Schiedermayr mit seinen Brüdern zur Musik. Der als musikalisch begabt geltende Karl Schiedermayr gehörte unter anderem im Jahre 1845 zu den Gründungsmitgliedern des Männergesangsvereins Linz (genannt Liedertafel « Frohsinn ») und schuf im Jahre 1852 die Liedertafel Kirchdorf, bei der er auch als deren 1. Chorleiter fungierte. Wenige Tage vor seinem 77. Geburtstag starb Schiedermayr nach langer, schwerer Krankheit am 29. Oktober 1895 in Kirchdorf, wo er bis zuletzt lebte und von wo aus er im Herbst 1893 noch einen umfangreichen Nachtrag seines Hauptwerkes herausbrachte.

### Ehrungen

In Linz ist seit 1954 der Schiedermayrweg, in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Gugl in seiner Heimatstadt Linz, nach ihm benannt.

In unmittelbarer Nähe zum Landeskrankenhaus Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems befindet sich die ebenfalls nach ihm benannte Schiedermayr-Straße.

Weiters ist er Ehrenbürger von Micheldorf in Oberösterreich und seit 1937 von Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems, wo er lange Jahre lebte, arbeitete und seinen Lebensabend verbrachte.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1870-1871

Zu Anton Bruckners Wiener Konservatoriumsschülern gehören Hermine Adametz (Kontrapunkt) ; Guido Adler (Harmonielehre) ; Max Ambros von Rechtenberg (Kontrapunkt) ; (Emil ?) Carl Kratzl (Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Lamberger (Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Latzelsberger (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) ; Felix Mottl, Heinrich Paschko (Harmonielehre und Orgel) ; Hugo Reinhold Kontrapunkt und Orgel) ; Damian von Röbl (Kontrapunkt) ; Emil Schwarzkopf (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) ; Josef Siebert (Kontrapunkt) ; Eduard Stanek (Kontrapunkt) ; George Vieh (Harmonielehre) (?) ; Gustav Walter (Harmonielehre) ; (ein 2. Gustav Walter, auch aus Arad, mit Orgel ?) ; und Carl Wolfrum (Kontrapunkt) .

Der Jahresbericht listet den Personalstand auf :

« 2. Lehrpersonal.

1. Herr Anton Bruckner (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) , seit 1868 (3 Jahr) . »

...

Folgende Schüler können für Anton Bruckners Lebensweg noch von Interesse sein :

Julius Desing ; Julius Egghard ; Reinhold Hummer ; Carl Lux ; Arthur Nikisch ; Emil Paur (« aus Czernowitz in der Bukowina, 15 Jahre ») ; Josef Pembaur (« aus Innsbruck in Tirol, 21 Jahre ») , Adolf Wallnöfer (« 16 Jahre ») ; Julius Winkler (« aus Raab in Ungarn, 15 Jahre ») .

Die « Classen-Prüfungen » fanden vom 14. Juni 1871 bis 15. Juli 1871 statt.

### The London organ tour

In the **summer of 1871**, an International Exhibition was held in London and the Exhibition Committee invited the Chambers of Commerce of the various countries to send their most prominent organists to London. During the Exhibition, organ recitals were to be given on the giant organ just built by Henry Willis for the Albert Hall, close to which the Exhibition was held. When Bruckner heard of this, he applied to the Vienna Chamber of Commerce to be sent to London and, after a trial, he was unanimously chosen from a number of candidates. He will compete against other organists from several other nations.

It is the Vienna Chamber of Commerce who sponsors these series of organ recitals : one every day for a week, in the Royal Albert Hall ; and 5 more, at Crystal Palace. The British press, fuming at the presence of so many foreigners, affords Bruckner only faint praise. The recitals, however, will produce loud applause. Programme : Works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, and Felix Mendelssohn ; plus Bruckner's own organ improvisations.

Besides Bruckner, 6 other organists had been engaged for these several weeks of recitals : William Thomas Best, the official organist of the Hall, who had opened the series on July 18 ; Camille Saint-Saëns from Paris ; Alphonse Mailly from Brussels ; Löhr from Budapest ; Heintzen from Stockholm ; and Lindemann from Norway.

**Thursday, 13 July 1871** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Anton Reißleitner (Linz) :

The organ concerts in London begin on **August 2, 1871**. Bruckner would like to be there 8 days earlier. Departure to Linz at the latest on **July 20th**. From there, leaving on the evening of the **21st**. On Sunday (**July 16**) , he plays the organ at the « Musikverein » . Joint return journey via Switzerland possible.

**Before Thursday, 20 July 1871** : Bruckner's student at the Conservatory, Josef Pembaur (from Innsbruck, Tirol) , recalls ...

Anton Bruckner talked at the Vienna Conservatory about his London concert plans. He would not rehearse much Johann Sebastian Bach, but above all improvise freely. He had studied and rehearsed the programmed pieces for about the last 3 months.

**Thursday, 20 July 1871** : Anton Bruckner leaves for London. He stops for 1 day in Linz. It is not possible to determine

whether Anton Reißleitner actually traveled with him. Perhaps, Bruckner was accompanied to London by his pupil Carl Kratzl.

« Toni », F. Zimmermann's sister

**Friday, 21 July 1871** : Anton Bruckner goes from Linz to Roth, near Nuremberg. There, he stays for a few days with the family of F. Zimmermann. His connection to Zimmermann dates from 10 years ago, at the Nuremberg Choral Festival of July 1861. Zimmermann's sister, named « Toni », arouses his lively interest ...

...

**Tuesday, 25 July 1871** : Anton Bruckner's trip to London and the beginning of the concerts on August 2nd, are reported in several Viennese newspapers :

« Wiener Fremdenblatt », page 6 :

« The Court organist Professor Anton Bruckner will go to London on August 2 to give organ recitals at the Exhibition Building during a period of 8 days, for which he is known to receive a fee of 500 Florins in silver. »

« Wiener Morgen-Post » : identical text.

« Wiener Neue Freie Presse », Number 2483, page 8 :

« The Court organist Professor Anton Bruckner will go to London on August 2 to give organ recitals at the Exhibition Building during a period of 8 days. »

« Wiener Neues Fremdenblatt », Number 204, page 5 :

« The Court organist Professor Anton Bruckner will go to London on August 2 to give organ recitals at the Exhibition Pavilion during a period of 8 days, for which he is known to receive a fee of 500 Florins in silver. »

**Wednesday, 26 July 1871** : The « Österreichische Volksfreund », Number 169, page 3 :

« The Court organist Professor Anton Bruckner will go to London on August 2 to give organ recitals at the Exhibition Pavilion during a period of 8 days, for which he is known to receive a fee of 500 Florins in silver. »

**Thursday, 27 July 1871** : Note in the « Linzer Tages-Post » at page 4 :

« The Court organist Professor Anton Bruckner will go to London on August 2 to give organ recitals at the Exhibition Pavilion during a period of 8 days, for which he is known to receive a fee of 500 Florins in silver. »

Beginning on **Wednesday August 2, 1871**, Bruckner was to play twice daily for a week, for a fee of £ 50, including travelling and hotel expenses. A detailed description of the Willis organ was sent with the contract.

A journey to London was not such a simple matter in those days and Bruckner, ever timid, implored his old friend, Father Otto Fehringer, to travel with him :

« Then, we can come back in fine style by way of Switzerland. » , he wrote temptingly.

But nothing came of this and Bruckner had to make the journey to London alone.

Bruckner became a friend of Father Fehringer several years earlier. He was attached to the Benedictine monastery of Seitenstetten in Lower-Austria. At the request of the composer, Fehringer was one of the main bass-players during the Viennese performance of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) in 1872.

**London : « Deutscher Gasthof Seyd »**

Anton Reißleithner did not accompany Anton Bruckner to England. The latter changed his itinerary and travelled to Nuremberg to visit the Zimmermann family whose acquaintance he had made 10 years earlier during the 1861 Choir Festival. One of the family, F. Zimmermann, became his travelling companion.

**Before Saturday, 29 July 1871** : Anton Bruckner leaves Roth, near Nuremberg, for London. He is accompanied by F. Zimmermann and (?) Father Otto Fehringer (1844-1930) from Seitenstetten.

**Saturday, 29 July 1871** : Bruckner and Zimmermann arrive in London. On the advice of a local Viennese barber, Bruckner stays at the « Deutscher Gasthof Seyd » , a German guest-house located at Number 39 Finsbury Square.

The Austrian ambassador in London from 1860 to 1871, Count Rudolf Apponyi (1812-1876) , was contacted about Bruckner's visit and asked to provide all the support necessary. During his stay, Bruckner will once again over-exercise his love of good food ...

In the evening, the Albert Hall's mighty Henry Willis organ is tried-out for the first time. The steam-engines running the instrument are even re-heated at the instigation of the enthusiastic director.

It was a Saturday and the manager of the Hall explained to him that it was too late.

« Why did not you show-up earlier ? In principle, we have finished for the day. You know that the organ is propelled by steam. As long as the engine will hold, you are welcome. »

Undisturbed, the Master seated himself at the organ and began to practise and improvise - experimenting with the different stops. His abilities attract a little audience which listens to him well into the evening. Enthusiastic at what he

heard, the manager had the fires stoked-up and sent for various friends, so that when Bruckner finished he found to his astonishment that he had a considerable audience.

...

Royal Albert Hall, London, England.

Office of the Manager.

« 'scuse me sir ... there's 2 blokes at the front door ... one of 'em sayin' they're 'ere to play the organ. »

« The organ ? 'oo the hell are they ? »

« The gentleman doin' the talking is from the Austrian Embassy ... says his name is Count Apponyi. He says he has the authority for his associate to practice on the Willis Organ ... today. He has a German accent. »

« We've shut-off the steam ... there's barely any up. They'll have to come-back another time. »

« Right ... I'll tell 'em. »

(He returns in a couple of minutes.)

« I'm sorry sir, but they insist that the organ be made available at once ... they will take whatever steam is available. »

« Bloody hell ... See them in then. We don't want an international incident on our hands. This hall has only been open a couple of months. But I want to be out of here soon. »

« Right sir, I will let them in. »

The 2 men enter the hall and make their way to the grand organ manufactured by Henry Willis & Sons. The shorter of the 2 men, round and somewhat odd looking, takes a seat on the bench and begins to play Bach.

The manager of the hall hears the organ spring to life.

« You did tell him we don't have much steam up didn't you ? »

« Indeed sir ... I made that quite clear. »

Music begins to fill the hall. It is glorious. Every stop is used ... every pedal is touched. The few other people in the



hall stop what they are doing and move closer to the organ to see who is playing it. Familiar melodies turn into improvisational journeys.

« Good god lad ... 'oo did you say this man was ? »

« I believe he said his name was Bruckner ... Anton Bruckner ... from Austria. »

« Never heard of him ... »

« Do you want me to ask him to leave ? The steam is all but gone now. »

« Are you daft ? On the contrary ... start the fires back up. I have not heard anyone play like this since “ Monsieur ” (Camille) Saint-Saëns was here a couple of weeks ago. Good god ... this is incredible. »

...

Max Auer tells the story of his return late from his first visit to the Royal Albert Hall, peering-out of the horse-drawn « omnibus » trying to recognize the « Muster Gasthaus » at Number 30 « Finsbury Square » (the « Seyd's Deutscher Gasthof » main-entrance is at Number 39) . Seyd's German Inn whose name he would have forgotten, only to be rescued by a Viennese barber who had shaved him before and recognized him :

« Herr Professor ! » he shouted, and led him off the bus.

(Bruckner liked to be shaved-up close, he could never find a hair-dresser who could cut his hair sufficiently short at a time when it was far from fashionable.)

The Hotel is long gone, but the place marked by a blue plaque donated by the Brunel University, put-up in 1971, to commemorate the Centennial of Bruckner's stay in London :

« On 29 July 1871 / the Austrian Composer / ANTON BRUCKNER / 1824-1896 / stayed in the house / which used to occupy this site. / Bruckner started work on his / 2nd Symphony during his / period in London. »

The site was formerly occupied by the City of London and East London dispensary for the destitute sick, on 35 Wilson street.

The site was formerly occupied by the City of London and East London dispensary for the destitute sick, on 35 Wilson street, Finsbury, E.C.

The site was previously known as Finsbury Fields, part of the old Moorfields outside the City walls. They were used from medieval times for archery and the Lord Mayor's Hunt, and in the early-17th Century trees were planted and

walks laid out. Following the Fire of London, in 1666, many people camped on the Fields, and plague victims were buried here. In the mid-18th Century, John Wesley and the early Methodists first preached in Finsbury Fields to large crowds. Finsbury Square was formally laid-out in the late-18th Century, but none of these early buildings survive.

...

Finsbury Fields were previously the old Moorfields, part of fens outside the City walls, the land belonging to St Paul's Cathedral. When the Wesleys first established the Methodist movement here, they preached in Finsbury Fields to large crowds and, until the late-18th Century, the area was little built on. Although plans for laying-out the area were drawn up in 1751 by George Dance senior, who was City Surveyor, Finsbury Square was eventually laid-out by his son George Dance junior between 1777 and 1792 who was attempting to recreate a « West-End » atmosphere in the City, the fine houses overlooking a circular garden. Finsbury Square was the first public place where gas lighting was permanently installed and was fashionable until the late-19th Century particularly among members of the medical profession. Among its famous residents were the missionary David Livingstone, who stayed here in 1856 and composer Anton Bruckner, who began his 2nd Symphony while staying here in 1871. None of the original houses remain, and the buildings surrounding the gardens are 20th Century, mostly modern.

Finsbury Square and Finsbury Circus were laid-out in the late-18th and early-19th Centuries as the nuclei of a high-class suburb that never achieved its full-potential and was subsequently converted to commercial use.

### London : Subway accident

On one of the following days, Bruckner went to rehearse at Albert Hall. This time, the mighty organ's steam-engines lasted half an hour longer than usual. This over-time period surely saved his life ! The subway train (which he had used before) was involved in a dramatic accident. As Bruckner arrived at the station, he saw with horror severely wounded users which were carried away.

### London : Kensington station

During his trip, Anton Bruckner was much taken by the subway system, getting in and out at Kensington station, near Albert Hall.

Kensington station was opened on 24 December 1868 by the Metropolitan Railway (later, the Metropolitan line) and the District Railway (later, the District line) . The Metropolitan Railway had previously opened an extension from Paddington (Praed Street) (now, Paddington) to Gloucester Road on 1 October 1868 and opened tracks to South Kensington to connect to the District Railway when the District Railway opened the first section of its line to Westminster. The original South Kensington station, designed by the Metropolitan Railway's engineer John Fowler, had 2 platforms although it was intended that this would be supplemented as District Railway services extended.

On 1 August 1870, the District Railway opened additional tracks between Gloucester Road and South Kensington. On

10 July 1871, the District Railway opened its own facilities at South Kensington. The enlarged station had 2 through platforms for each company and a bay platform for terminating Metropolitan Railway trains from the west. The junction between the 2 companies' tracks was also moved from the west-side of the station to the east-side.

On 1 February 1872, the District Railway opened a north-bound branch from its station at Earl's Court to connect to the West London Extension Joint Railway (now, the West London Line) at Addison Road (now, Kensington (Olympia)) . From that date, the « Outer Circle » service began running over the District Railway's tracks. The service was run by the North London Railway from its terminus at Broad Street (now demolished) in the City of London via the North London Line to Willesden Junction, then, the West London Line to Addison Road and the District Railway to Mansion House - at that time, the eastern terminus of the District Railway.

From 1 August 1872, the « Middle Circle » service also began operations through South Kensington, running from Moorgate along the Metropolitan Railway's tracks on the north-side of the « Inner Circle » to Paddington, then, over the Hammersmith & City Railway track to Latimer Road, then, via a now demolished link, on the West London Extension Joint Railway to Addison Road and the District Railway to Mansion House. The service was operated jointly by the Hammersmith & City Railway and the District Railway.

...

The Metropolitan Railway extended their line southwards from Praed Street (Paddington) to Gloucester Road on 1st October 1868 with a further extension to South Kensington to join the Metropolitan District Railway which was building a line west from Westminster. The joint Metropolitan Railway and Metropolitan District Railway station at South Kensington opened on 24 December 1868. The Metropolitan District Railway extended their line east to Mansion House on 3rd July 1871 and although the companies remained independent and were indeed rivals, each company operated its trains over the other's tracks in a joint service known as the « Inner Circle » although the circular route itself wasn't completed until 6 October 1884.

### Bruckner's London debut

**Tuesday, 1 August 1871** : The « London Times » announces upcoming organ concerts including Bruckner's inaugural recital at Albert Hall which is scheduled for tomorrow.

**Wednesday August 2, 1871** (noon time) : Anton Bruckner makes his London debut at Albert Hall.

Programme :

Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata in F major (BWV 540) .

Free improvisation upon the foregoing.

Georg Friedrich Händel : Fugue in D minor (HWV 428) .

Free improvisation (original) .

Johann Sebastian Bach : Free improvisation on Fugue in E major.

Free improvisation on English melodies.

### Toccata in F major (Johann Sebastian Bach)

The Toccata and Fugue in F major (**BWV 540**) is an organ work written by Johann Sebastian Bach. The toccata is thought to be written after 1714, and the fugue before 1731. It is thought by some that Bach joined together 2 previously separate pieces to create this work.

The toccata starts with a large linear canon (imitation theme, one hand imitating the other) over a pedal point in F major. It is then followed by a pedal solo vamping material from the canon. The canon is reiterated with some variations in the dominant in C major. This time, the hands are switched, and the left-hand leads the right. This is again followed by a long pedal solo. The 2 large canon flourishes cover 108 measures of the composition. The pedal solos cover 60 measures. The concerto movement exhibits a 7 part structure. The canons and pedal solos effect the departure from the home key of F to the dominant C, and the entire rest of the movement, with its concertante 3 part imitation and striking « proto-waltzes » , constitute the harmonic return. This formal pattern is unique within Bach's œuvre.

Hermann Keller expresses his rapture as follows :

« At the beginning, the extensive linear construction of the 2 voices in canon, the proud calmness of the solos in the pedal, the piercing chord strokes, the fiery upswing of the 2nd subject, the bold modulatory shifts, the inwardness of the 3 minor movements, the splendour of the end with the famous 3rd inversion of the 7th chord, who would not be enthralled by that ? »

Because of the range of the pedal parts, the organ at Weißenfels, with a pedal compass of f1, may be the organ the composition was written on. The Toccata (as a prelude) is proportionally the largest of all Bach's works in the format of prelude-fugue. It is often treated as a showpiece, with the ensuing fugue omitted. The Toccata's rhythmic signature suggests a « passe-pied » or a « musette » , although the monumental scale of the movement does not support these characterizations.

Nor does the harmonic adventurousness : 45 measures after the 2nd pedal solo there is a dominant chord which resolves deceptively to the 3rd inversion dominant applied to the « neapolitan » . In particular, the doubled root is found to move outward in contrary chromatic motion to a major 9th ; in the bass is a descending augmented unison, which absolutely could not be farther from the expected 5th. Bach implements this powerful deceptive cadence 3 times

in the piece ; it would not become idiomatic until Chopin and Tchaïkovsky.

## Fugue

The 1st subject in the fugue is chromatic and ornamental. The 2nd subject has a lot of modulation shifts and is sometimes initially presented as the counter-subject of the 1st. The Fugue is Bach's only thorough-going double fugue, where 2 subjects are exposed in separate sections and then combined. The effect is enhanced by the increasing rhythmic activity of the 2nd subject and by the more frequent use of modulation in the final section of the fugue.

The bravura of the F major toccata, with its pedal solos and manual virtuosity, contrasts sharply with the rather sober opening of the Fugue. Both represent 2 diverse aspects of Italian influence : the motoric rhythms and sequential passage-work of the Toccata, and the traditional « alla breve » counterpoint of the Fugue, with its chromaticism, harmonic suspensions, and uninterrupted succession of subjects and answers. These techniques are very similar to those used in the « Dorian » Toccata and Fugue in D minor (**BWV 538**) .

The Aria in F major (**BWV 587**) is believed to be a middle-movement of this composition, thereby, debunking the idea that Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C major (**BWV 564**) is Bach's only 3 movement organ composition apart from the 6 Trio Sonatas.

(From **BWV 548**)

This massive work, requiring a good 15 minutes in performance, is one of Bach's most important and flamboyant organ compositions. Unlike most of his other preludes and fugues, this one seems to be a mature work written after Bach settled in Leipzig, in 1723. Unexpectedly, it's the prelude that displays the most severe musical architecture, while the fugue is comparatively free-wheeling (and harder to play) . The grand prelude is cast in a verse and refrain structure, but employs 3 related thematic elements - 2 for the verses. The refrain initially arches across 18 bars of the score ; after the 1st verse, it returns in the dominant, establishing the tonality for the 2nd verse. Here, Bach introduces the 3rd theme, a dotted figure linked to the themes of both the refrain and the 1st verse. After this 2nd verse, the refrain returns, modulating into the sub-dominant, where the 3rd verse develops the themes presented in the 1st 2. The refrain returns one last time ; under the influence of the dominant pedal note that introduces it, the refrain avoids returning to the tonic until its very last chord. Despite its strict melodic structure, the prelude is a great harmonic adventure.

Now comes the fugue, which manages to fall into ternary form while following the usual fugal conventions. The 1st of the 3 sections is a self-contained fugue, complete with its own exposition, modulations, and episodes. The fugue theme is something of a chromatic wedge expanding around a tonic point, this wedge giving the work its nickname. The theme picks-up 2 chromatic counter-subjects during the 1st exposition. After the harmonic tension and surprise of this 1st section, the fugue's 2nd section settles into the principal key. This portion is a 100 measure toccata, full of extremely virtuosic runs. The fugue theme pops-up now and then and is also echoed in the pedal material, but doesn't fully reassert itself until the 3rd panel of this triptych, which until near the end is a note-for-note repetition of the

Ist section. The work ends, however, in a resplendent Picardy 3rd, concluding this otherwise minor-mode fugue in a blaze of E major.

### The other Albert Hall concerts

**Thursday, 3 August 1871** (3:00 pm) : Second organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

Programme :

Felix Mendelssohn : Organ Sonata, Opus 65, No. 1.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Fugue in C-sharp minor (BWV 849) .

Free improvisation on Mendelssohn's Organ Sonata.

Free improvisation on the Austrian National Anthem, « Sei gesegnet ohne Ende » , based on Franz-Josef Haydn's « Gott erhalte » .

Free improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja » from « Messiah » .

Free improvisation.

**Friday, 4 August 1871** (3:00 pm) : Third organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Organ Concerto in A minor (BWV 593) .

Free improvisation.

Free improvisation on Carl Maria von Weber's « Der Freischütz » .

Johann Sebastian Bach : Fugue in G minor.

Free improvisation.

Free improvisation on Great Britain's National Anthem, « God Save the Queen » .

**Saturday, 5 August 1871** (noon time) : Fourth organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Organ Concerto in C major (BWV 595) .

Free improvisation.

Free improvisation on the « Lorelei » Lied (Heinrich Heine, 1822) .

Johann Sebastian Bach : Fugue in G minor.

Free improvisation on Franz Schubert's « Fremd bin ich eingezogen » .

Free improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja » from « Messiah » .

...

Letter from the Imperial Court's Office to the Austrian ambassador in London, Count Rudolf Apponyi :

Anton Bruckner had already left for London. Request to support him on a benevolent basis. Visa endorsements by Eduard Wlassack, Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstürst. and Charles Raymond.

...

Although Bruckner had already played for the first time, on **Wednesday August 2, 1871**, the then widely read « Musical World » published, on **Saturday August 5, 1871**, the following rather reserved announcement :

« “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner, Court Organist at Vienna, and Professor to the “ Conservatorium ” of that city, has arrived in London to play on the great organ of the Royal Albert Hall. The dates of his performance will shortly be announced. It takes some little time to become acquainted with the details of so large an instrument. “ Herr ” Bruckner’s strong points are said to be Classical improvisations on Händel, Bach, and Mendelssohn. »

**Sunday, 6 August 1871** : Organ competition at Albert Hall ?

**Monday, 7 August 1871** : Fifth organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata.

Free improvisation.

Free improvisation on a theme by Felix Mendelssohn.

Free improvisation on a melody by Franz Schubert.

Free improvisation on Felix Mendelssohn's « Hunter's Farewell » (« Der Jäger Abschied ») .

**Tuesday, 8. August 1871** (3:00 pm) : Sixth organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Fugue in E minor (?) .

Free improvisation.

Free improvisation on a German melody.

Free improvisation on a theme by Franz Schubert.

Free improvisation on a fugue.

Free improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja » from « Messiah » .

An improvisation competition may also have taken place during this concert. Bruckner's « rivals » include :

William Thomas Best (Albert Hall) ; Gustaf Hjalmar Heintze (Stockholm) ; Johann Lohr (Budapest) ; Alphonse Maily (Brussels) .

The foreign organists were greatly disadvantaged because they did not have as much preparation and practice on the mighty instrument (built by Henry « Father » Willis) as William Thomas Best, the house-organist at Albert Hall.

**Friday, 11 August 1871** (3:00 pm) : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

**Saturday, 12 August 1871** (noon time) : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Albert Hall.

**After Saturday, 12 August 1871** : Anton Bruckner uses his concert-free days to visit the city of London by consulting Greaves' Travel Guide (« London and surroundings ») which gave him a detailed description of London's Tower.

### London : Double-decker omnibuses

While in London, Anton Bruckner was much taken by the double-decker « omnibuses » horse-drawn by 2 horses with the conductor perched on his platform at the back. The « knife-board » type double-deck bus was the standard vehicle during the 1860's and 1870's. It acquired this name because of the seating arrangement on top where passengers, sitting back to back on the long seat, resembled the knife-boards commonly seen in Victorian kitchens. The buses would be identified by route description and destination rather than numbers. In the week he had off, between his organ recitals at the Royal Albert Hall and those at the Crystal Palace, Bruckner went sight-seeing, clutching his guide-book, Grieben's « London und Umgebung » (London and its surroundings) , and was especially interested in the Tower of London, of which he obtained a detailed description.



The 2 types of horse-bus (« knife-board » or « garden-seat ») generally carried around 26 passengers and had either 3 or 4 side-windows, being known as the « 3 light » or « 4 light » type, respectively. Front wheels were smaller than those at the rear, and top-deck passengers were exposed to the elements. Many buses were identified by their colour to aid identification and were generally plastered with advertisements. Route information was carried on wooden boards and also painted directly onto the vehicle, occasionally being abbreviated, e.g. , « CT & KR » (Camden Town & Kent Road) ; and « BS & W » (Baker Street & Waterloo) .

Horse-buses were in service for around 15 hours per day and needed a stud, or around 10 horses plus 1 or 2 spares. The services were very much patronized by the middle-classes - the horse-tramways of the 1870's, with their lower-fares, being the preserve of the working-classes. 2 horses were normally used with a 3rd (« cock horse ») often being added on hilly routes.

### London : the Crystal Palace concerts

**Saturday, 19 August 1871** : First organ concert by Anton Bruckner at London's Crystal Palace.

The registration instructions for the Mendelssohn Organ Sonata (Opus 65, No. 1) have been preserved.

Ainstie Barry described one of Bruckner's improvisations in his program booklet of May 23, 1887.

Bruckner meets Crystal Palace's organist, James Coward (who gives Bruckner a book of Madrigals) ; also : Ainstie Barry, E. Sommer, « Kapellmeister » and organist Theodor Mann, and many others personalities whose business-cards were found in Bruckner's estate.

Karl Lorenz reports that Bruckner later repeated an improvisation from his Crystal Palace recital during a University lecture.

**Monday, 21 August 1871 (2:00 pm)** (German National Day) : Crystal Palace concert celebrating the unification of Germany.

Programme :

Works by Carl Maria von Weber, Franz Abt, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Georg Friedrich Händel, Wilhelm Speyer, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Franz Schubert.

Free improvisations by Anton Bruckner on Schubert's « Ständchen » (Serenade) and Karl Wilhelm's « Wacht am Rhein » .

At the end of the concert, when Bruckner was asked to play an improvisation of « Die Wacht am Rhein » (The Watch on the Rhine) , he could not remember the tune. One of the hotel servants, who was in the audience, helped him out

by whistling the melody softly. The servant was a fellow-Austrian, from Prague.

In the evening, organ concert by James Coward with works by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Giovanni Buonaventura Viviani, Julius Benedict, Georg Friedrich Händel, Ludwig van Beethoven and Felix Mendelssohn.

**Tuesday, 22 August 1871** : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Crystal Palace - in front of 70,000 listeners !

At the end of the concert, he was carried in triumph on the shoulders of enthusiastic Londoners. Bruckner's official interpreter took the opportunity to send a marriage proposal to a lady who fell under his spell.

A female admirer advised Bruckner, through an interpreter, to learn the language of Shakespeare in anticipation of his next visit to England. In all likelihood, the composer conveys this message without any real malice :

« Tell the lady that she should learn German if she wants to talk to me. »

Bruckner never succeeded in undoing this mentality of provincial petty bourgeois, anchored in him from childhood. It seems that he later regretted his lack of tact towards the nice lady.

Although Bruckner was satisfied with his London success, he was less happy than he had been in Paris 2 years previously. In London, he did not meet any of the prominent musicians ; he was lonely and rather lost in that metropolis.

**Wednesday, 23 August 1871** : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Crystal Palace.

Letter from Anton Bruckner to Moritz von Mayfeld :

Bruckner talks about his recent successful organ-concerts : much praise, requests for « encores » , compliments from « Kapellmeister » and organist Theodor Manns. Greetings from Vice-Consul Doctor von Pinsio (?) . Bruckner will return to Vienna via Brussels. The scheduled concerts in Germany, Berlin, Holland and Switzerland are postponed. Greetings to « Frau » Barbara von Mayfeld. Yesterday, Bruckner played at Crystal Palace in front of 70,000 listeners. No music-reviews are to be expected in the « London Times » . Bruckner asks Doctor Anton Tužek (1824-1879) for a notification in the « Linzer Zeitung » .

**Saturday, 26 August 1871** : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Crystal Palace.

**Sunday, 27 August 1871** : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Crystal Palace.

**Monday, 28 August 1871** (3:00 pm) : Organ concert by Anton Bruckner at Crystal Palace.

Works by Felix Mendelssohn, Johann Sebastian Bach and free improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja »

from « Messiah » .

...

One sees how very fond Bruckner was of improvisation, in which art he was, by all contemporary accounts, a past-Master. Which before his journey to London, he said to a pupil in his Upper-Austrian dialect :

« No, i werd net lang den Bach einwerggin, dös sollen die machen, die ka Phantasie haben, i spiel über a frei's Thema. »

Which might be rendered as :

« Noa, I doan't care for grindin out lots o' Bach. They can do that as 'as no imagination o' their oawn. I plays always as I likes. »

In the course of a week, Bruckner gave 6 recitals at the Albert Hall with such success that August Manns, the famous conductor of the Crystal Palace « Saturday Concerts » , engaged him for 4 more. I quote here a letter of August 23 from Bruckner to an influential Linz acquaintance - the only one so far published from which we can glean further particulars of his stay in London :

« Just finish. Played 10 times ; 6 times at the Albert Hall, 4 times at the Crystal Palace. Tremendous applause, endless every time. Encores demanded. In particular, I often had to repeat a couple of improvisations. Both places, the same. Heaps of compliments, congratulations, invitations. “ Kapellmeister ” Manns of the Crystal Palace told me he was astonished and that I was to come again soon and send him my compositions. Yesterday, I played before 70,000 people \* and had to give encores as the Committee asked me to - for I didn't want to, in spite of the tremendous applause. On Monday, I played with equal success at the concert.

N.B. : Unfortunately, the critic of “ The Times ” is in Germany : so, hardly anything will be written about me “ now ”. Please, let the Linz papers know something of this. »

\* 70,000 people : This was at the German National « Fête » at the Crystal Palace, on August 19.

The postscript betrays clearly that Bruckner attached some importance to having his recitals noticed by the critics. As a matter of fact, the important « dailies » published nothing but the bare announcements. It was summer and these recitals, given mainly for the benefit of visitors to the Exhibition, were apparently not taken very seriously in musical circles. Still, in the already mentioned « Musical World » , we find reports striking and, by no means, enthusiastic note. There is mention of « 2nd rate foreigners » and of the « modest mediocrity » of some of the foreign organists and « a little discretion in the selection » of the artists is demanded (a little too late) of the management. Bruckner himself comes-off comparatively well :

« He has given us a grand “ extempore Fantasia ”, which although not very original in thought or design, was clever, remarkable for its canonic counterpoint and for the surmounting of much difficulty in the pedal passages. »

But now comes the blow :

« There can be nothing said extemporaneously upon the National Anthem of Austria, and still less upon the “ Hallelujah ” Chorus of Händel ; nor do we think any improvisation with any effect can be given upon the Toccatas of Bach or the Sonatas of Mendelssohn. Great composers exhaust their themes. Nothing can be added to the “ Hallelujah ” Chorus, nothing to a toccata of Sebastian Bach. »

What impression was made on Bruckner by London as a town, we do not know. He left at the end of August (by the way, he had begun the Finale of his 2nd Symphony here, on August 10) intending to return next year and tour the provinces. But nothing came of this. 4 years later, he received from the Royal Exhibition Commission a medal for his successful collaboration. Once later, in 1886, he thought of coming to London to conduct his 7th Symphony in place of Hans Richter, who was ill. But this plan, too, came to nothing. A few trips to Germany to hear performances of his works were the only occasions on which Bruckner went abroad in later years. Moreover, organ-playing gradually drifted into the background as Bruckner began to concentrate more and more on Symphonic composition. As he once put it himself :

« What my fingers play is forgotten, but what they have written will not be forgotten. »

Another music-critic reported :

« The executions by this disciple of art are truly excellent and quite worthy of the fatherland of Haydn and Mozart. “ Herr ” Bruckner executes the Classical compositions of Bach and Mendelssohn and others with a facility which leaves the ear nothing to desire and which would even certainly satisfied the composer himself in the highest degree » .

### A providential return home

**After Monday, 28 August 1871** : Anton Bruckner may have given organ concerts apart from the programmed recitals at Crystal Palace.

While in London, music-critics urged him to publish his compositions.

Offers for concert tours in England in 1871 and 1872.

Bruckner was offered for 1872 a concert-tour through the most important English cities for a tidy sum of 100,000 Guilders (« Gulden ») , 100 times what he earns in Vienna annually !

The provincial Bruckner leaves London after a stay that lasted one month, ignoring the offer to compose freely without

financial worries.

Fortunately, his return trip to Vienna (with a stop in Brussels) will prove to be « providential » .

Later, he reported to his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber that he missed the scheduled boarding on his ship. The latter will sink, taking with him many passengers. Bruckner never set foot again in England.

The travel anecdotes illustrate the extent to which Bruckner was uncomfortable outside his Upper-Austrian country, especially when he did not share the same language. He preferred to be surrounded by his fellow compatriots. He never showed any desire to learn the basics of the local language, or to discover the lifestyle of the foreigners who welcomed him with open arms. Not feeling at home even during his stay in Vienna, one must imagine his degree of discomfort in London.

**Linz : « Gasthof Stadt Brunn »**

**September 1871** : Anton Bruckner spends part of his summer vacations in St. Florian and Wels. While in Linz, he tells about his recent journey (organ-tour) to England to some friends gathered at the « Gasthof zur Stadt Brunn » (guest-house to the City of Brno) .

**London : Fear of cholera**

**Saturday, 19 August 1871** : Great alarm appears to be felt in London about the cholera (an alarm very useful in many ways) but the few facts known do not justify it. Cholera, after being endemic in Russia for 2, or, as some say, for 5 years, has reached Königsberg on the East Prussian frontier, but there is no proof that it is marching. No evidence of its progress is given, and the deaths, which were originally 2 in 3, are now 1 in 2. It is worth while in a time of panic to remember that as far as evidence can prove anything, it is certain that cholera is not communicated by touch, that the cause of contagion is an ezlaviurn from the fleece, and that diarrhea, apart from the poison, can no more develop into the Asiatic disease than gout can develop into paralysis. The statement made this week that cholera, has appeared in London is unfounded, and there is little probability that it will appear till next year - when it may be terrible. Meanwhile, the best precautions are the suppression of cesspools and expenditure on pure water. The only drug-palliative worth a straw is opium.

**June 1866** : A localized epidemic of cholera in the East-End of London claimed 5,596 lives, just as the city was completing construction of its major sewage and water-treatment systems ; the East-End section was not quite complete. Epidemiologist William Farr identified the East London Water Company as the source of the contamination. Farr made use of prior work by John Snow and others pointing to contaminated drinking water as the likely cause of cholera in an **1854** outbreak. Quick action prevented further deaths. In the same year, the use of contaminated canal water in local water-works caused a minor outbreak at Ystalyfera in South Wales. Workers associated with the company and their families were most affected, and 119 died.

## Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1871-1872

Am Wiener Konservatorium unterrichtet Bruckner folgende Schüler :

Hermine Adametz (Kontrapunkt) ; Guido Adler (Kontrapunkt) ; Max Ambros von Rechtenberg (Orgel) ; Josef Bachmeyer (Harmonielehre) ; Julius Czeglédy (Orgel) ; Wilhelm Kachler (Orgel) ; Franz Kliwar (Josef Kliwar ?) (Harmonielehre) ; Josef Lamberg (Kontrapunkt) ; Felix Mottl (Kontrapunkt) ; Johann Mötz (Harmonielehre) ; Heinrich Paschko (Kontrapunkt) ; Johann Pummer (Harmonielehre) ; Ignaz Reidinger (Kontrapunkt) ; Nicolaus Schaumburg (Harmonielehre) ; Josef Siebert (Kontrapunkt) ; Hermann Steudner (Harmonielehre) ; Alois Walach (Harmonielehre) ; Gustav Walter (Kontrapunkt, Orgel, « aus Arad in Ungarn, 22 Jahre ») und Carl Wolfrum (Kontrapunkt) .

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 3. Lehrkörper » :

Fußnote : « Im Laufe dieses Schuljahres hat der Generalsekretär Herr Leopold Alexander Zellner seine Stelle als Professor der Harmonielehre (seit 1868) wegen Überhäufung mit Geschäften zurückgelegt. »

I. Herr Anton Bruckner Professor (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) , seit 1868 (4 Jahr) . »

Folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Julius Desing, Julius Egghard, Reinhold Hummer, Louise Kaulich, Josef Lamberg (« aus Pest in Ungarn ») , Josef Latzelsberger, Arthur Nikisch, Emil Paur, Adolf Wallnöfer (Bariton) und Julius Winkler.

Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den 7 männlichen Orgelschülern (sämtlich in der Ausbildungsstufe) 3 ganz und 2 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren und von den 16 männlichen Kontrapunktschülern (alle in der Vorbildungsstufe) alle befreit waren.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« Orgel, 3 Classen.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 6 ; effectiver : 7 ; mehr : 1.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 12, sonach im Jahre ... 120.

Gelehrt wurden in progressiver Folge :

In der I. Klasse : Manual- und Pedalspiel ; Cadenzen, Vorspiele, Generalbaßspiel.

In der II. und III. Klasse : Höhere Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonate, Konzerte. Und Kontrapunkt, 2 Classen (2 Lehrer) .

Effectiver Schülerstand :

16, monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 36, sonach im Jahre ... 360.

Gelehrt wurden :

In der I. Klasse : Einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunct der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

In der II. Klasse : Drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt, Canon, Doppelfuge. »

### Bruckner plays Liszt

**December 1871** : Anton Rubinstein conducts in Vienna Franz Liszt's « Christmas Oratorio » in 5 movements (part I of « Christus ») in presence of the composer. Anton Bruckner is presiding at the organ.

I. Motivum - Introduction.

II. Pastorale and Annunciation.

III. Stabat Mater speciosa (« Stood the beautiful Mother ») .

IV. Song of the Shepherds at the Manger.

V. The 3 Kings.

### Brahms : « Karlsgasse » Number 4

**End of December 1871** : Johannes Brahms moves into rooms at « Karlsgasse » Number 4, which will remain his address until the end of his life.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (July 1872)

**Tuesday, 9 July 1872** :

Schüler mit besonders guten Leistungen werden eigens erwähnt :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(4 Zöglinge.)

### I. Klasse

Lobenswerth : Julius Czeglédy, Wilhelm Kachler.

### II. Klasse

Lobenswerth : Gustav Walter.

### III. Klasse

Vorzüglich : Max Ambros von Rechtenberg. »

...

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(10 Zöglinge.)

Vorzüglich : Franz Kliwar, Johann Mötz, Johann Pummer, Hermann Steudner.

Lobenswerth : Josef Bachmeyer, Julius Czeglédy, Nicolaus Schaumburg, Alois Walach. »

...

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(9 Zöglinge.)

### I. Klasse

Vorzüglich : Felix Mottl.

Lobenswerth : Guido Adler, Ignaz Reidinger, Gustav Walter.

### II. Klasse

Vorzüglich : Hermine Adametz, Josef Lamberg.

Lobenswerth : Max Ambros von Rechtenberg, Josef Siebert, Carl Wolfrum. »



...

Klassenprämien erhielten Anton Bruckners Schüler dieses Schuljahr nur in Musiktheorie :

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

1. Prämie : Hermann Steudner.

2. Prämie : Johann Mötz.

(...)

Kontrapunktschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Felix Mottl.

II. Klasse

1. Prämie : Josef Lamberg.

2. Prämie : Hermine Adametz. »

...

« Verzeichniß der Schüler, welche in diesem Schuljahre ihr Hauptfach absolvirten.

Diese sind :

Herr Max Ambros von Rechtenberg ... (Orgel.) (...) »

...

« Verzeichniß der absolvirten Schüler, welchen das Diplom ausgefolgt wurde.

Diese sind :

Herr Max Ambros von Rechtenberg ... (Orgel.) (...) » (Nach dem 25. Juli 1871.)

## Hans Rott's mother

**Wednesday, 14 August 1872** : Actress and singer Maria Rosalia Rott, « née » Lutz (born in 1840) dies. Her boy, Hans, is 14 year old at the time.

## Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1872-1873

Anton Bruckners Schüler am Wiener Konservatorium sind Heinrich Benies (Harmonielehre) ; Julius Czegledy (Harmonielehre) ; Ludwig Emanuel (Harmonielehre) ; Eugen Grünberg (Kontrapunkt) ; Karl Kittel (Harmonielehre) ; Franz Kliwar (Kontrapunkt) ; Felix Mottl (Kontrapunkt) ; Johann Mötz, Johann Pummer, Hermann Steudner, Johann Straka (Harmonielehre) ; und Alois Walach (Kontrapunkt) .

...

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 3. Lehrkörper :

Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.

I Herr Anton Bruckner Professor (Kontrapunkt und Orgel) , seit 1868, 5 Jahr. »

...

Folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Julius Egghard, Reinhold Hummer, Louise Kaulich, Rudolf Krzyżanowski (« aus Eger in Böhmen, 13 1/2 Jahre ») , Josef Latzelsberger, Arthur Nikisch, Emil Paur, Hermine Proschko (« aus Linz in Oberösterreich, 21 1/2 Jahre ») , Josef Staudigl und Julius Winkler.

Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den 5 männlichen Orgelschülern (sämtlich in der Ausbildungsstufe) 1 ganz und 2 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren und von den 27 (26 männlichen) Kontrapunktschülern (alle in der Vorbildungsstufe) 26 ganz und 1 halb befreit waren (siehe die Anmerkung) .

...

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« In den Vorbildungsschulen :

(...)

Orgel, I Klasse.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden : Übungen im Manual- und Pedalspiele nach Christian Heinrich Rincks Practische Orgelschule. (...) In den Ausbildungsschulen (...) Orgel, 2 Classen.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden in progressiver Folge : Die höheren Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonate, Konzerte. (...)

“ Kontrapunkt, 2 Classen (2 Lehrer) .

Effectiver Schülerstand : 27.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

Gelehrt wurden :

In der I. Klasse : Einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunkt der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

In der II. Klasse : Drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt, Canon, Doppelfuge. ” »

### Rehearsing the 2nd Symphony

**Between Wednesday, 23 and Saturday, 26 October 1872** : Rehearsals of the 2nd Symphony (**WAB 102**) with the Vienna Philharmonic under Otto Dessoff - the only Orchestra capable of giving a good performance. Franz Liszt is present. Bruckner strives for simplicity to facilitate its execution and acceptance.

After a first rehearsal (sight reading) , Dessoff and members of the Philharmonic dismissed it as unplayable and meaningless, though it had already won the admiration of Liszt.

The first flutist replied to the Mæstro by saying :

« Someone who writes a mass like the Mass in F cannot compose foolish things. »

(Themes of the F minor Mass are found in the second and fourth movements of the 2nd Symphony.)

Bruckner will hear his former examiner, Johann Herbeck, after the rehearsal, exclaim :

« If Brahms was able to write a Symphony like this, the hall would collapse with applause. »

When Barbara (« Betty ») von Mayfeld played the Symphony at the piano, Bruckner fell at his knees and exclaimed :

« “ Madame ”, you are a goddess. »

After a wealthy patron, Johann Merbeck, had volunteered to underwrite costs, the new Symphony was finally performed at the « Musikverein » as part of the closing celebrations of the 1873 International Exhibition, on **Sunday, 26 October.**

The Symphony received enthusiastic approval from critics and public alike ; Bruckner received an ovation, and even the feared music-critic Eduard Hanslick temporarily stayed his barbed pen, finding positive things to say about the piece.

Bruckner celebrated this personal victory at the popular guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District.

### Iglau : Čzap Hotel

**Saturday, 17 May 1873** : In celebration of the 21st anniversary of the Jihlava (Iglau) « Mannergesang-Verein » , the 12 year old Gustav Mahler plays on piano Sigismond Thalberg's Fantasia on Themes from « Norma » in the « Kleiner Fest-Saal » of Hotel Čzap, located at Number 15-1696 Zizkova Street (Sct. Johann's « Platz » Number 50-51) ; now, the « Dělnický dům » (Workers Home) . Both the male-choir and the female-choir participated in the mixed-program « soirée » .

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (Mid-July 1873)

**Wednesday, 2 July 1873** :

Anton Bruckners Schüler werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(Unter 10 Zöglingen.)

1. Grad : Karl Kittel, Ludwig Emanuel, Johann Straka.

2. Grad : Heinrich Benies. »

...

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

(Unter 9 Zöglingen.)

1. Grad : Hermann Steudner, Johann Mört.

2. Grad : Julius Czegledy, Eugen Grünberg, Josef Kliwar, Johann Pummer, Alois Walach.

II. Klasse

(Unter 3 Zöglingen.)

1. Grad : Felix Mottl. »

...

In der Übersicht der Schüler mit Klassifizierung bei der Jahresprüfung sind verzeichnet :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(2 Zöglinge.)

I. Klasse

2. Grad : Julius Czegledy.

II. Klasse

2. Grad : Gustav Walter.

Fußnote : zum Concurs (am 12. Juli 1873) zugelassen. »

...

Klassenprämien erhielten :

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

1. Prämie : Carl Kittel.

2. Prämie : Ludwig Emanuel. »

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Hermann Steudner.

2. Prämie : Johann Mötz.

II. Klasse

1. Prämie : Felix Mottl. »

**1873 : Bruckner's summer vacation**

**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 2nd or 3rd Symphony) . For 28 years, Wagner made regular visits to Marienbad.

**Karlsbad : « Hotel Anger »**

**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.

Stephan Janetschek grew-up in a musical home. His father, Josef Janetschek, was a flutist at the « Deutsches Theater » in Budapest. His younger sister Aloisia (1871-1947) was a concert pianist. His uncle, Alois Janetschek, director of church music in Karlovy Vary, supported the sick Johannes Brahms there, in August 1896. Janetschek was given a bust of Richard Wagner on the occasion of his 40 years' service jubilee of Karlovy Vary.

Note : If the date is **Wednesday, 6 August 1873**, a « several-day » stay in Karlsbad is questionable. Bruckner actually must have started his summer vacation on **Monday, August 4**.

« Water taken in moderation is not harmful »

Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Maria Feodorovna, the widow of Tsar Alexander III, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, Friedrich Schiller, Prince Clemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich, the economist Karl Marx with his daughter Eleonor, Ludwig van Beethoven, Otto von Bismarck, Empress Elisabeth und Emperor Franz-Josef I - these were all among the famous visitors to the spa at Karlsbad.

From the Middle-Ages onwards, many Habsburgs had visited various warm-water springs for the treatment of their illnesses, particularly Gastein (in the modern province of Salzburg) . A stay at a spa was believed to alleviate such complaints as metabolic disorders, diseases of the gastro-intestinal tract that were caused mostly by unbalanced diet during the winter months, and rheumatic disorders. Maria Theresa described thermal baths as « natural health pharmacies » .

From the medical point-of-view, taking the waters and spending time at a spa became a central component of the balneological research which flourished during the 18th Century.

Apart from the question of health, however, the entertainment of spa-guests was also of primary importance. One place that was especially popular with the nobility and later also the bourgeoisie in the 18th Century was Karlsbad in Bohemia, named after Charles IV (1316-1378) . Luxury hotels, casinos, and a programme of social events in the immediate vicinity were intended to guarantee a sophisticated spa-holiday. It was not without reason that Johann Wolfgang von Goethe described Karlsbad as the « chess-board of Europe » , where business agreements were as much part of the routine as love-affairs. But this kind of social and indulgent spa-holiday could only be afforded by a small sector of society, for the high spa-charges favoured the « élite » . Accordingly, in the 19th Century, the aristocratic spa-visitors became very heated about the increasing numbers of the middle-classes they were forced to mix with. These early beginnings of spa-tourism were ultimately also the result of improving transport infrastructure and the expanding rail network.

### Physicians of Karlsbad

(The order in which they began practising in Karlsbad.)

**1830** : DE HOCHBERGER

**1858** : STARK

**1864** : SCHNEE

**1867** : NEUBAUER

**1869 : MAYER**

**1870 : J. KRAUS**

**1871 : KAFKA**

**1872 : ALFRED GRÜNBERGER.**

**1874 : LÖWENSTEIN**

**1874 : LANG**

**1874 : SZTANKOVÁNSZKY**

**1875 : HASSEWICZ**

**1875 : PLESCHNER**

**1876 : LONDON**

**1877 : HERZTKA**

**1877 : MLADY**

**1877 : CARTELLIERI**

**1877 : ROSENZWEIG**

**1879 : FRIEDENTHAL**

**1880 : HOFMEISTER**

**1881 : KÁLLAY**

**1881 : FREUND**

**1881 : GANS**

**1882 : S. HIRSCH**

**1882 : LÖWY**

**1882 : STICHE**



**1882 : SELIGMANN**

**1884 : KRETOWICZ**

**1884 : A. HERRMANN**

**1884 : KLEEN**

**1884 : BAYER**

**1885 : BECHER**

**1885 : RUFF**

**1885 : SCHUMAN-LECLERCQ**

**1886 : STRUNZ**

**1886 : HOCHBERGER junior**

**1886 : POLLATSCHEK**

**1887 : POLLITZER**

**1887 : RITTER**

**1887 : PREIB**

**1887 : PADOWETZ**

**1889 : O. KRAUS**

**1889 : E. HIRSCH**

**1889 : ERÉNYI**

**1890 : AHNELT**

**1890 : HOFFMANN**

**1890 : TUGENDHAT**

**1891 : REICHEL**

**1891 : POPPER**

**1891 : KLEMPERER**

**1892 : TYRNAUER**

**1892 : SPITZER**

**1892 : NAGL**

**1892 : ENGEL**

**1892 : FRANK**

**1892 : GLASER**

**1892 : C. HERMANN**

**1892 : WALLISCH**

**1893 : MERA**

**1893 : MUNK**

**1893 : ÖSTREICHER**

**1893 : NEUSTADL**

**1893 : FINK**

**1893 : KUGLER**

**1893 : BERNHARTH**

**1893 : R. HOFMEISTER**

**1893 : MÜLLER**

**1894 : STEIDL**

**1894 : FISCHER**

**1894 : ZATLOUKAL**

1894 : TCEPFER

1894 : BRANDEISZ

1894 : TAUSSIG

1894 : J. HIRSCH

1894 : SAMISCH

1894 : LORÁND

1895 : FRIEDLÄNDER

1895 : AUSTERLITZ

1895 : RÜLING

1895 : KURY

1895 : GINTL

1895 : F. KRAUS junior

1895 : LEBOVICI

1895 : GROß

### Notable people associated with Karlsbad

Johann Sebastian Bach, German composer.

Ludwig van Beethoven, composer, came for spa treatments. He and the poet Goethe would take walks together, much to the delight of the local people.

Franz Liszt, Hungarian composer.

Richard Wagner, German composer.

Johannes Brahms, German composer.

Antonín Dvořák, Czech composer.

Edvard Grieg, Norwegian composer.

Frédéric Chopin, Polish composer ; he and his parents met for the last time during a holiday in Karlsbad, in August-September 1835.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, German poet, novelist, philosopher, scientist ; he lived in the house named « Zu den Drei Mohren » .

Friedrich Schiller, German poet.

Adalbert Stifter, Austrian writer.

Peter I of Russia visited Karlovy Vary, in 1711.

Josef II, Emperor of Austria.

Jean de Carro, Swiss physician, published the « Almanach de Karlsbad » .

...

Karlovy Vary (or Karlsbad) is a spa-town situated in western Bohemia, Czech Republic, on the confluence of the rivers Ohře and Teplá, approximately 130 kilometres (81 miles) west of Prague (« Praha ») . It is named after King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, who founded the city, in 1370. It is historically famous for its hot springs (13 main springs, about 300 smaller springs, and the warm-water Teplá River) . It is the most visited spa-town in the Czech Republic.

The first Celtic settlers came there before the Middle-Ages.

On 14 August 1370, Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor and Czech king, gave the city privileges to the place that, subsequently, was named after him. According to legend after he had acclaimed the healing power of the hot springs.

Due to publications by doctors such as David Becher and Josef von Löschner, the city developed into a famous spa-resort, and was visited by many members of European aristocracy. It became popular after the railway lines to Eger (« Cheb ») and Prague were completed, in 1870.

The number of visitors rose from 134 families, in the 1756 season, to 26,000 guests annually, at the end of the 19th Century.

The Karlsbad Decrees of 1819 had associated the city with anti-Liberal censorship within the German Confederation.

In the 19th Century, it became a popular tourist destination, especially known for international celebrities visiting for spa treatment. The city is also known for the popular Czech liqueur, « Becherovka ». The glass manufacturer Moser Glass is located in Karlovy Vary. The famous « Karlovarské oplatky » (Karlsbad spa-wafers) originated in the city, in 1867. The city has also given its name to the delicacy known as « Karlsbad plums ». These plums (usually quetsch) are candied in hot syrup, then halved and stuffed into dried damsons ; this gives them a very intense flavour.

### **Marienbad : « Weißen Röbl Inn »**

**From Wednesday, 6 August 1873 (?)** : During his stop in Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně) , Anton Bruckner was staying at the « White Horse Inn » (« Weißen Röbl Inn ») , located at Number 5063 Kurgast (today, Černý kůn) . 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 2nd and 3rd Symphonies which he hoped to present to Richard Wagner. The first draft of the 3rd Symphony 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 9th 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 3rd Symphony.

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 3rd Symphony. »

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

Mariánské Lázně is a spa-town in the Karlovy Vary Region of the Czech Republic. The town, surrounded by green mountains, is a mosaic of parks and noble houses. Most of its buildings come from the town's Golden Era in the

second half of the 19th Century, when many celebrities and top European rulers came to enjoy the curative carbon dioxide springs.

German settlers were called into this region by Bohemian rulers from the Přemyslid dynasty in the 12th Century. Although the town itself is only about 200 years old, the locality has been inhabited much longer. The first written record dates back to 1273, when there was a village of Úšovice. The springs first appear in a document dating from 1341 where they are called « the Auschowitzer springs » belonging to the Tepl Abbey. It was only through the efforts of Doctor Josef Nehr, the Abbey's physician who, from 1779 until his death in 1820, worked hard to demonstrate the curative properties of the springs, that the waters began to be used for medicinal purposes. The place obtained its current name of Marienbad, in 1808 ; became a watering-place, in 1818 ; and received its charter as a town, in 1868.

The name Marienbad first appeared in 1786 ; since 1865, it has been a town. Then, a second period of growth, the town's Golden Era, came. Between 1870 and 1914, many new hotels, colonnades and other buildings, designed by Friedrich Zickler, Josef Schaffer, and Arnold Heymann, were constructed or rebuilt from older houses. In 1872, the town got a railway connection with the town of Eger (Cheb) and, thus, with the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire and the rest of Europe.

...

Mariánské Lázně started slow development in the 1800's, and it soon became one of Europe's most famous and popular holiday resorts. Travellers in those old days often made mention of this small, but very charming and delightful place. One of the earliest famous guests in the town was Gøethe, who was a lover of baths, and who carried the fame of Marienbad to far-away lands. The town was developing slowly until the 1870's when a new railway line was built, as a result of which more and more visitors arrived. The golden age of Mariánské Lázně arrived, a period of elegant health spa hotels with equally distinguished guests, and bubbling social life. By the beginning of the 1900's, the town was considered one of the best holiday resorts in the continent. A large number of wealthy guests seeking recovery from illness flooded the town, where they had the chance to meet the above mentioned famous people, in addition to finding a cure to their problems. The most attractive buildings in town (including hotels built in « Art Nouveau » and Empire style) originate from the great age of Marienbad, around the turn of the 19th Century. The town's Russian orthodox church was built for the Russian tsar, and its Colonnade is the longest such building in the world.

### The Marienbad Orchestra

The Marienbad Orchestra, that was founded in 1821, plays here in the summer. « Kursaal Casino » , built in 1899-1891, is another famous building in the town, including a special marble ballroom where the Orchestra holds several concerts during the winter. Today, the only change in Marienbad is that it offers all the services demanded by the modern traveller, while it has maintained its unique atmosphere from the turn of the Century. This former bath town has become a popular location for many conferences, where guests can enjoy all the most up-to-date services. For instance, in Villa Butterfly, the first hotel of the Danubius Hotels Group outside Hungary.

Marienbad, together with its Orchestra, grew-up in the renowned region of music and the time of their common rise, at the beginning of the 19th Century, corresponded to the period of an unusual bloom of spa-bands. The birth of the permanent Orchestra was determined by the decision of « Herr » Prelate Karl C. Reitenberger, then superior of Tepel monastery, the owner and founder of the spa, to legalize music performances in Marienbad, in 1821. The relatively small band which played at the springs several times a day, greeted the guests and took part in balls, increased very soon to a middle sized Orchestra. To promenade concerts further concerts increased, « café » concerts from which Symphonic concerts developed took an important place. From the end of the 19th Century, the Orchestra of Marienbad inclined distinctly to the performances of Symphonic music which was usually played on the « colonnade » . The capacity of « Marienbader » musicians to cope with an unbelievably extensive repertoire, their ability to perform as soloists, the success in tours abroad, the public appreciation of the composer Gaspare Spontini, the fact that the spa Orchestra inspired Louis Spohr to the composition of the Waltz entitled « Erinnerung an Marienbad » (Opus 89) and the fact that Richard Wagner dedicated them the copy of a part of the score of the Opera « Rienzi » show their high-level. The conductors were chosen very cautiously, often to the recommendation of the « Wiener » music authorities. The development of the « Marienbader » Orchestra was determined by the level of Marienbad itself and, by the composition of its « clientèle » and its activity, reflected clearly the calibre and the orientation of the town councillors.

The « Marienbader » musical tradition was not interrupted by any social or political changes and the performances of the Orchestra were not stopped either by a War or by post-War events. In connection with the fundamental change of the spa operation (from the 19th to the 20th Century) , the Orchestra combined the function of a spa-band with that of a permanent Symphonic Orchestra. Besides promenade concerts, it organized regular Symphonic evenings, took part in musical Festivals (e.g. , in the renowned Frédéric Chopin Festival of which it was the co-founder) , organized concerts for children and youth and spread its touring activity also abroad. Since 1971, it bears the name « West Bohemian Symphonic Orchestra » .

## Conductors

**From 1814-1815 to 1817 :** Wenzel Voigt.

**1818-1820 :** Karl Beer.

**1821-1842 :** Josef Schurwonn.

**1843-1881 :** Theodor Krüttner.

**1882-1895 :** Michael Zimmermann.

**1896-1915 :** Adalbert Schreyer.

**1916-1921 :** Ferdinand Hellmesberger.

## Bayreuth : « Goldenen Anker » Hotel

It was from Marienbad that Anton Bruckner asked Richard Wagner if he had any objections to his coming. Wagner's reply will not offer any encouragement. Nevertheless, in the middle of September, before the ink on the manuscript of the original version of the 3rd Symphony was dry, Bruckner decided to take the train for Bayreuth. As soon as he arrived at the station, he went to the Hotel of the Golden Anchor (« Goldenen Anker ») , next to the Margravian Opera House, to reserve a room.

Founded in 1753 (and, since then, still operated by the same family : the Graf) , the Hotel of the Golden Anchor is ideally located in the heart of the Old town.

Located at the corner of the « Maxstraße » (continuing on « Richard-Wagner-Straße ») and the « Opernstraße » , very close to the Theatre of the Margravine, this jewel of Rococco-style architecture where Richard Wagner conducted Ludwig van Beethoven's 9th Symphony of Beethoven on the occasion of the laying of the first stone of the new « Festspielhaus » Theatre. There, you will taste the finest cuisine of Bayreuth : the local products are prepared with a science and a refinement that one would have believed French, but its author is a Bavarian « chef » in love with his art and fascinated by the search for flavours and their associations.

To see in this magnificent hotel integrating the « Art déco » style, the rare stained-glass door dedicated to the « Master of Bayeuth » .

The most popular table in the dining-room is set apart, like a private study. It is decorated with photographs signed by artists who frequented the site.

**28 August** : Birthday of the Opera « Lohengrin » . It is celebrated with a salad of lamb's lettuce and oak leaves with sea-food marinated in balsamic vinaigrette. Minced rabbit backs stuffed with wild mushrooms and a black plum tart flamed with Quetsch.

...

The Hotel « Goldener Anker » (Golden Anchor) is situated in a historic place in the heart of the Baroque-style town centre of Bayreuth, next to the world-wide famous « Margravian Opera House » .

« Tradition doesn't mean keeping of the ashes, but preserving the embers. »

According to this motto, Family Graf is running the Hotel « Goldener Anker » today. The hospitality tradition of the family, having lasted for 13 generations, reaches back to the 16th Century !

In this beautiful historic building on the « Opernstraße » , they provide, like in the previous Centuries, sophisticated services in the hotel and in the restaurant based on experience and much discernment.



At that time, the « inn » had been a coaching-house, where the coaches stopped in the court-yard to care, to feed and, if there was need, to change the horses.

Already in the 16th Century, the house on the « Opernstraße » received the inhabitants of Bayreuth who appreciated its hospitality and the fine beer. The history of the Family Köhler, one of the most ancient families of the town, can be traced-back as far as the year 1500, when it obtained the publican and brewery licence. The ancestors were cited as « butchers and free citizens of the town » .

The cellar of the main-building and parts of the annex buildings, initially used as pig stable and as store-room for the beer, still bear witness to that period.

When the Princess Markgräfin Wilhelmine had the Opera House built, she provided the same beautiful sand-stone bricks to the neighbouring home-owners of the « Opernstraße » for the reconstruction of their houses with the aim of creating a « magnificent boulevard » . Thus, the « Köhlers' Inn » was converted by the middle of the 18th Century from a humble gabled house into a sumptuous Prussian palace. In the wake of the refurbishment, the owner family received in 1753 a « noble gift » .

The name of the Hotel bears witness to the margravian passion for waging sea battles on an artificial lake, especially created for this purpose in the still authentic and interesting borough « St. Georgen » . Already in 1841, the Hotel « Goldener Anker » was lauded in the oldest guide of Bayreuth as a « clean, spacious and elegant » house. Less than 50 years later, the house was referred to as the most renowned hotel at Bayreuth, being then frequented by duchesses, princesses and queens. And the noble feasts were quite opulent, including Russian caviar, Rhine salmon « à l'anglaise » , veal rolls (« Kalbsvögel ») and Pomeranian goose breast, like, for example, on the occasion of the birthday of Prince Regent Luitpold towards the turn of the 20th Century. Yet, the humble inhabitants of Bayreuth were also served exquisite food. Today's appearance of the restaurant of the Hotel « Goldener Anker » was essentially marked by the local architect Adolf Schmall, who re-furbished profoundly the ground-floor in 1927 and decorated it in the « Art-Déco » style.

The Hotel, built with « margravian sand-stone » like the neighbouring world-wide famous Opera House (designed by Giuseppe and Carlo Galli da Bibiena) , has accommodated noble guests for 2 Centuries. Being shielded by the coat of arms of the Hessian Grand Duke, the Hotel has been appreciated by guests from all over the world as their familiar temporary home. Today, the Hotel « Goldener Anker » is still a privileged « anchorage » for many visitors during their stay at Bayreuth.

The guest-book of the Hotel « Goldener Anker » seems to be a list of names epitomizing the German cultural and intellectual history. Prominent persons and travellers pretending to a certain standing dropped here the anchor to enjoy the conveniences of the stylish house, which became already at the end of the 19th Century the most prestigious hotel in town.

The guests list includes flamboyant personalities from Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner to Richard Strauß ; from Thomas

Mann to Gerhart Hauptmann ; from Arturo Toscanini to Herbert von Karajan ; from Agatha Christie to Günther Grass. Even the great Mark Twain recognized immediately the assets of the Hotel, when he visited Bayreuth in 1891. He remarked that it was a fine place for dining before adding disenchanted :

« No, what I want to say is that I can watch here the others having a fine meal. »

### Bruckner at « Wahnfried »

**Saturday, 13 or Sunday, 14 September 1873** : Anton Bruckner set-out for Bayreuth after taking the spa-waters in Marienbad to submit and dedicate to Richard Wagner (whom he greatly admired) his new Symphonies No. 2 in C minor and No. 3 in D minor (in which he had as yet, incidentally, only outlined the Finale) .

He knocks on the door of the not completely finished Villa « Wahnfried » . (He had already met Wagner in 1865 at the premiere of « Tristan und Isolde » in Munich.) Inside the music-room, bundles of manuscripts dragged everywhere. Wagner was very busy supervising the construction of his new Theatre and being immersed in the composition of the Tetralogy. He will receive Bruckner quite hard (probably relieved at the thought of getting rid of an unwelcome visitor, at least for now) .

Bruckner recalled in a letter to Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen after Wagner's death :

« It was about the beginning of September 1873 (the Crown Prince Frederick was in Bayreuth for a few days) when I asked the “ Meister ” if I could present to him my Symphony No. 2 in C Minor and Symphony No. 3 in D minor. The Thrice-Blessed refused, due to lack of time (the construction of his Theatre) , and said that he could not review the scores at that moment since even the “ Nibelungen ” had had to be laid on one side. »

Wagner asked him to come-back in 3 days. A longer stay in Bayreuth meant for Bruckner more expenses that he could not really afford.

According to Max Auer, one of Wagner's servants noticed that Bruckner remained for hours in front of the Villa « Wahnfried » , watching from the windows. (He always carried a spare black suit on his arm, ... just in case !)

Three days have passed. He knocks at the door. This time, he is asked to come-back in 3 hours.

When he returns, he is told to enter.

« I did not know where to walk on the carpet. » , he later confided to his friends.

While Bruckner waited nervously in the living-room with the manuscripts of his Symphonies under his arm, he heard Wagner play the piano in the music-room.

Wagner finally appeared on the threshold. Bruckner timidly asked him to examine his scores :

« “ Meister ”, I have no right to deprive you of even a quarter of an hour, and I only thought that with the “ Meister’s ” great perspicacity, a single glance would suffice for him to understand the substance of it. »

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

« Well, come then. » , and went with me into the music-room and looked at the 2nd 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 3rd (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. »

Bruckner’s own description of his emotions as Wagner examined the scores is eloquent :

« I was just like a school boy watching his teacher correct his note-book. Every word of comment seemed like a red mark on the page. At last, I managed to stammer forth the hope that he would accept the dedication of one of the Symphonies, for that was the only and also the highest recognition I wanted from the world. »

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.

Wagner did not respond immediately. Then, he took Bruckner by the blow and began to kiss him without stopping :

« 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. »

Not knowing how to kill time, Bruckner began to wander around Bayreuth. He finally ended-up on the construction

site of the « Festspielhaus » . He was so overwhelmed by this hive of activity that he nearly fell into a cement container, and completely forgot the time of the important « rendez-vous » !

A servant from the Villa had to get Bruckner.

When he entered the Villa, he heard Wagner play the « trumpet theme » of his 3rd Symphony on the piano.  
Bruckner :

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 and shining eyes. He was silent for a while, and then embraced and kissed me, saying :

« My dear friend, your Symphony is a masterpiece. The dedication would be truly appropriate. This work of yours gives me the greatest pleasure. »

It was Bruckner's original intention to make this 3rd a « Wagner-Sinfonie » . Wagner had obviously enjoyed seeing a composer like Bruckner express such profound respect for him. He was deeply impressed by the quotations from « Die Walküre » and « Lohengrin » . (Most of these quotes will be removed in subsequent revisions.)

Bruckner continues :

For 2 and a half hours, I had the good fortune to sit beside the « Meister » , while he talked about musical affairs in Vienna (the names of Johann Herberck and Eduard Hanslick were mentioned) , 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.

Wagner introduced Bruckner to Cosima (and his little Eva) . Cosima will bring a brand new barrel of « Weihenstephaner Bier » which was ordered for the occasion. All in all, it was one of the happiest days in Bruckner's life.

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 ! »

(A stop at the water-cure station to treat his recurrent digestion problems.)

« Nonsense, 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. The 2 men talked until well into the night, drinking beer and indulging in snuff.

### The hang-over

The Upper-Austrian guest had too much beer (« Oh, this beer, this disastrous beer ! ») . Back at the hotel in the wee hours of the morning, Bruckner realized that he did not remember which of his Symphonies the Master of Bayreuth had accepted as a dedicatee. Was it the 2nd or 3rd ?

In a state of panic, ashamed to return to Wagner, he went looking for sculptor Kietz everywhere in the city (fortunately, the latter was staying at the same hotel as Bruckner) . Once traced back, Kietz (highly-amused) , pretending not to have paid attention to the discussion, said he had heard several times some talk about a « Symphony in D minor » , believing it to be Beethoven's 9th. Bruckner was happy and relieved at the same time.

In the sculptor's own words :

« Bruckner suddenly threw his arms about me, kissed me, and cried :

“ Thank you, dear ' Miester ' Councilor (I don't know to this day how I came by the title) , thank you ! I know it's the one in D minor the Master has accepted ! Oh, how happy I am that I know which it is ! »

Kietz gave Bruckner (still doubtful ...) a chance to relax by offering him snuff and then suggested that he immediately write a short message to Wagner on a sheet of blue paper bearing the heading of the « Golden Anker Hotel » (« Gasthof Goldener Anker ») - now a treasured museum possession.

« Sinfonie in D-Moll, wo die Trompete das Thema beginnt ? A. Bruckner. »

(« Symphony in D Minor, the one in which the trumpet introduces the theme ? A. Bruckner. »)

The same leaf came-back to him promptly with the following scribbled addition underneath :

« Ja ! Ja ! Herzlichen Gruß ! Richard Wagner. »

(« Yes, yes ! Best wishes ! Richard Wagner. »)

In the dedication, Bruckner referred to Wagner as « the unreachable world famous noble Master of poetry and music

» .

Whenever Wagner heard Bruckner's name mentioned thereafter, he would exclaim :

« Ah ! Yes, the trumpet. »

So, the 3rd Symphony became the « Wagner-Sinfonie » in common parlance. The composer felt not only happy but honoured by the name, never realizing that the followers of Brahms would consider him, henceforth, a confirmed Wagnerite.

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.

### Gustav Adolph Kietz

The sculptor Gustav Adolph Kietz was born on 26 March 1824 in Leipzig ; and died on 24 June 1908 in Dresden. He studied with Ernst Rietschel.

Gustav was the younger brother of the artist Ernst Benedikt Kietz, with whom Wagner developed a close friendship during his Paris stay (from 1839 to 1842) . Gustav Adolph was a frequent guest at the Wagner household in Dresden, and participated in the Dresden uprising of 1849. Later, he sculpted busts of Wagner and Cosima. Kietz's chatty and vivid recollections (published 1905) include documents from his brother Ernst Benedikt's Estate.

...

Gustav Adolf Kietz younger brother of Richard Wagner's Paris companion Ernst Benedict Kietz resided in Dresden during this period and was a frequent visitor to the Wagner home. Gustav's memoirs, published in 1905, especially devoted to these years, became an eyewitness source for subsequent biographers. However, Kietz often simply repeats Wagner's own assertions, raising questions about his reliability. One example is Kietz's description of the Carl Maria von Weber episode. Kietz credits Wagner for generating public interest as well as for organizing the reburial, and inserts lengthy quotes from Wagner's speech, including of course :

« Nie hat ein deutscherer Musiker gelebt, als Du ! »

(« There never lived a more German musician than you. »)

There is no historical account of the Weber reburial beyond contemporary press reports and the biography written much later by his son, Max Maria. Thus, Wagner's version has not only dominated the record, it has become the official record, frustrating Ernest Newman's laudable intention of « hearing the other side » , of not making the mistake of

earlier Wagner biographers who « accepted far too unquestioningly Wagner's account of his dealings », which has made Wagner scholarship the « equivalent of our listening to one end of a telephone conversation ». This is not the place to analyze every retelling of the Weber reburial, an admittedly brief moment. Every Wagner biography and, of course, every Weber biography mentions it, almost always as an example of Wagner's organizational skills, natural talent at public speaking and, most importantly for his image, as promoter of the German national Operatic tradition.

...

Conservative and progressive listeners of the early 19th Century did hear some of Beethoven's music as « revolutionary ». By 1849, the opinion that works such as Beethoven's 3rd, 5th, and 9th Symphonies communicated « French » values of « Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity » was loudly professed in the pages of the « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik », and within political discourse in general. Even before revolution spread to Germany, newspapers warned public authorities that they should not consider Beethoven concerts mere distractions ; they were opportunities for thousands to hear « a music which would best resonate with fire and social collapse ». Government officials were encouraged to limit performances of Beethoven's music because « one can only pour so much water into a glass before it overflows ». Gustav Adolf Kietz reported that, in such « excitable times », the 9th Symphony had an « intoxicating effect » on audience members. When disturbances broke-out in German streets, Theodore Uhlig wrote that the « socialist consciousness » Beethoven expressed in his work had « reached its goal » with the 1849 rebellions. Amid fighting in Dresden, Richard Wagner reported, a revolutionary guard shouted down from a barricade that « joy's beautiful divine sparks ( " schöner Götterfunken " ) had made a blaze », implying that flames emerging from the burning Opera House represented the achievement of hopes Beethoven had recorded in the 9th Symphony. Like the Dresden Opera House, the Revolution of 1848-1849 went-up in smoke ; but these comments indicate that, by the time of the uprisings, Beethoven and his music had become important elements in the culture of revolution in Germany.

There is a variety of evidence that this association of the 9th Symphony with revolution was in many people's minds in Dresden. Gustav Adolf Kietz wrote of the third performance, on 1 April 1849 :

« The effect of the marvellous work was positively intoxicating in these turbulent times, it's impossible to describe its impact on the audience, you need to have experienced it ! »

...

Richard Wagner wrote for the benefit of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, who was presumably unaware of something that every inhabitant of Dresden knew, namely, that the charred building had been a Baroque Masterpiece by the « Zwinger » Palace architect, Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann. It was here that Wagner's Palm Sunday concert had taken place exactly a month earlier. In the presence of his friend, Gustav Adolph Kietz, Wagner had repeatedly expressed his « delight and wonderment » at the old Opera House's « wonderful acoustics ». Following the devastating 1869 fire, the citizens of Dresden immediately set about rebuilding it (« Semper Oper ») .

« Weihenstephan » Beer

« Weihenstephan » is the name of the oldest beer in the world brewed since the year 1040 by the « Bayerische Staatsbrauerei Weihenstephan », located on Weihenstephan hill (Nahrberg) in Freising, Bavaria.

The first stone was laid in the year 725 by St. Korbinian, who then founded a Benedictine cloister with 12 other monks. The first mention of a brewed beverage dates from the year 43, probably using the nearby hop garden whose owners had to give a tenth of their harvest to the cloister. The monks manufactured several beers.

According to a medieval charter of Bishop Engelbert von Freising authorizing the brewing, this brewery is certainly the oldest still in operation, with that of the Abbey of Weltenburg. It is possible, however, that this document is a forgery dating from the beginning of the 17th Century.

Officially, Weihenstephan brews beer since 1040, when Father Arnold obtained permission from the town of Freising to brew and sell his beverage. A new stage was the proclamation, in front of the gates of the cloister, of the Law on the Purity of Beer proclaimed in 1516 by Duke William IV. With the secularization of the State in 1803 and the abolition of the cloister, the brewery became the property of the Royal State of Bavaria. It is now operating as a State directed enterprise under the control of the Bavarian Government. As the oldest still existing brewery in the world it stands upon the Weihenstephan hill, surrounded by the comparatively very young Weihenstephan Science Center of the Technical University of Munich. And so, a unique tradition and brewing culture developed over the Centuries. Today, Korbinian's heirs use the most modern technology, but they never forget their own history and their own high-standards. This allows us to brew a variety of beers of the highest possible quality.

...

Weihenstephan Abbey (« Kloster Weihenstephan ») was a Benedictine monastery in Weihenstephan, now part of the District of Freising, in Bavaria, Germany. « Brauerei Weihenstephan », located at the monastery site since at least 1040, is said to be the world's oldest continuously operating brewery.

The Weihenstephan Brewery can trace its roots at the abbey to year 768, as a document from that year refers to a hop garden in the area paying a tithe to the monastery. A brewery was licensed by the City of Freising in 1040, and that is the founding date claimed by the modern brewery. The brewery thus has a credible claim to being the oldest working brewery in the world. (Weltenburg Abbey, also in Bavaria, has had a brewery in operation since 1050, and also claims to be the oldest brewery in the world.) When the monastery and brewery were secularized in 1803, they became possessions of the State of Bavaria.

St. Korbinian, whose arrival in Freising is dated at around 720, founded a church dedicated to St. Stephen here. A dormitory for monks that originally adjoined the building disappears from records by the end of the 8th Century. The monastery itself, dedicated at first to St. Vitus, then later to St. Stephen and St. Michael, was founded by Bishop Hitto von Freising between 811 and 835. From then until 1020 or 1021, it was a monastery of Augustinian canons before becoming a Benedictine abbey.



The abbey was dissolved in 1803 during the secularization of Bavaria and its property sold-off. In 1810, the abbey church, which had been made into a parish church, was demolished.

In 1803, the Forestry School of Munich was moved into the empty buildings ; at the same time, a model farm was established. A large part of the previous abbey economy, with buildings and stables as well as forests and fields, was transferred to the forestry school or the model farm. From 1804, agricultural science was taught here by Max Schönleutner.

As early as 1807, both schools were wound up, as many teachers and students had taken part in Napoleon's invasion of Russia, from which few had returned. In 1852, the agricultural school was re-established in Weihenstephan and, in 1895, became an agricultural college, which formed the nucleus of the Technical University of Munich life sciences campus in Freising.

### Expo 1873 : Eduard Hanslick and Nikolaus Dumba

As an industrialist and a lover of the arts, Nikolaus Dumba had welcomed the idea of the Vienna World Fair from the very beginning, despite the fact that the government had carelessly appointed an incompetent man (Wilhelm Freiherr von Schwarz-Senborn) to the powerful position of financial director. The incompetence of this individual had led to vast sums of money being squandered even before the task of organizing the fair was completed.

**Friday, 14 March 1873** : Six weeks before the fair was due to open, Parliament debated a bill for a loan of over 7 million Gulden to cover the extra-expenses that had arisen.

Dumba criticized the government severely for appointing the wrong man to the post of financial director, although, as the fair would place Austria at the centre of the world's attention, he strongly supported the bill itself, saying :

« As a result of this event, Vienna will be welcoming thousands of people from all over the world, who will see for themselves what has become of the weak, frail Austria that was left to decline ; they will see how just a few years of constitutional life have sufficed to bring Austria a prosperity they could never have imagined. They will also see that no other nation has such a great thirst for education, culture and progress and that we do not wish to lag behind any other country. And when they return to their own countries with all their impressions of Vienna, which as if by magic has been transformed into a huge cosmopolitan city, then, millions of people will speak of Austria with respect. This certainly deserves a sacrifice, a sacrifice worth many millions (...) »

The party that Nikolaus Dumba represented in the « Reichsrat » was the German Liberal Constitutional Party.

Eventually a loan of 9,700,000 Gulden was approved for the World Fair.

As Vice-President of the Society of Friends of Music, Nikolaus Dumba assisted in the organization of the World Fair. Initially, the Operatic composer Errico Petrella was appointed chairman of the panel of judges for the musical events.

In his memoirs, Eduard Hanslick wrote of Petrella that :

« He knew neither German nor French, nor had any knowledge of Italian, so that they were unable to continue with the negotiations. The Ministry, therefore, having been advised of our complaints, had the bright idea of immediately appointing at our next meeting, as a kind of vice-chairman or honorary chairman, an art-lover who was not even a member of the panel of judges : “ Herr ” Nikolaus Dumba. From that point on, everything went well. Dumba’s incomparable ability to hit the nail on the head, to sort-out what was important from what was not, the skill he had acquired from his parliamentary experience in directing discussions and drawing clear concise conclusions from them were of the greatest value to us, particularly when his personal kindness did not conflict with the nature of his position as chairman. »

At the World Fair, which was held in Vienna between **1 May and 31 October 1873**, the organizers wanted to present all the basic sectors of cultural and economic life in 26 different thematic units. The 15th unit, for which Dumba was responsible, consisted of a display of musical instruments. The exhibits were housed in 5 different sections. One section contained a general display of musical instruments, while another the different types of wind-instruments. In a 3rd section, there was a display of different sound devices - devices that were similar to musical instruments but were not used to produce music - e.g. : signal whistles. The 4th section contained a display of glockenspiels and other chiming instruments, while the 5th contained statistical material. People came to exhibit musical instruments from almost every country in Europe, as well as non-European countries like Egypt, Persia, British India, China and North Africa. The exhibits in all of the thematic units - except the 24th, in which art objects from the past were displayed, including a collection of musical instruments from Cremona - had to be assessed by an international panel of judges. Half of the Austrian judges were elected by the exhibitors, and the other half were especially appointed. The panel of judges for each thematic unit had to elect a chairman, a vice-chairman and one or more « rapporteurs » from its section. Nikolaus Dumba, who had been appointed as a judge for the 15th unit, was also elected vice-chairman for the same unit. The « rapporteur » for this unit was Eduard Hanslick. The close friendship that later developed between Hanslick and Dumba may well have sprung from the collaboration between the 2 men at the fair. In any event, the famous music-critic Hanslick used a familiar form of address in the very friendly correspondence that he exchanged with Dumba from **July 1873** onwards. From this correspondence, we learn a few things, albeit not the most important, about the activities of the panel of judges.

**Friday, 20 June 1873** : Hanslick wrote to Dumba :

« My Dear Sir and Friend !

Tomorrow (Saturday, the 21th) : Early panel meeting at 8:00 am in the “ Rotunda ” (next to the Streicher Girclapiano) ; then, view the pianos from France, Italy, Switzerland and Spain. Straight after, at 11:30 am, meet at the Judges’ Pavilion, Room Number 5, to sort-out current business. Monday, meet again at 8:00 am in the “ Rotunda ” (pianos from the German Empire) ; then, at 11:30 am at the Judges’ Pavilion.

Yours devotedly in haste,

Eduard Hanslick »

Doctor Franz Egger and Nikolaus Dumba, the President and Vice-President of the Society of the Friends of Music, were responsible for organizing the musical events at the fair. Earlier, at a board meeting held on **Monday, 12 February 1872**, they had already invited proposals for these events.

### Expo 1873 : The Vienna World Fair

« Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien »

Motto : « Kultur und Erziehung » (Culture and Education) .

Objective : « Contemporary culture, the stimulation of progress, and display of every product from each sector of the economy. »

Duration : 1 May - 31 October 1873 (184 days) .

Entrance fee : Monday to Friday : 1 Gulden.

Entrance fee : Sundays and holidays : 50 Kreuzer.

Entrance fee : Opening-day and prize-giving day : 25 Gulden.

The exhibition was intended not only to fill visitors with enthusiasm but also to inform them about new developments in technology, and hence, to promote industry and increase sales. Not least because visitors were kept away by a cholera epidemic and the stock-exchange crash, profits were far below expectations and the state had to finance the entire cost of the Exhibition.

Area : 233 hectares, of which 16 hectares covered exhibition area.

Location : « Prater » Park, near Vienna - former Imperial private hunting-ground.

The Vienna « Prater » had already been an amusement park for a long time. But, in the summer of 1873, the park was completely cleared and renovated and became a world meeting-place.

Director-General : Doctor Wilhelm Freiherr von Schwarz-Senborn.

Costs : Expenditure : 19,123,270 Gulden.

Income : 4,256,349 Gulden.

Deficit : 14,866,921 Gulden.

Visitors : 7,255,000.

Exhibitors : 53,000, of which 9,104 from Austria (17 %) .

Participating countries : 35.

Major countries : United States of America, Austria, Belgium, China, Japan, Denmark, France, German Empire, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Switzerland.

Symbolic Central Pavilion : Industrial Palace or « Rotunda » , with the largest dome in the world.

There was ample space in the wide halls of the palace for the different nations to present themselves. The brilliant achievements of these years of rapid industrial expansion in Austria were adversely offset by the Vienna stock-market crash and a cholera epidemic.

Pavilions : 194 exhibition areas according to the site plan.

That fast-changing world was trading old scourges for modern ones, and the 1873 World Exhibition sat at the fulcrum of that transition. It aimed to present itself as a world leader and the equal of England and France. Despite the dark circumstances surrounding the event, it optimistically promoted the world's progress in industry, art, and agriculture, and highlighted foreign lands that were freshly accessible because of new transit options. Built from scratch in Vienna's enormous city-park, it was 5 times larger than the previous exhibition in Paris, making room for 53,000 exhibitors from 35 countries in 194 pavilions.

What was new was that there was a pavilion devoted exclusively to women, in which the organizers, however, equated women's work with arts and crafts. Since it was above all middle-class women who made products in this field, all other products made by women were ignored. This meant that women continued to be associated only with arts and crafts : what they produced was described as beautiful, charming or artistic, but not as useful or innovative.

Classification : 26 groups, 174 sections.

Jury : 956 members.

Prizes : 25,572 medals, of which 6,158 won by Austria.

An Expo to showcase the power of the Empire

The Project was not only supported by the political sphere, it was also backed by agricultural and industrial

entrepreneurs who saw it as an opportunity to present to the world the results of the recent economic boom. The Empire wanted to establish itself as a cosmopolitan nation and a strong player of international business.

### A « festival of progress » : how the World Exhibition came about

1867 marked a turning-point. After a number of disastrous years, the economy made a sudden recovery. A « miracle harvest » opened up opportunities for export, while the State reform that created the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy (the « Compromise » with Hungary) placed trade, customs and fiscal policy on a new basis. Iron production, mechanical engineering and the construction industry were the drivers behind the up-swing. Vienna also established itself as a centre of finance, with countless sometimes dubious joint-stock companies springing-up in the period before 1873.

These boom years presented industrialists, trades-people and commercial policy-makers, as well as the proponents of reform in the applied-arts, with the opportunity to put into action a plan they had long held dear, namely that of staging a World Exhibition in Vienna. Since the « Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations » held in London, in 1851, there had been 3 further World Exhibitions (1855 and 1867 in Paris ; 1862 in London) . These « festivals of progress » not only acted as a forum for global exchange of expertise among engineers and manufacturers but also presented bourgeois society and the respective host country with an ideal platform for self-presentation and image boosting. The Vienna of the « Gründerzeit » era was « on the fast-track » and intended to present itself to the world as a large modern city on its way to becoming a major metropolis.

It was not until 1870 (barely 3 years before the opening) that Emperor Franz-Josef enacted a sovereign resolution on the holding of the World Exhibition, in the face of resistance from the City Council, the municipal authorities and Mayor of Vienna Cajetan Felder, who cautioned against excessive costs. The influence of the local politicians was still limited at this point, though their scope for action expanded from the 1860's onwards with the end of the neo-absolutist regime. A prominent symbol of the heightened self-confidence of the civic administration « vis-à-vis » the Imperial house was Vienna's monumental new City Hall, on which work started in 1873.

### « Gründerzeit » and faith in human progress

The Austrian economy had been expanding dramatically since the early 1860's. The booming economy of this « Gründerzeit » (the period of history marked by rapid industrial expansion) fostered an increasing demand for a World Exposition to be held in Vienna. The modernization of Vienna introduced during this time was concentrated on the « Ringstraße » (Circular street) which had been built on the former city fortifications and was intended to connect the suburbs with the city-centre and form the focus for monumental public buildings and urban palaces. Because this project (similar to the radical restructuring of the centre of Paris by Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann) involved planning on a large-scale, those involved were confident that they would also be able to realize an ambitious project such as a World Exposition.

The realization of this project was initially set-back by the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866, and the reconciliation

with Hungary in 1867. However, a few years later, the success of the Austrian contribution to the 1867 Paris World Exposition revitalized the idea of a World Exposition in Vienna so that the scheme was picked-up again with enthusiasm and plans were implemented to organize the first World Exposition in a German speaking country. This was to take place in 1873 on the 25th anniversary of the coronation of Emperor Franz-Josef.

The exposition programme elaborated in 1871 was as follows :

« Under the highest auspices of their Royal Highnesses and his apostolic majesty, an international exposition is to take place in Vienna in 1873 with the objective of presenting and spurring further progress in contemporary culture and the total spectrum of the economy. »

The project was not only supported by leading Liberal politicians, but also by Austrian industry and agriculture because of the opportunity this would allow of demonstrating the « Gründerzeit » economic boom to the whole world. Moreover, after the failure of the pan-German ambitions, there was an overwhelming desire to polish-up the country's image and, for Austria, to present itself as a cosmopolitan, internationally competitive country. The new Vienna as the centre of the economic and cultural upswing tangibly demonstrated this euphoria in the form of enormous construction schemes. The « construction site » side of Vienna thus became one of the most important exhibits of the World Exposition.

The Emperor signed the decree authorizing the World Exposition on 24 May 1870. The honorary president of the World Exposition was his brother Archduke Karl Ludwig. The president was Archduke Rainer, one of Franz-Josef's nephews. Invitations were sent-out to foreign governments as early as the summer of 1870. Positive responses were received from the western European industrial countries, the United States, as well as for the first time from numerous countries in the Orient and the Far-East. 35 sovereign countries took-part at the Viennese exposition.

Baron Doctor Wilhelm von Schwarz-Senborn was appointed Director-General of the World Exposition in January 1871 and endowed with unlimited powers. An Imperial commission with 215 members was responsible for the organization. Also involved were 28 working committees with a total of 1,278 members responsible for realizing this major project. The construction work for the exposition was started very late, and although the scheduled opening-day had to be postponed, the speed with which this massive architectural project was financed and realized is still barely comprehensible even today. The « Reichsrat » (Parliament) approved a loan of 6 million Gulden in 1871. The costs eventually overran the initial very rough estimates by a factor of 3. Another 7 million Gulden were approved in 1872 followed by an additional 9.7 million Gulden shortly before the World Exposition was opened.

### A city within a city : the World Exhibition

Once the Emperor had given his approval for the World Exhibition, a planned city of gigantic proportions sprung-up within a very short period of time in Vienna's « Prater » area (the site occupied by today's City Hall had also been discussed as a possible alternative) , whose considerable distance from the city-centre gave rise to substantial costs. The exhibition grounds not only housed the vast Palace of Industry, Engine Hall and Hall of the Arts and almost 200

national and corporate pavilions, but were also equipped with state-of-the-art infrastructure including a sewer network, rail tracks and their own railway station. At the same time, a side-project also saw the long-established « Würstelprater » remodelled and expanded into the modern « Volksprater » amusement park.

The preparatory phase scheduled for the World Exhibition was incredibly brief. Thanks to the latest developments in transport and communications (telegraphy) , however, it proved possible, within a very short space of time, to organize world-wide participation, overcome the logistical problems associated with the transport of vast numbers of exhibits and mobilize huge streams of visitors. World Exhibitions were conceived as popular encyclopaedias of humanity, designed to cover an enormous spectrum of different aspects : industry, technology, science, the arts, culture, and so on. At the Vienna Exhibition, the task of representing the world with attributes such as progress, productivity and speed combined with the emotional experience provided by a huge variety of commodities, luxury and exoticism. The World Exhibition not only served as an economic stimulus, but also offered the broader public a global showcase of experiences on a whole new scale : Visitors embarked on a « sightseeing tour » of the Industrial Age, gazed in wonder at the clattering steam-engines, looms and sewing-machines and found-out about innovations in the worlds of transport and science. A society fond of consumption revelled in the assembled profusion of craftsman-made objects and devoted itself to the pursuit of « good taste » , which from the Austrian point-of-view primarily meant luxury goods in the internationally acclaimed « Viennese Renaissance » style. Artistic designs by sculptors and architects, executed with precise craftsmanship, were a consequence of the reform of the applied arts - and formed the basis for the latter's success.

But the aim was not only to educate the public : it was also about entertainment and the fascination of far-away places. At the « Prater » exhibition, grounds visitors were able to take an architectural tour of the world ; foreigners in exotic costume and authentic dishes from all over the globe became the talk of the town, and cocktails were served in a North American Indian wigwam. The oriental and Asian pavilions exerted the greatest attraction : a defining characteristic of the Vienna World Exhibition, they spawned trends in fashion, life-style and the applied-arts.

The 1873 World Exhibition is remembered by posterity chiefly for the huge financial deficit it incurred - just 4.2 million Gulden in revenues against expenditures of 19 million Gulden. In the speculative fever that gripped the age, the hopes of vast attendance figures, not to mention the substantial influx of capital, had led to excessively inflated expectations. Exploding costs, the stock-exchange crash and fewer visitors than anticipated (not least due to the cholera epidemic) resulted in sober disillusionment after the event. Ultimately, the only parties who really profited were individual exhibitors from the successful promotion of trade and industry and visitors from the effective transfer of knowledge. This notwithstanding, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire succeeded in returning itself to centre-stage in the eyes of the world for the first time since the Congress of Vienna.

### An international city : the Exposition Site and its key-theme

Although construction measures such as the Danube channel or the gentrification of the « Würstelprater » were hotly disputed, the Exposition Committee was convinced that they had created the ideal backdrop for the prestigious World Exposition project in the form of the « Prater » Park with its mature trees and landscaped lakes and streams. As the

« most glorious natural park » , it formed « a wonderful environment for this majestic cultural display » and made a major contribution to « considerably enhancing the artistic impact of the buildings planned for the site » .

Bounded to the north by the station, to the south by the chic « Prater » Avenue opened in 1867, to the west by the « Volksprater » , and to the east by the « Heustadelwasser » with the adjacent « Prater » water meadows, the World Exposition Site covered an area 5 times as large as the « Champs-de-Mars » of the 1867 Paris World Exposition. The original idea of creating an « international city » in the form of numerous different national pavilions was rejected by Schwarz-Senborn in favour of a central exposition building for industrial products, machinery and the arts. The Industrial Palace with its « Rotunda » was the architectural highlight of the exposition. The Exposition Site was divided up into 5 east-west running zones : the southernmost was the park which led to the Industrial Palace and to the buildings dedicated to the arts. On show to the visitors here was a broad spectrum of international restaurants and « cafés » such as the Chinese Tea-House, examples of different types of housing, the reading-rooms, and the Jury and Emperor Pavilions. The 3rd zone showcased agricultural products and special exhibitions. This was followed to the north by the Machine Hall and the last zone bordering the north station which included exhibitions of industrial worker's housing from different countries, and the World Trade Pavilion. The entrances to the Exposition Site were in the north from the exposition station, in the south via the main-gateway, the entrance to the round tower, and from the « Volksprater » via the west-entrance of the Machine Hall and the west-entrance of the Industrial palace.

Although the key-themes were housed in the main exposition-halls, there were already signs at the Vienna Exposition of the trend towards nationally-focused exhibition concepts which would eventually lead away from a pure showcase of products to the self-depiction of countries in their own pavilions. This is evidenced by the generous areas between the exposition-halls set aside for national pavilions and social exhibitions. Another indication of this trend is the architectural layout of the Exposition Palace in which the countries were arranged from west to east according to their geographical location, and the housing of national presentations in their own side-galleries with their own entrances. This did not, however, mean that the countries depicted themselves objectively. On the one hand, the colonial powers presented their acquisitory intentions towards non-European areas, whilst the whole exhibition was completely dominated by the Austrian contribution. Moreover, whilst the western industrial countries primarily showcased technical or industrial achievements (such as the life-size copy of the entrance to the new Mont-Cenis-Tunnel) , non-European countries presented themselves and their cultures in an ethnic manner. Replicas of the temple of Kyoto in the industrial palace or an Egyptian tent with authentic interior decoration and matching costume-clad dummies were intended to graphically demonstrate other lifestyles. In addition, the exposition was also used to establish business contacts with industrial nations - e.g. : by Japan through its presentation of export goods.

### Danube diversion and prestigious « Ringstraße »

Exactly fulfilling the wishes of the Emperor who, as early as 1866, had already envisaged the « Prater » as the site of the unrealized 1870 World Exposition, the former Imperial hunting-park was officially designated the Exposition Site in 1869. The critics considered the long distance from the park to the city-centre to be a major disadvantage - not to mention the danger of the area being flooded by the river Danube. Despite these reservations, the area around the « Prater » became an integral part of the city reconstruction measures.



A new river bed was excavated for the Danube to finally remove the centuries old risk of flooding of the city and the « Prater ». The Danube control measures (themselves one of the World Exposition exhibits) made it possible to construct the northern station in the northern part of the « Prater » from which railway tracks were laid into each of the exposition buildings during the construction phase. The lowering of the ground water level, which was another consequence of the Danube control measures, allowed Vienna's drinking water supply to be improved. In combination with the construction of new hospitals, the improvement of the water supply was a major weapon in the fight against the regular risk of epidemics such as cholera.

The « Würstelprater » in the western part of the « Prater » site was renovated and « refined » as part of the World Exposition preparations. The informally evolved structure of this highly popular amusement park which had grown-up since the beginning of the 18th Century thus fell victim to the bourgeois fetish for order and control. The whole area was restructured in 1871 under the supervision of the architect Lothar Abel who ordered the tearing down of amusement booths, the straightening and widening of roads, the outlawing of vagabonds and the construction of regular rows of houses as per the master-plan. The « Würstelprater » (renamed the « Volksprater » or People's « Prater ») thus lost the earthy charm which had endeared it to many of its visitors. The proponents of the gentrification countered these arguments by underlining, in their opinion, the already overdue need to : « Raise the standards of the people's amusements ». Highlighting the extent to which they were out of touch with the grass roots, these spoilsports propagated the « beneficial change in the former tastes of the Viennese public which had lamentably gone astray » - a typical example of the inflexible encroachment and uncompromising restructuring of an urban institution with socio-political consequences.

The opponents criticized the reconstruction of Vienna (and the World Exposition project itself) as a planning failure because it was a short-term measure which only benefited the upper-classes, and thus, only fuelled social divisions. The essence of the criticism was that instead of helping to solve the housing shortage, money was being wasted in the construction of prestigious urban palaces and luxury hotels. The Danube itself became a temporary harbour for hotel ships hoping to cash in on the influx of tourists during the World Exposition. And the many foreign-workers involved in the World Exposition caused tremendous inflation in the price of housing, hotels and consumables. The workers who had come to Vienna for the World Exposition lived in barrack-like conditions ; locals were thrown-out of their homes which were then rebuilt as guest-houses for World Exposition visitors. Vienna became a magnet for speculators. The propaganda from the Liberal government propagating the benefits of the economic boom for everyone including the lower-classes was treated increasingly sceptically by many during this time.

### Stock-market crash and cholera

The glorious opening festivities and the initial interest of the invited guests in the Vienna World Exposition did not conceal for long the problems which were first mooted in 1872. At the time of the construction of the « Ringstraße » and the proposal of the plan to organize the World Exposition, Vienna found itself riding the crest of a « Gründerzeit » economic wave which attracted numerous stock-market speculators and businessmen to Vienna. Unfortunately, failure to assess the situation correctly, deceitful speculation and corruption caused the stock-market to crash only 9 days after the World Exposition opened. This « black Friday » or « Viennese stock-market crash » caused the immediate

financial ruin of numerous businessmen. Critics of the World Exposition felt their pessimism to be fully-vindicated and made the Imperial decision to implement a project of this type, and Schwarz-Senborn himself, responsible for the economic collapse. In June 1873, a second disaster occurred which was to keep prudent foreign visitors away from Vienna for sometime : 13 guests at the « Danube » World Exposition Hotel succumbed to cholera. Although hygiene and public health measures had already been implemented, the epidemic spread rapidly and despite there only being relatively few fatalities, enthusiasm for visiting the World Exposition was palpably dampened. Only when the danger of the epidemic was considered over by the end of October did the mass-influx of visitors from all over Europe materialize and bring crowds to the site in the numbers the organizers had hoped to see during the whole of the World Exposition.

The major spectacles at the site of the World Exposition included the fabulous balls and other spectacular events such as the visit of the German Princess Augusta, the Russian Tsar or Nasr-Ed-Dim, the Shah of Persia. The World Exposition was also harnessed as a festival of peace by politicians. Artistically directed receptions for guests of honour highlighted the understanding between nations in support of peace. This was an aspect which had been underlined by the Emperor on 5 November 1873, following the official opening of the « Reichsrat » . This was of major significance given the previous war between Germany and France, the founding of the German « Reich » , and Austria's wars on its northern and southern boundaries. Simultaneously, opulent decoration and stunning productions were used as political allegories to underline Austria's economic power and increased influence. The discrepancy between fantasy and reality at the World Exposition, between the ostentatious parading of the privileged classes and social reality (the indebtedness and social misery of the lower-classes) were clear for all to see.

### Rotunda and Machine Hall : Exposition architecture

The objective of the exposition organizers to create on Austrian soil a comprehensive picture of contemporary culture under the omen of the harmonious rapprochement between peoples was graphically reflected by an architectural concept presented by Carl von Hasenauer, the Chief-Architect of the exposition. An enormous Exposition Palace with a ceremonial hall at its centre, a Machine Hall, 2 Agricultural Halls, and the Art Hall reflected the key-themes of the exposition. These buildings were supplemented by numerous smaller pavilions erected by the participating foreign countries. These included exotic restaurants such as an Arabian « Café » , or an Indian Wigwam, worker's housing, a Japanese village with a faithful recreation of typical Japanese country-side including hills, a lake with bridges and a waterfall, and a holy shrine. Also to be seen were a mosque and a copy of the ancient Egyptian rock mausoleum of Beni-Hassan, not to mention the Brewery Pavilions and a cast iron palm house.

The « Rotunda » sat on the rectangular hall of the Industrial Palace which connected to the west and east with 25 metre high lateral halls themselves each flanked on both sides by 8 side galleries with a grid separation of 50 metres. The floor plan (described at the time as a « fishbone system ») was based on a 5 year old design by the architect Eduard van der Nüll and August Sicard von Sicardsburg. His plan was selected because of its transparency and the ability of housing separate countries within the side-galleries. It also opened-up the possibility of creating additional exhibition space by roofing over the court-yards between the side-galleries. The 70,000 square-metres of space within the Exposition Palace (which was 907 metres long and 206 metres wide) was constructed with wrought iron pillars

supporting flat-arched lattice arches. The spaces between the pillars were bricked-up as high as the capitals which also marked the base of the windows. The roofs were covered with zinc sheet. Four complex portals in neo-Baroque style (a novel type of historical expression) were located to north, east, south and west. The drawing of the main-portal on the south side shows the monumental nature of its colossal dimensions which call to mind the triumphal arches of the 19th Century.

The Machine Hall ran parallel to the Industrial Palace. This hall was 800 metres long and 50 metres wide and provided 40,000 square-metres of exhibition area. This was where the « brilliant inventions providing useful service and born-out of technical progress », i.e. : machine functions and operating principles, were to be showcased. As was also the case with the Art Hall and the Agricultural Halls, this was a brick building with framework walls and a roof construction featuring sheet-metal covered main trusses. The central gallery was 8 metres higher than the side-galleries, creating room for large windows between the pillars. Inside the building, the central gallery and lateral galleries were only separated by 2 long rows of pillars which, unlike the Industrial Palace, gave an immediate overview of the whole interior space. Two rail-tracks ran along the length of the hall to facilitate the transport of heavy machinery. These tracks were linked to 6 branch tracks via turntables. The form and function of the building was harmonized by dispensing with decorations and monumental portals.

The « jewel » of the exposition architecture was the Emperor Pavilion praised by architectural critics as a « work by Hasenauer graced by Hellenistic subtlety », as « a charming microcosm of the whole, colossal Exposition Site ». Divided into a projecting central structure and 2 lateral wings with pavilions at the corners, the building resembled a smaller version of the Industrial Palace, albeit more richly decorated and with the finest interior furnishings - as befitted the location of the private rooms of the Imperial couple.

### The Industrial Palace

Surrounded by variety shows and exotic restaurants, the chief-architect, Carl von Hasenauer, built what was the landmark of this first world exhibition in a German-speaking country : an enormous hall for industrial products that was given the name « Rotunda ». In order to draw special attention to the engineers' achievements, the daring steel construction was not covered on the outside.

...

The area chosen as the exhibition ground was a 12 hectare section of the popular « Prater » Park. The original idea for the Exhibition was to create an « international city » with numerous national pavilions. This approach was rejected in favour of a central exposition building for industrial products, machinery and the arts. The main construction, « The Industrial Palace », was the architectural highlight of the Expo and its « Rotunda » was the largest in the world : 83 metres high and about 110 metres in diameter. The structure, a feat of engineering and design, served as the focal-point and ideological locus for the Vienna Exhibition.

The « Rotunda » was the conspicuous central building, a gigantic structure which served as the focus of the World

Exhibition, with 4 rectangular galleries, each 190 metres long, leading away from it. There was a Palace of Industry and a Hall of Engines (between 700 and 900 metres long) , in which more than 1,000 exhibitors presented their products. The most important building material was iron, whose use was definitely regarded as modern in the 19th Century - think, for example of the Eiffel Tower, built for the Paris World Exhibition of 1889. In order to make room for the exhibition's numerous buildings, parts of the « Prater » Park were opened up and built over - up to then the area had been more or less untouched country-side.

...

The engineer Scott Russel based his concept for the « Rotunda » on his design for a 45 metre high dome created for the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. Although Russel was accused of making structural engineering errors and mistakes in estimating the material involved, Hasenau approved the project and handed responsibility for realizing the scheme to the architect Friedrich Schmidt aided by others including the Duisburg-based steel company Johann Caspar Harkort. As predicted, the construction of the roof presented enormous problems which delayed the completion of the building until March 1873.

A total of thirty-two 24 metre high pillars arranged in a circle supported an enormous tension ring with a diameter of 104 metres. This tension ring was first riveted together on the ground before being lifted into place. The ring itself supported 41 metre long radial struts which converged upwards to meet at the pressure ring. The structural elements were emphasized by fixing the skin of the roof beneath the beams. Two lanterns were installed above the sloping part of the roof. The lower one had a diameter of 31 metres and housed a walkway providing visitors to the exhibition with a panoramic view of the whole site and beyond to Vienna and the surrounding area from the impressive height of 70 metres. The second lantern stood high above the roof and was topped by a round dome. The highest-point of the building at 85.30 metres (which made it the tallest building in the whole exposition) was a 4 metre high, 5 metre wide gilded replica of the Imperial crown set with precious stones. An enormous building was thus created as the symbol of the World Exposition. Its monumental dimensions exceeded those of St. Peter's in Rome. A « technological Masterpiece » , a symbol of the « enormous advancement in engineering » , and topped off with a crown - the key-expression of the megalomaniac, egotistical fervour of the youthful economic self-confidence of the Austrian Empire. Decorative elements inside the « Rotunda » were required to « harmonize » with the iron skeleton of the building with the objective of merely underlining the beauty of the structural engineering. The supporting pillars were linked with circular brick arches, whilst the metal skin and the iron pillars were wrapped in jute and decorated with figures. Daylight in generous quantities flooded into the building thanks to the large side-windows and the lantern. Four large trees from the former park decorated the centre of the hall along with the magnificent central fountain created by Antoine Durenne. A hydraulic lift whisked the visitors to an inner-gallery at a height of 23 metres which not only provided a good view of this arena for the finest exhibits and the biggest celebrations, but also gave access to the outside of the building onto the tent roof from where intrepid visitors could mount ladders to climb-up to the crown.

An important part given to education and science

Like in previous Fairs, the mechanical exhibits dominated in all sections. However, according to the press, the most interesting sections were those dedicated to education. One of the innovations of the exhibition was the « History of Prices » section which allowed exhibitors to show the gradual increase of labour productivity and the dependency between public taste and economic development. Vienna 1873 was also the first Expo to offer a site for international forums of scientists : there were 12 congresses and conference held in Vienna during the Expo.

### An Expo used as a tool for business and commercial development - the example of Japan

The exposition was used to establish business contacts between industrial nations. Japan, for example who was participating officially to an Expo for the first time, sought a double objective. On the one hand, in the context of the Meiji era, the Japanese delegation in Vienna was to observe and study as many technological and social achievements of Western countries as possible. On the other hand, Japan was to present itself as a commercial and future world power. Instead of presenting traditional Japanese art, the country preferred to display contemporary items that could please the European public. The Viennese visitors enjoyed it very much : the « japonism » trend was beginning.

### A successful event for the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Despite the natural cataclysms and shocks that happened during the event (an unforeseen flood of the Danube, a cholera epidemic, the May 1873 stock-exchange crash) , the Vienna Exposition was a great highlight of the Dual Monarchy and boosted the renovation of Vienna : the Danube channel along with the impressive reconstruction of the old part of the city (the « Ring ») were the highest success of the municipal building program.

The 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna was widely considered a colossal failure - it lost the equivalent of 160 million euro because of a devastating combination of the world's first truly international financial crisis and Vienna's last cholera epidemic. In many ways, this is all you need to know to understand the crucial time in history at which the World Exhibition was held :

At the beginning of a new era of science and public health, as well rapid communication that enabled rampant speculation and its inevitable consequences.

### A mixed result : The end and the repercussions of the exposition

140,000 visitors (the largest number attending any one day of the exposition) flocked to Vienna on 2 November 1873 on the final day of the great exhibition. Heinrich Ritter Fellner von Feldegg was appointed to organize the dismantling of the Exposition Site and to conclude the unsettled negotiations with exhibitors. Whilst all of the smaller pavilions were demolished, pains were taken to preserve the « Rotunda » , the Machine Hall, and the 2 Amateur Pavilions. The latter were taken-over by the Art Academy. The Machine Hall was used by the Vienna Council as a warehouse, whilst the « Rotunda » (soon to become a symbol of Vienna and its Liberal « Gründerzeit » and « Ringstraßenzeit ») continued to be a major cultural venue until it was destroyed by fire in 1937. The gentrified « Volkssprater » was handed back as it was to the park authorities. The Swedish houses and the Japanese village were acquired by

Londoners whilst the splendid furnishings in the Emperor Pavilion (whose demolition was the subject of enormous controversy) were left in the safe-keeping of the Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna.

Despite the cultural achievements of the exposition which demonstrated, in the sense of Liberalism, the progress made in the new capital city during the « Gründerzeit », the exposition project overall was subject to extremely harsh criticism. The World Exposition was made the scapegoat for the economic crisis which led to the collapse of the stock-markets. This diminished the political weight of the Liberal government leading in the long-term to the development of a multi-party system and the division of the population into national groups.

Schwarz-Senborn was accused of improper financial planning and made responsible for the exposition deficit of 14 million Gulden. The very low number of visitors on account of the cholera epidemic (20 million were expected, only 7 million came) only served to make the results even worse. The social problems associated with the sudden increase in unemployment when the exposition ended, and exacerbated by the inflated rents and rise in the price of food, encouraged criticism of the regime which was accused of excess financial investment for the sake of pure luxury and prestige. Moreover, there were serious doubts about the contribution of the World Exposition to industrial and scientific progress despite the many congresses held over the exposition period.

Forgotten were the stimuli to the urban development of Vienna and the enormous prestige gained by Austria overseas - not least through the personal interest and involvement of the Emperor. Vienna and the Austrian Empire were able to present themselves on the largest exposition area to that date on a site embellished by grandiose monumental architecture. The exposition provided the framework for an extremely diverse « festival uniting the peoples of the world » and established a vital platform for the politics of peace, cultural exchange and export trade-relations - e.g. : with Japan.

### John Scott Russel : the designer of the « Rotunda »

The engineer John Scott Russel was born in Scotland in 1808 and was already a well-known expert for resolving apparently unsolvable problems long before the Vienna World Exposition. He was brought to public attention primarily by the construction of the then largest steamship in the world, the « Great Eastern » and the transplanting of the « Crystal Palace » from the London World Exposition site of 1851 across the metropolis to Sydenham. After studying mathematics and mechanics, Russel became Professor of Experimental Physics at the University of Edinburgh at the tender age of 26. In addition to his theoretical research, he was also continuously engaged in putting ideas into practice - which resulted in the construction of numerous models for steam ships and traction engines. Russel eventually took-control of the Caird Shipyard in Glasgow and his inventions pioneered modern ship-building. The Commissioner General of the Vienna World Exposition, Baron Schwarz-Senborn, considered Russel the perfect engineer to develop an unusual attraction for this major event. The plan he finally produced exceeded all previous accomplishments in his field. Russel's design for the « Rotunda » created the largest domed building in the world.

### Director-General of the World Exposition : Baron Doctor Wilhelm von Schwarz-Senborn

Born in Vienna in 1816, Wilhelm von Schwarz-Senborn initially studied applied chemistry and furthered the promotion of industrial technology. As secretary of the Lower-Austrian Business Association, he played a decisive role in promoting economic reform and eventually became secretary of the Ministry of Trade. From 1860 onwards, he repeatedly represented Austria at international exhibitions. His personal commitment to the Austrian economy and the experience he gained as Austria's Exhibition Commissioner endowed Schwarz-Senborn with the qualifications required to advise the Emperor on economic and foreign policy matters between 1860 and 1866. After the 1862 London World Exposition, Schwarz-Senborn became director of the commercial office at the Austrian Embassy in Paris. On 9 January 1871, Schwarz-Senborn was officially appointed Director-General of the World Exposition at the request of the government and the Emperor. He agreed to the request on condition that he be given a completely free-hand with respect to the exposition concept, and returned to Vienna in May 1871 to carry-out the task. Schwarz-Senborn opened his Vienna office on the « Ringstraße » on 1 August 1871. He soon earned a great deal of criticism during the preparations for the exposition because of his apparently strong willed and chaotic style of leadership. Moreover, the government accused him of favouring foreign exhibitors (in particular the French) to the disadvantage of Austrian companies. Lavishly praised at the start as an exposition expert, Schwarz-Senborn's reputation declined dramatically and he was subsequently made responsible for the cost overrun and the financial failure of the exposition. After the World Exposition, he was sent to Washington in 1874 where he spent a few years as the Austrian ambassador. Even after his return to Vienna, he was unable to fulfill his original wish of becoming mayor and completing the development of the city. His glittering career came to a premature end with the disaster of the Vienna World Exposition.

### Chief buildings

Industrial palace and courts covered.

Machinery-hall.

Agricultural halls.

Art-gallery.

Amateurs' exhibition.

The grounds surrounding the main buildings were crowded with supplemental structures, either to accommodate exhibitors for whom room could not be obtained in the industry palace, or for special exhibitions by countries, companies, or individuals, or as architectural displays showing the styles or methods of construction in use in distant lands. The published list of the buildings enumerates more than 200.

A total of 185 constructions, besides the machine-hall and the industry palace, exclusive of the telegraph-stations, water-closet buildings, and various small pavilions. In the « Volksprater » , adjoining the grounds, there were 103 buildings for public resort.

## Additional buildings and structures

Jury pavilion.

Imperial pavilion.

Offices of the general direction.

Barracks for the military guard.

Building for exhibition of live-stock.

Flower-exhibition tent.

Trade and commerce of the world.

Sanitary-exhibition pavilion.

Brass industry, Austria.

Infant's pavilion.

Women's-work pavilion.

German Empire exhibition pavilion.

Buildings of Egypt.

Russian pavilion.

Japanese houses.

Spanish pavilion.

Persian pavilion.

Turkish dwelling-house and bazaar.

Austrian agricultural department (« Ackerbau ministerium ») .



Austrian Lloyds.

Austrian « Gymnasium » .

Austrian marine exhibition.

Austrian savings-bank.

Marine exhibition, Trieste.

Forestry exhibitions.

Fishery : Sweden, Norway.

Brick-making machines and ice-machines.

Repairing shop.

Engine, Prague joint-stock company.

Light-house, Paul & Co.

Building for stained glass.

Gas-works, English.

House of Schuberth.

Italian buffet.

Morocco villa.

Gothic mausoleum.

Chime of bells.

Hilger's bells.

Austrian mineral waters, pavilion.

Garden-house.

Iron goods, furniture, « kiosks » , etc.

Iron house and iron chapel.

Ticket bureau, iron (R. Ph. Wagner) .

Building-yard.

Building-stone, Dohlgoff.

Building-stone, Freund.

Summer-house, flowers, Haslinger.

Danube Steamboat Company's pavilion.

Dreher's (Austrian) brewery pavilion.

Palm-house, iron and glass (R. Ph. Wagner) .

Photograph association (Vienna) .

« Cercle Oriental »

Pavilion, Prince of Saxe-Coburg.

Pavilion, Prince Schwarzenberg.

Pavilion, Prince of Monaco.

Pavilion, Achmed's fountain.

Pavilion garden : Sweden, Norway.

Music pavilion.

Maunthner's pavilion.

Mining industry, Group I, Karinthia.

Mining industry, Group I, Stiermark.

Mining industry, Group I, Innerberger.

Mining industry, Group I, Vorderberg.

Bohemian coal industry.

States Railway Company.

North Railway Company (station, etc.) .

South Railway Company pavilion.

New Free Press (Vienna) .

Heller's music-box pavilion.

Northern Ocean, polar products (Sideroff) .

Newschloß parquetry pavilion.

Prince Pittel, model stable.

R. Ph. Wagner, model stables.

Money pavilion.

Patent Cork Company.

Stone-sawing machine.

Staling's roofing.

Tobacco and cigar stand.

Office for sale of opera and theater tickets.

Kosch asphaltum exhibition.

Clay goods, Chemical Ware Company.

Wienerberger Ziegel's fabric, brick, terra-cotta, and triumphal arch.

« Vieille Montagne » Zinc Company.

Telegraph Company, signal-office.

Water-tower, water-works.

English wash-house.

Fischer's Windmill.

Kien's portable dwelling-house.

Agricultural Company.

Dynamo-meter, etc.

Steel bridge (Rothschild) .

Steel bridge Piernasky (not covered) .

Steel bridge, Swedish.

Bridge and road construction company.

Book-store.

Cement-building, Portland cement.

Genient-Intilding, Cailly.

Cement, Lissbauer.

Cement-goods, Perlmoser.

Asphalt-pavement pavilion.

Presburgh exhibition.

Pumps and syringes, Meunk & Co.

Pump-house, Meunk & Co.

Bureau for information to travelers.

Cook & Son, excursion tickets and tourists' tickets.

Gaze & Son, tourists' tickets.

Aveling & Porter's traction engines.

Steffen's saw-mill.

State exhibition, J. Liebig.

Exhibition Austro-Silesian Company.

Swedish « hunting-box » .

Swedish military (ordnance) pavilion.

Garden summer-house, Sweden.

Olderhausen's fire-extinguishers.

Railway exhibition (sheds) .

Baking establishment.

### Expo 1873 : Buildings and Side Buildings

From the Official Plan of the General Direction of the Exhibition.

I. Industry-palace with the rotunda.

II. Machinery-hall.

III. Art gallery.

IV. Pavilion for art.

V. Exhibition of amateurs.

VI. Western agricultural hall.

VII. Eastern agricultural hall.

VIII. Jury pavilion.

IX. Emperor's pavilion.

X. Offices of the direction.

XI. Postal telegraph and customs.

XII. Barracks.

XIII. Building for the exhibition of horses.

XIV. Railway-station.

XV. Guard-houses.

XVI. Water-closets.

XVII. Covered ways of communication.

The plan is divided into 4 zones. Each zone has its own numbering.

First zone

I. American restaurant.

I 1/2. American school-house.

2. Beer-hall of the citizen brewery, « Pilsen » .
3. Beer-hall of the « Pilsen » Joint-Stock Brewery.
4. Hungarian wine-house (Czarda) .
5. American drinking-hall.
6. Pavilion of the New Free Press.
7. Swiss confectioners, by Possard, of Zürich.
8. Pavilion of the musical-box manufactory, by Heller, in Bern.
9. Beer-hall of the brewery of Liesing, near Vienna.
10. French restaurant.
11. Pavilion of Prince Monaco.
12. Pavilion of the Finsponk Domain.
13. Swedish school-house.
14. Swedish army exhibition.
15. Swedish hunting pavilion.
16. Gothic mausoleum, by Wasserburger.
17. Boiler-house for the water-supply, Brothers Decker & Co. , of Canstatt.
18. Kiosque of the Southern Railway.
19. Kühn's portable house (dwelling) .
20. Pavilion of the First Austrian Savings Bank.
21. « Herr » Stark's pavilion.

22. Pavilion of the Little Child.
23. Restauration of the « Frères Provençaux » , Paris.
24. Reading-room of Natale Biffi, from Milan.
25. Restaurant of Natale Biffi, from Milan.
26. Wine-house of Natale Biffi, from Milan.
27. « Eisen hof » , hall for the exhibition of metal industry.
28. Pavilion of the Austrian Healing Springs.
29. Pavilion of tobacco and cigar specialties.
30. Pavilion of the Perlmöser cement ware manufactory of J. Neumüller, in Nussdorf.
31. Russian restaurant, by Engel, in St. Petersburg.
32. Wine-house of Steiermark (Austrian province) of the Steiermark Vineyard Company of Gratz.
33. Russian dwelling-house.
34. Exhibition of the Austrian Lloyd.
35. Wigwam. Restaurant.
36. Iron forcing-house, by R. Ph. Wagner.
37. Palace of the Viceroy of Egypt.
38. Little Japan-buildings and gardens.
39. Doctor Hardt's Oriental Circle.
40. Turkish dwelling-house.
41. Turkish bazaar.



42. Turkish coffee-house.
43. Persian dwelling-house.
44. Exhibition of the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Marine.
45. Light-house, by Sautter & Co. , of Paris.
46. House of the Photographic Association.
47. Dairy of the Imperial and Royal Farming Company.
48. Pavilion for the reception of the sick.
49. Building court.
50. Italian restaurant - iron house, by S. C. Hemming & Co. , of London.
51. Exhibition of the Imperial and Royal Horticultural Society.
52. Pavilion of the iron furniture manufactory of Quittner & Herzog.
53. Gardener's dwelling.

## Second zone

1. Light-house.
2. Fountain. Sultan Achmed II.
3. Triumphal arch of Wienerberg brick manufactory.
4. Russian peasants' house.
5. Pump-house.
6. Iron church.
7. Swedish dairy.

8. Pavilion of the administration of the royal Hungarian « woods and forests » .

9. Pavilion of the Steiermark owners of woodlands.

10. Saxon peasants' house.

11. Szekler peasants' house.

12. Austrian school-house.

13. Vorarlberg peasants' house.

14. Austrian « Gymnasium » .

15. Pavilion for glass-painting.

16. Slovakian peasants' house.

17. Croatian peasants' house.

18. Roumanian peasants' house.

19. Gaydelian peasants' house from the neighbourhood of Preßburg.

20. Gaydelian peasants' house from the neighbourhood of Preßburg.

### Third zone

1. American restaurant.

2. Vienna bakery, by Roman Uhl.

3. English workman's dwelling-house.

4. Pavilion for seed.

5. Water tower for the high-water service.

6. Iron house, by S. C. Hemming & Co. , London.

7. Swedish restaurant.
8. Norwegian fishery exhibition.
9. Swedish fishery exhibition.
10. Norwegian garden « kiosque » .
11. German teaching pavilion.
12. Germany's pavilion of industry.
13. German exhibition of mining industry.
14. Tasting-room of the Dreher beer brewery.
15. Pavilion of the Duke August of Coburg-Gotha.
16. Pavilion of Prince Schwarzenberg.
17. Pavilion Mauthner.
18. Stable building, by R. Ph. Wagner.
19. Curtis' obelisk of cement.
20. Little house of artificial stone, by Chailly.
21. Vorderberg exhibition of mining industry.
22. Innerberg exhibition of mining industry.
23. Kärntner exhibition of mining industry.
24. Pavilion of the Joint-Stock Brewery of Silberegg (Kärntner) .
25. Joint-Stock Machine Building Company, formerly Danek & Co. , Prague.
26. Tar and asphalte, by J. Bosch.

27. Building ornaments of zinc, by Vincent Wenzel.
28. Steffen's exhibition of machinery.
29. Rothschild's bridge-building.
30. Rothschild's machinery exhibit.
31. Slate exhibit, by Jno. Liebieg.
32. Wood-ware, by Schuberth.
33. States Railroad pavilion.
34. English restaurant, by Abel Moser and Posse (Iron house) .
35. Pavilion of the joint-stock company for bridge and street building.
36. Tyrolese house. (Wares of carved wood.)
37. Additional exhibition : contributions to the History of Trades and Inventions, and pavilion for women's work.
38. Pavilion.
39. Pavilion of the Imperial and Royal Private Austrian Danube Steam Navigation Co.
40. Alsatian peasant-house.
41. Exhibition of the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Agriculture.
42. Wine-tasting hall of all lands.
43. Sacher's restaurant.
44. Pavilion of the joint-stock company for forest industry.
45. Pavilion of the Archduke Albert.

Fourth zone

1. Bakery by Heilfinger.
2. Boiler-house.
3. American boiler-house.
4. English workman's dwelling-house.
5. English boiler-house.
6. English workman's dwelling-house.
7. French boiler-house.
8. English gas factory.
9. Gas Company, limited.
10. Belgian workman's dwelling-house.
11. Machinery work-shop.
12. Swiss boiler-house.
13. Belgian boiler-house.
14. Pavilion of the world's trade.
15. German boiler-house.
16. Germany's pavilion for brick-kilns and ice-machines.
17. Austrian boiler-house.
18. Pavilion of the Northern Railway.
19. Pavilion of the Northwest Railway.
20. Boiler-house for the water-supply.

## 21. Pavilion Ringhofer.

### Expo 1873 : Opening day

**Thursday, 1 May 1873** (Noon time) : Opening ceremony of the Fifth World's Fair in Vienna at the Industrial Palace (« Rotunda ») .

On opening day, the streets of the « Ringstraße » were wet with a cold drizzle. More than 20,000 Viennese citizens came out to see the festivities, yet, the area around the « Rotunda » , « Leopoldstadt » and « Praterstern » , did not seem even half-full. Emperor Franz-Josef appeared at noon, signaling the beginning of the ceremonies. The program was unusually brief ; it concluded in less than 30 minutes and lacked any type of formal speech. However, the one characteristic that immortalized that day was the music. The strains of the « Hofoper Orchester » and the voices of 2 Viennese Choral Societies united in performing Georg Friedrich Händel's March, the waltzes of Johann Strauß, and the Austrian national hymn.

While the music emerged as a high-point of the initial celebrations, the atmosphere in Vienna during the Fair seemed rather half-hearted.

Emperor Franz-Josef opened the Vienna World Exposition in the presence of members of the Royal Family, aristocratic guests and numerous members of the government - though without any representative of the Church. The « Major Prater Procession » began at 11 o'clock with government representatives in national costumes. The arrival of their majesties was celebrated at 12 o'clock by the sounding of the national anthem and Baron Schwarz-Senborn guided the guests of honour into the festively decorated « Rotunda » where the opening-ceremony was held in the absence of the general public. The ceremony began by Archduke Karl Ludwig welcoming the Emperor with a speech and the hand-over of the general catalogue with a memorandum of the World Exposition. The opening speeches by Prime Minister Adolf Fürst von Auersperg and Mayor Baron Cajetan von Felder (1868-1878) celebrating the exposition as a « festival of peace uniting all peoples » and as a « contribution to the well-being of the whole of mankind » , were preceded by the following speech by his Royal Majesty the Emperor to officially open the Exposition :

« With great satisfaction, I see before me the completion of a major operation whose importance and significance I honour to the fullest extent. This ambitious project was accompanied by my faith in the patriotism and skills of my people, and the understanding and support of friendly nations. My Imperial best wishes and my grateful appreciation are dedicated to its successful conclusion. I hereby declare the 1873 World Exposition open. »

The choirs conducted by the Court Opera Music-Director then sang the Festival anthem composed by Georg Friedrich Händel with its own specially commissioned World Exposition text :

Glocken klingt und Fahnen weht,  
Heut zu festlichem Empfang  
Und das Werk, das fertig steht,

Grüße weihender Gesang.

Weite Hallen sind bereit  
Rings umher grünt Baum an Baum,  
Eine Welt voll Thätigkeit  
Regt sich stolz in diesem Raum.

Was der Geist ersinnt und schafft,  
Was gebildet Kunst und Fleiß,  
Mächtig Bild vereinter Kraft,  
Ringend nach dem höchsten Preis.  
Auf, ihr Völker, kehret her  
Zu der großen Geisterschlacht,  
Euer Fortschritt, Eure Wehr  
Und die Bildung, Eure Macht !

Arbeit ist der Staaten Grund,  
Gleiches Streben macht auch gleich,  
Einen Völkerfriedensbund  
Feiert heute Österreich !

Following the official opening ceremony, the first tour of the World Exposition by guests of honour began at around 12:30. Although numerous exhibits were still unready at the time of the opening-ceremony, the luxurious presentation of international arts and crafts in the Industrial Palace in particular was greeted with tremendous admiration. Other highlights included the colourful and exotic presentations by the colonial powers and the pompous « papier-mâché » installations in the Oriental section. A special attraction was the exhibit featuring progress in the educational field where visitors were introduced by way of models to kindergartens, schools and a selection of modern teaching tools.

...

Timed to coincide with the Emperor's 25th anniversary, the World Fair aimed to confirm the status of Austria-Hungary as a major European power and as an advanced industrial and economic State. As the opening address of Archduke Karl Ludwig to the Emperor asserted, the fair served to « direct the gaze of the world toward Austria and ensure the recognition of the participation of our fatherland in the promotion of the well-being of mankind through work and instruction ». Its significance was signalled by the presence at the opening-ceremony of, among others, Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia, Edward Prince of Wales, and the Crown Prince of Denmark, with their spouses.

**Expo 1873 : Opening speech at the « Reichsrat »**

**Wednesday, 5 November 1873** : Speech by Emperor Franz-Josef I at the ceremony celebrating the opening of the

Reichsrat :

« Despite the difficulties with which the World Exposition had to cope, this major operation blossomed into a glittering achievement and attracted prestige and recognition from all sides. Its charitable influence on the intellectual and economic life of the people, the promotion of culture, the stimulation of the innovative spirit and commercial enterprise, as well as on enhancing the esteem of honest toil, is acknowledged with gratitude throughout the world. I am able to say that the honour which was won and the success which was achieved in this friendly competition filled the political heart with pride and hope. The visits from the rulers of neighbouring and distant Empires with which I was honoured here at the World Exposition have tightened the bond of friendship with this Empire, enhanced the desire for peace, and raised the standing of the position of the Monarchy amongst the league of nations. »

### Expo 1873 : The Emperor's Pavilion

The beautiful pavilion for the use of the Emperor was a present to him from the artisans, each trade having contributed a sample of its best work. Most of the work was done by the builders, decorators, and furnishing-houses who participated in the exhibition. The chief expense to the commission was for the architect's design and drawings. It consisted of 4 main « salons » and a wide vestibule, which was exquisitely paved in mosaic. The « salons » were respectively for the Emperor, the Empress, the archdukes and the archduchesses.

The decoration was executed under the direction of Professor Störck. The walls of the « salon » of the Empress were hung with blue and gold, and the ceiling and doors were worked in colours and arabesque. In the centre of the ceiling, there was a shield painted on blue satin, by Freidrich Sturm, who composed and directed the paintings on the wood. The rest of the ceiling was decorated by Ignatz Schönbrunner. The stove was of white Carrara marble, by Francini ; the mirror by Lobmeyer, and the piano by Börsendorfer ; the lace-curtains were from the establishment of labor & Co. , and the chairs and sofa from Haas. The seats were covered with blue and gold embroidery, worked in the convent of the Daughters of the Redeemer.

### Nasir al-Din Shah's narrations of World Fairs

Nasir al-Din Shah's awareness of the image of Iran (and himself) in the European scene can be clearly seen in his descriptions of the expositions or world fairs in his European « safarnamahs ». Created at the end of the 18th Century, expositions became a common fixture on the world stage from the second half of the 19th Century. By the 1867 Paris Exposition and the creation of the national pavilions where the countries of the world were assigned a specific space in the fairs, the expositions became visual presentations of the European (and colonial) ordering of the globe, a function that they carry forth even to this day.

For Nasir al-Din Shah, these fairs also became yet another venue on which to situate and narrate Imperial power in his travel accounts. The importance of being represented on the global stage of world fairs for the Egyptians, Ottomans, and the Qajars has been noted extensively before. The juxtaposition of what we know about these world fairs and Nasir al-Din Shah's descriptions in his books of travel, descriptions that were aimed at his audience at home,



bring to the fore the cultural work that his narratives accomplished.

Each of Nasir al-Din Shah's European travels coincided with a world fair - Vienna in 1873, Paris in 1878 and 1889. The descriptions of the world fairs differ from one another, depending on the extent of Iran's presence and the context in which Nasir al-Din Shah was narrating it. Yet what is constant, and what needs to be kept in mind, is the way in which the king's presence itself acted as an additional representation of Iran (like the carpets and pottery on display) on the global stage that were the expositions. As such, the scenes of the world fairs in each travel account operate on 3 representational levels : on the level of the Iran booth or pavilion ; on the level of the Iranian king, himself an embodiment of his « dawlat » and « millat » , walking through the Iran section ; and on the level of the kingly narrative, and his creation of a textual image for his audience home and abroad.

On **August 1, 1873**, a cool day in Vienna, the king sets out toward the exposition, the first of its kind he has ever seen. As he approaches the grounds, traveling through Vienna, the king notes that because of the cholera epidemic, « the hot weather and the dirtiness of the city » , noteworthy people have all left for their summer homes. Bereft of « beautiful women » , the city is full of men, women, and children, who are all « dirty, pale, and most of whom have leprosy [“ bards va juzam ”] , [are] mostly poor, and seem emaciated [“ khamsah ”] like the people of Zanjan » . Seamlessly from this picture of disease and poverty, Nasir al-Din Shah enters his description of the Emperor's Pavilion, where he has lunch with the Emperor and proceeds from there to visit the exposition.

Nasir al-Din Shah here describes the building of the fair using almost exclusively familiar architectural terms for his readers :

The exposition is like the « chaharsu » or the cross-road Persian markets, it has a large dome (« gonbad ») , and is full of bazaars all moving-out from the great dome. Underneath the dome is a « hawz » (basin of water typical to Persian court-yards) and a fountain built by the French.

Nasir al-Din Shah explains what was contained in the fair :

Every State (« dawlat ») has a special place to display its wares. In addition to some of the « grand » States, such as Russia, England, Germany (France notably is not counted as one of the grand States) , there were wares from « the Ottoman State, Egypt, Greece, Japan, China, etc. » .

When it comes to the pavilions, Nasir al-Din Shah mentions those of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and Iran, claiming that « other than these, I didn't see pavilions from other States » . Nasir al-Din Shah doesn't give much description of the physical structure of the Iranian pavilion, which was a « 2 story exhibition-hall on a residential scale » . Instead, he explains to his readers that this « building of mirror work » was the product of only 3 months work by an architect named « Ustad Isma'il » and a carpenter, the former of which had managed to learn German during his 3 month stay. Nasir al-Din Shah again repeats how astonished he was at the job well-done in just 3 months, and notes that a lot of money had been spent on the pavilion. He then sits in the building with the head of the exposition, has some ice-cream and smokes a water-pipe, and leaves.

Reading the descriptions of the Vienna Exposition in the context of the disease-ravaged city raises the question of how much the King's impressions of the city fed into his (and his readers') opinion of the exposition as the site of European progress. Neither science nor advances in technology were able to prevent Vienna from becoming a ghost city full of emaciated people and lepers, a scene that Nasir al-Din Shah observes and records on the heel of his first entrance into the world fair. As such, it makes sense that his impression of it was both tempered and yet highlighted Iranian achievement in its midst.

### Expo 1873 : The covered ways

The covered ways were remarkable as containing the only gratuitous seats in the grounds of the Exhibition. Certainly, the ubiquitous iron chairs with spring seats were as comfortable as the charge (5 Kreuzers) for using them was moderate, but this tariff only obtained in places where there was no attraction, as the seats placed around the orchestra were respectively 20 Kreuzers for the inner-ring, and 10 Kreuzers for the outer. This scale of prices was relished by no one with the solitary exception of the proprietor of the Italian « Café », who on fine days found his tables crowded with those who chose to enjoy their beer and Beethoven at a price infinitesimally more than the mere privilege of sitting in the ring.

### Expo 1873 : Restorations and draining system

At the Liesinger, the Hungarian, the « Pilsner Actien » Brewery, and the « Pilsen Bürgerlich » restaurations, tens of thousands of persons dined daily from the opening to the closing of the Exhibition. Sometimes as many as 10,000 persons dined, and 22,500 « Seidel » glasses of beer were drunk per day at the « Pilsner Actien » alone ; and proportionate numbers of persons dined, and glasses of beer were drunk at the other restaurations named, except the Hungarian, where the staple drink was wine from Hungary. Hence, the quantity of sewage that came from these places, particularly washings, refuse, and fat from the kitchens, was enormous. In the drains from the kitchens, special traps were provided by the engineer for intercepting the refuse and fat. But so great and continuous was the cry from the crowds of diners for « Kellner, Speisen, and Bier », that no one had time to attend to them, or, indeed, to anything but the demands on the kitchen and the beer-barrel. Now and again, one or the other of the tributary drains would stop up, and then, came a dead-lock at the closets and then came a dead-lock at the closets and the sinks, and a request from the restauration proprietor for the immediate attendance of the « Ober-Ingenieur ». Upon opening the drains, they were invariably found to be stopped by a pair of trousers, a pair of stockings, and a newspaper, some table-napkins, some dish-cloths, and brushes, some large pieces of meat and bones, or some broken beer-glasses, which had been forced through the water-closets and sinks ; and bushels of fat were taken-out of the drains, as well as out of the reservoirs at the outlet.

### Expo 1873 : Beer at the Vienna World Fair

In 1873, a Brewers' Association was created in Vienna.

« The Austrian beers like all the light beers of Germany are brewed in accordance with the Bavarian system, and are

generally a very superior class of beverage. They are of a pale amber colour, exceedingly bright and sparkling, and of a full pleasant flavour, entirely free from acidity, remarkably light drinking, are invariably in fine condition, owing to their being kept constantly iced when the weather is in the least degree warm, and always carry a rich creamy head. The marked difference between the Austrian and lighter German beers and those of England arises principally from the brewing, still the after treatment and certain exigencies of climate contribute materially to the contrast. Austrian beer is not nearly so strong as English beer, yet from the quantity of unfermented extract which it contains, it drinks fuller so to speak in proportion to its strength and is infinitely more refreshing. In Vienna, everybody drinks beer, which even figures regularly at the Imperial dinner table, and owing to its exceeding lightness quadruple the quantity can be consumed as could be partaken of in England without the risk of getting intoxicated.

The great speciality in fact of the Austrian and lighter German beers is their producing neither intoxication nor drowsiness, and which is due principally to the small quantity of alcohol they contain. Still, there is another important reason which appears never to have been taken in consideration, namely, the purity of the alcohol and its freedom from aldehyde and fusil oil. The Bavarian system of under fermentation, which is in general use in the breweries of Austria, prevents the formation of aldehyde and ensures the entire elimination of the gluten of the malt, which is the great oxydizing agent, besides lessening the liability to produce fusil oil. The Vienna beers show upon analysis from 7 to 9 % , of proof spirit combined with an average of 3,000 grains of soluble extract per Imperial gallon. In all fermented saccharine solutions a certain quantity of alcohol is requisite to save them from further fermentation and ultimate acidity, but the Vienna beers do not contain sufficient spirit to protect them for any length of time after they have been removed from the ice cellars. When any nitrogenous matter is present, a change takes place more readily, and although the beer is free from gluten, the most powerful decomposing agent it has to contend with, it still contains albumen, which in the act of decomposition has the property of converting alcohol into acetic acid.

In brewing the light German beers, not only much fewer hops but from 30 to 40 % , less malt is used than in the average of English beers, still the former are not proportionally cheaper, simply because what they lack in material has to be made-up by superior production and finish. Ice, which is used in immense quantities, forms a considerable item in the expenditure of Austrian and German breweries generally. One large establishment, that of the celebrated Dreher, uses as much as 40,000 tons per annum in the brewery alone, besides the large extra quantity required in the various cellars and stores where the beer is kept, and for packing it when sent by railway in vans especially constructed for the purpose. All this is essential to maintain the soundness of the beer and ensure that brisk condition for which it is so celebrated, and although it adds considerably to the cost, the expenditure must still be incurred, or the beer after transit and exposure to even a moderately warm temperature will lose its fine character and get completely out of condition.

The consumption of beer of this perishable nature is chiefly confined to places on the continent where ice is plentiful, and where it is not the custom, as in England, for families to have beer in cask at their own homes, for a beverage of this light character can be kept on draught merely for a day or two after it has been once tapped. In no city in the world is beer to be found of such general excellence and of so uniform a quality as at Vienna, where it is almost invariably obtained in high-perfection, owing partly to the more celebrated breweries being so near to the capital, but chiefly to the quick consumption at the numerous beer-halls and gardens, which ensures fine condition as well as

perfect freshness. The demand at many of these establishments is so great that nothing is thought of drawing as much as 1,500 gallons in the course of a single day. With this rapid draught, the peculiar and often objectionable flavour imparted by the pitch used by all the German brewers to line their casks so as to keep them air tight, is perceptible in the Vienna beer only in a very slight degree, owing, no doubt, to its scarcely having time to take it up. This flavour, however, is frequently communicated to the beer in the fermenting tuns, which are lined with pitch that partially dissolves during the fermentation process.

Vienna beer would not be considered sufficiently stimulating for general consumption in England, besides which it lacks the aroma and flavour of the hop. The Germans generally often claim for their beer the advantage of its being both food and drink, which doubtless is true enough of the beers of certain localities, where it is the practice to leave a considerable proportion of the dextrine and sugar of the wort unfermented. This class of beer, which is drunk principally by the peasantry and labouring classes, is high-coloured, clammy, and heavy in bulk. Still, even the ordinary beers are regarded in a measure as so much food, and possibly the bibacious Germans do derive some benefit in this way from them. An analysis, however, of several samples shows that the total soluble extract, that is, the dextrine and sugar, comprised in an entire gallon, merely supplies the same amount of nutriment as is contained in 17 ounces of bread. Continental beer, generally, contains a larger quantity of soluble extract than English beer ; although in some kinds of the latter the proportion is considerable, still their headiness is a bar to sufficient being taken to impart an appreciable amount of nutriment.

In Austria, as in all the principal beer producing countries on the continent, a great increase in the consumption of beer has manifested itself of late years, combined with a marked decrease in the number of breweries, owing to the smaller breweries being forced to succumb to the competition of the larger establishments, which are conducted on more scientific as well as sounder economic principles. Between the years 1860 and 1872, the number of breweries decreased from 3,314 to 2,636, or more than 20 % , whereas during the same period the quantity of beer produced increased as much as 60 % . In Upper-Austria, where cider is largely drunk by the country people, no particular increase in the production of beer is apparent, and indeed, in years when apples have been plentiful, a positive falling-off commonly declares itself. The increased consumption of beer in Austria is contemporaneous in a measure with the rapid progress of one vast brewery establishment of European fame, namely, that of Anton Dreher, at Klein Schwechat, near Vienna, which in the first year of its existence brewed merely 333,832 gallons of beer, and now brews 8,798,300 gallons, an increase of more than 26 fold. A diploma of honour was given to “ Herr ” Dreher for the improvements in brewing which he had been the means of effecting, as well as to another large firm, A. Mantner and Son, of Vienna, a medal for progress being awarded to a celebrated brewery of Vienna beer, known as the Liesing Brewery Company ; and medals for merit to the Brunn and Hutteldorf Breweries in Lower-Austria, Hatschek Brothers, at Linz, and Herr, Kuffner, at Döbling. Honourable mention was further made of 3 other exhibitors.

Most of the Austrian beers have a mild and soft flavour, and it is rarely that any of them are so bitter as the English pale ales. An exception, however, must be made with regard to, the so-called « Pilsner » beer brewed at Plzeň, in Bohemia, on a very extensive scale, and much in favour with the Viennese, who do not object to pay a slightly higher-price for it. This beer is exceedingly pale in colour as well as remarkably light, being even weaker than the Vienna beer, and contains a considerable amount of carbonic acid. Its distinguishing quality, however, is its strong, indeed

almost medicinal bitter flavour, due to the Saaz hops, held in the highest-esteem in the locality. The Citizens' brewery at Plzeň, which produces by far the largest quantity of this beer, and is in fact the most extensive brewing establishment in Bohemia, had a medal for progress awarded to it for the samples it exhibited. Another brewery company at Plzeň received a medal for merit, the same reward being given to five other Bohemian breweries, in addition to which honourable mention was made in 5 instances.

Bohemia has been a beer producing State ever since the 14th Century, and its ales have long enjoyed a more than local celebrity. Today, the number of large breweries it supports are very great. Wine being neither plentiful nor cheap, and cider not being made to any extent, beer is an article of general consumption among the Bohemians, and the annual quantity produced shows an increase of no less than 76 % , during the last 13 years. »

...

In 1867, the Austrian submission to the « Exposition universelle » in Paris had included an « Austrian Village » , complete with a beer-hall selling lager of the Dreher Brewery and, among others, a « typical » Viennese bakery, a Hungarian tavern (« csarda ») , and a Tyrolean hut. The following World's Fair, held in Vienna in 1873, had also included a village that showcased rural dwellings from different parts of the Empire, with a more markedly ethnographic accent. Each building had included occupants from its place of origin, which enabled Viennese exhibitors at the Fair to have first hand encounters with, for example, Croat or Romanian peasants.

The Kärntner Restauration (Silberberg Company) , a wooden building of 2 stories with double story porch and verandah, was another feature from the excellence of the beer and the attractions of the « Kellner-innen » , whose immense snow white ruffs, high-kilted dresses and tall high-heeled laced-up boots were picturesque to a degree. There were also wooden « Bier Halles » , such the « St. Marxer Märzen Quelle » , kept by Pamperl & Co. , the « Restaurant du Nord » , the Hamburger Restauration of 2 stories (J. & J. Luckmann) and that of Willvouseder and Grubin at the rear of the Machinery-Hall, all frequented by the lower-classes of visitors, and differing in nothing from the « Bier Halles » in the Würstel « Prater » ; but the subject as well as the list of the « Bier Halles » and Restaurations is now exhausted and it cannot be hard to guess from it that visitors whether with slender or full purses could find no difficulty whatever in appeasing their appetites.

### Expo 1873 : The Tasting-Hall

Provision was made for the erection of a « tasting-hall » in which exhibitors could sell small portions of their wines, beer, or edible products, under strict rules, which were published in programme Number 65. It was in fact a great refreshment saloon, or a series of bars in alcoves, side by side, where the viands of almost all countries were retailed. There was only one main passage-way or hall for the public, and all chairs or seats were strictly excluded. The smallest compartment or alcove had a counter 2 meters long. The rent, 200 Florins per meter, was paid in advance at the time of application, and only exhibitors were allowed to rent compartments. The sale of produce not exhibited was prohibited, and also beverages on draught. Only such articles were admitted and sold as were capable of being stored in the ordinary way of trade, such as bottled wine, liquors, preserved fruits, and canned meats and fish. The

regulations even prescribed the maximum of a « drink » . For wines, it was not to exceed 0.044 liter, and for liquors half as much.

The duty on all articles liable to it was paid in advance. One advantage the exhibitor had was the reduced freight on all goods intended for the exhibition or the « tasting-hall » .

Water was supplied by hydrant to each alcove, but all other fittings, furniture, or any decorations were to be supplied by the tenant. No underletting was permitted, and compartments not occupied for 3 weeks were relet.

### Expo 1873 : Where to eat and drink

Sight-seeing is naturally an exhausting operation and after the prolonged mental effort necessary to take-in and digest the myriad wonders contained within the ring fence of the Exhibition, nature herself reiterated the cry of « il faut consommer » with as much persistence as a « garçon » in the now defunct « Café des Aveugles » in Paris. The only difficulty indeed to simple-minded folk was to make-up their minds before making-up their bodies, and to know where they might best repair their wasted tissues. There were restaurants : English, where meritorious if not always successful efforts were made to, at least, spell the names of English dishes ; American, where clam-chowder and pumpkin pie were procurable ; Italian, Swedish, Swiss, and Russian ; « Les Trois Frères Provençaux » , like a phœnix, resuscitated its old Palais Royal glories ; Sacher upheld the credit and the tariff of his famous restaurant, and every variety of German viand was obtainable at numberless « restaurations » , from « bock hähnl » to « Kalbsbraten » and « Kolasch » in meats, or « fogasch » , « sterlet » and « Danube carp » in fishes down to the simple « Ementhaler Käse » and garlic-scented Salami. In fluids, the field of choice was even still wider, you could procure anything you desired, from a bottle of Guinness's stout to a cup of Russian tea, from an ice-cream soda to a glass of Amontillado, every variety of vintage from Monte Pulciano to Ruster, from generous Chambertin to acid Styrian, whereas of the variety of beers there was literally no end.

Entering at the Elisabeth Avenue, the first building that caught the eye on the right-hand was the Hungarian Csarda, picturesquely perched on the summit of a green mound, itself as picturesque as its site. Its thatched roof and Norman arched porches gave it a unique appearance. At the side facing the avenue projected a square-porch supported by square-pillars, whose balustrade was as artistic in effect as it was simple in construction, being formed merely of open brickwork. Ascending the slope, you came on the terrace where a « Zigeuner » band with violins, zither and clarinet beguiled, with wild Hungarian melodies, the time occupied in consuming flasks of « Schomlauen » , « Erlaner » , or « Adelsberger » , « Ruster » or even princely « Tokay » . Around you, on every side, were seated Hungarian peasants in the costume so well-known through our hussars, or cattle herdsmen « Gulyàs » , and horse-keepers « Czikos » , in elaborately embroidered sheep-skin « bèkes » , and half-hours passed more pleasantly at but few places in the grounds than the moments spent at the Hungarian Csarda. Immediately beside were the 2 « Pilsner Bier Halles » , that the « Actien Brauerei » , and the « Pilsner bürgerlichen Bräuhauses » ; both 2 storied. The former built of stucco, the lower-story projecting so as to form an upper-terrace all round the building ; the latter of wood, with a wide verandah occupying 3 sides. Around both these houses were tables without count, and from 12 till 2, the visitor considered himself fortunate to obtain a seat either within or without, while worried waiters ran to and fro, « bier-

trägers » bearing as many as a dozen full-glasses in their hands were ubiquitous, a storm of « bittes, komme-gleichs » , and « augenblicks » met your appeals for food, and no better school could anywhere be found for exercising the greatest of all virtues : patience. On the left was the Chicago Restaurant, one storied and over-shadowed by fine old trees remnants of the primeval « Prater » . Here, the mysteries of American cookery might be practically studied ; the well-meaning effort to impart culinary knowledge, however, can hardly have been successful as before the close of the Exhibition, the business changed hands posing over to the well-known brewer Dreher. Two small « Kiosks » (Piel) did a business far surpassing that of many more pretentious concerns, supplying wine, coffee, or cognac to wash down the « gaufres » (wafers) that all day long were turned out piping hot to expectant crowds.

A wooden « kiosk » for the sale of Hungarian wines kept by Ignacz Flandorffer, a French Liquor Buffet, for the sale of brandies and wines, and one wholly given-up to Champagne, nigh at hand were also well-patronized ; and beside the Spanish Additional Exhibition, Juan Morphy of Cadiz erected his « kiosk » where admirers of sherry, rejoicing to find good wines, did not grumble at the price, 80 Kreuzers a glass. The American speculations to provide food did not pay, possibly from the rarity of American visitors, for not only did the Chicago Restaurant change hands, but also, the American Bar on the Elisabeth Avenue and the American Restaurant near the Machinery Hall. In the first, afterwards the « Bier Halle » of Elbschloß and Leitmeritzer, the great problem of air without draught was fully-solved, the lower-story open all round supporting an upper one on pillars, that again bearing the roof ; there were no walls, no windows, but thorough shade and ventilation. The American Restaurant, subsequently that of Abel, Moser and Bosse, was built entirely of wood and presented no striking feature to attract attention. The Liesinger « Bier Halle » consisted of a large central « salle à manger » (dining room) of one story, and 2 wings each of 3 stories, and, in this instance, the wisdom of taking time by the forelock was fully-exemplified ; for built long before the Industrial Palace itself, the business done before the opening was such as to recoup the proprietors, both for the building and rent during the entire display, leaving a margin of profit greater than many businesses obtain for the labours of a lifetime.

Singularly graceful and light in construction, the Swiss Buffet was an effort of genius on the part of its architect ; built of wood, brightly painted, with 4 projecting porches, a centre campanile and verandah running all round, it would be difficult to decide the nationality of its architecture. The shoes that supported its roof were decidedly Moresque but there all attempt to describe at must end, suffice it to say that Swine maidens in their « piquante » snowy « chemisettes » and black bodices, ministred ices and coffee all day long, and that whatever the attraction the chalet, the « Kellnerinnen » , or the coffee, it was always crowded. The Swedish punch of the Restaurant of Theodor Blanche in Stockholm compounded therein was considered one of the successes of 1873. The Restaurant of the « Trois Frères » (3 Brothers) gastronomically was everything, architecturally nothing, being simply wood and canvas looped up to form curtains, one great advantage it possessed being that from one of the covered ways leading directly to it, one could pass under shelter from any part of the Exhibition. Attached was a wooden house, the office and store-room of the well-known firm of Tampier Frères of Bordeaux. The Russian Restaurant asserted its nationality within and without in every possible manner, in its quaint Slavonic architecture, its waiters in caftans, pink, red, or blue, and black velvet knicknerbockers, and its viands and fluids including the indispensable caviar and vodka, whilst the bright « samovar » supplied tea to be drunk « à la Russe » « with one slice of lemon in the tumbler » . The full-merit of decoration was amply shown in the Italian Restauration of Natale Biffi of Milan. The building itself, though of 2 stories, projecting porch and verandahs, would have been nothing with its simple white-washed walls, but with trophies of flags

and innumerable shields of all the cities in Italy, marking its lines and angles, it was as bright and cheerful as even the Swiss Buffet itself, and the annexed wine-house, « osteria, trattoria » , call it what one will, was a notable feature of the year, there being no waiters but pretty « contodinas » , whose costumes fitted them to wait for artists at the steps of the « Trinita de' Monti » , or come on at Covent Garden in a chorus of « Masaniello » or « Fra Diavolo » . Near the Kirghiz hut was a small « Kiosk » for the sale of « Wildpret Bouillon » , where for 10 Kreuzers one might taste soups originally prepared on the borders of the White Sea. And now, plunging into a genuine bit of forest scenery, one came on a genuine Styrian house built entirely of wood, half hidden in greenery, it had its exterior staircase leading to a balcony and upper-story, the penthouse roof covered with shingles sloping nearly to the ground. In front were rough tables and benches round which Styrian damsels, with short red « jupons » and snowy kerchiefs tied round their hair incessantly hovered bearing bottles of wine for thirsty souls, whilst some Styrian mountaineers produced charming strains from an extraordinary « mélange » of instruments, violins, zithers, and rock and wood harmonicons, the sweetness of the tones produced from the two latter being simply marvellous. On the hottest day, the shade here was perfect, and though the house was hidden in the depths of the wood, few wine-houses were better known ; for the cunning proprietor had taken the precaution of placing life-sized figures of Styrian peasants admirably painted at every entrance to the wood. Also bowered in trees was a quaint tent covered with painted figures of Fenimore Cooper's Indians performing deeds of dering-do, scalping enemies, and all the other amenities of these children of nature, whom Artemus Ward designates as « pison » , this was known as the Wigwam, and the local colour of the scene was fully carried-out in the eyes of Continentals by the employment of exclusively black waiters dressed in spotlessly white suits. Within the Wigwam, a distinguished professor from New York compounded seductive mixtures with peculiar names, from the unsophisticated simplicity of a « whisky skin » to the high-art of a « Catawba cobbler » , while « slings » , « smashes » , and « juleps » , were fragrant with mint and tempting as ice and sugar could make them. The « Café Turc » served as a foil, there, fine featured Greeks in fez and baggy trousers brought you Turkish coffee, half of it grounds, in tiny « zarfs » and kindled your tchibouque or nargileh with live charcoal. The « Cercle Oriental » was not so exclusive in fluids, all being obtainable and the dishes excellent, the waitresses being costumed as Bayadères, and, as a matter of course, utterly unlike their Moslem sisters. The Trieste and English Restaurants were simply corrugated iron buildings, raised some 3 feet above the ground on a terrace with verandahs running round them, and having no particular features save that in the latter a dock wine glass full of bitter beer was procurable for the small sum of 30 Kreuzers or 6 Pence.

Over the « Heustadl Wasser » , were the Kriau Restaurant, kept by the well-known Vienna « chef » Sacher, the « Tiroler Bier Halle » , with waitresses in high-hats, ornamented with either cock's plumes or flowers, and several small beer-houses whose bill of fare, besides beer, included all kinds of Austrian comestibles, including « Sauregurkenzeit » , cucumbers pickled in brine, and, suggestive of cholera, evil smelling Limburger cheese, « Liptauer garnirt » , and every variety of salami and sausage. Near the Austrian Agricultural Hall was a plain wooden shed ascended by steps, and divided within into a series of booths ; this, the « Kost-Halle » was noted as a Cosmopolitan bazaar for the sale of liquors, one booth was occupied by « La Grande Marque » Cognac Company ; its neighbour devoted itself to Maraschino de Zara, a Dalmatian lady presiding in full national costume, a fortune of sequins, real or sham, being hung around her ; opposite, a Dutch damsel from Friesland, with a gold head-dress having 2 bosses at the side and surmounted by a lace cap, ministered Schiedam ; Champagne, Dunville's Irish Whisky, Curaçoa, « Kirchwasser » , « Eau de Dantzig » , and all the innumerable tribes of liquors were all obtainable at separate stands superintended by girls



in every imaginable costume, and, all through the day, an endless stream of visitors poured in to see if they did not remain to drink. The Kärntner Restauration (Silberberg Company) , a wooden building of 2 stories with double story porch and verandah, was another feature from the excellence of the beer and the attractions of the « Kellnerinnen » , whose immense snow-white ruffs, high-kilted dresses and tall high-heeled laced-up boots were picturesque to a degree. There were also wooden « Bier Halles » , such the « St. Marxer Märzen Quelle » , kept by Pamperl & Co. the « Restaurant du Nord » , the Hamburger Restauration of 2 stories (J. & J. Luckmann) and that of Willsvouseder and Grubin at the rear of the Machinery Hall, all frequented by the lower-classes of visitors, and differing in nothing from the « Bier Halles » in the « Würstel Prater » ; but the subject as well as the list of the « Bier Halles » and Restaurations is now exhausted and it cannot be hard to guess from it that visitors whether with slender or full purses could find no difficulty whatever in appeasing their appetites. Amongst a nation of smokers, it would have been impossible to have omitted the « Tabac Trafik » , and numbers of these were therefore dotted about in every direction to furnish the indispensable cigar, the principal being that belonging to the « Specialitäten-Trafik » in the Graben, and it needed the sign to divine that it was a tobacco-shop, its burnished copper dome, arched and laticed windows, and arabesque decorations bearing more resemblance to a small mosque or mausoleum erected over some defunct « Hadji » . The supply of fluids, did not, however, cease with beers and wines nor the solids with meats ; « Messieurs » Dows, Clark & Co. , in a corrugated iron building, manufactured delicious aërated waters to supply their 5 soda-water « kiosks » , pretty iron constructions with cupola roofs ; Karl Heilfinger had his Machine Bakery for the coarser kinds of bread ; and Roman Uhl, the Court Baker, a large factory to meet the demands made on his handsome shop facing the Water Tower where « Mehlspeisen » of every description tickled the palates of children, young and old. The long array of buildings has now, like all things mundane, come to an end, but still a word must be said of a construction which was neither Pavilion, « Bier-Halle » , « Café » or Restauration, but only a tree built-up in sections, the enormous « Araucaria » , or « Monkey puzzle » , so-called from the spikes with which it is covered frustrating the climbing efforts of « our poor relations » , which with the Brazilian flag at its summit towered erect for some 200 feet near the Khédive's palace.

The Pavilion of the Austrian Lloyds with its full-rigged must attracted attention by its singularity, and that of Anton Dreher's Brewery with its copper dome, its 4 porches, each shaped like a half barrel and supported by caryatides, displayed much architectural ingenuity.

...

The facilities afforded strangers for obtaining meals at their convenience as to time, locality, and style, are probably as great and varied in Vienna as in any European capital. It results from the habits of the people. They resort to the restaurants and « cafés » for their meals and for social entertainment and amusement.

A distinction is made in Vienna between restaurants and « cafés » , and beer-halls. There are also wine-houses, small-beer saloons, and the ice-cream saloons, where a variety of cakes, confections, and preserves can be obtained. There are over 200 respectable first-class « cafés » , 60 first-class restaurants, aside from those of the hotels ; a large number of beer-halls, where meals can also be procured ; and of refreshment-saloons in connection with the gardens. All these establishments are well-conducted, and are so well-distributed all over Vienna that a stranger can get a meal

at almost any hour or place where it suits his convenience best. These facilities permit of a very large temporary accession to the population of Vienna without inconvenience.

There are, in addition, the very important restaurants of the « Prater » , and of the exhibition itself, where thousands of persons, and probably 4/5 of the visitors, daily take their lunch or dinner. One of these restaurants, established in the exhibition-ground before the opening, has seats and tables for 4,000 persons, and it is crowded daily. It is said to have cost £ 9,000 , and to have cleared its cost before the middle of May.

There is a branch of the « Trois Frères » of the « Palais Royal » in Paris ; several Austrian, one or two Italian, an English, a Russian, and two or three American restaurants, besides a large number of bars, beer-stands, and soda-water fountains.

### Restaurants and refreshment-saloons at the Vienna Exhibition

American, Number 1, Number 2, Number 106.

Great Britain.

France, « Frères Provenceaux » .

Tampier.

Austria, Liesinger.

« Pilsner »

« Pilsner » Company.

Sacher.

Trieste.

Hungarian.

Vienna bakery.

Vienna.

Styrian wine-house.

Carinthia beer-hall.

Silberegger's.

Italy.

Russian.

Sweden.

Switzerland (coffee, etc.) .

Hamburg.

Turkish coffee-house.

« Cercle Oriental »

Tasting-hall, international.

Alsace, Reasaut house.

Spain wine-production, etc.

Oldenbergh.

Gloekes.

Wigwam (United States) .

### Expo 1873 : Austrian Healing Springs Pavilion

The thermal baths of the Austro-Hungarian Crown countries, which enjoyed such great fame, could not fail to appear at the Vienna Universal Exhibition. A special wooden pavilion, very elegant, has just been dedicated to them in the Palace Park. Here, in Bohemian glasses of the purest crystal, fantastically engraved and coloured, charming nereids and naiads, clad in their picturesque national costumes, give visitors the sulphurous waters of Baden (on the Schwechat, at 8 kilometres from Vienna) . The mineral waters of the spa-establishment of Franzensbrunnen (in the vicinity of Eger, in Bohemia) . Those of Karlsbad, the most frequented spa-establishment in Europe, located in the circle of Eger, in Bohemia. Those of Kronstadt (in Transylvania) . The one of Salzburg, in the Grand Duchy. Those of Erlau (in Hungary) , and also the mineral waters of Cracow, in Gallicia.

It is to be hoped that this Exhibition of the various thermal products of Austria-Hungary will strongly contribute to increase their consumption, which is already so considerable, and to raise attendance at the spa-establishments of the Empire.

### Expo 1873 : The Turkish « Café »

Of all these Oriental buildings which enjoy such a great affection from the public, it is the Turkish « Café » that people visit the most. It is located opposite the Viceroy Palace, between the Turkish Bazaar and the Persian Villa.

It is a square building, surrounded by an open gallery, accessible by a staircase.

Inside, we find buffets, a fireplace, and large red couches placed along the walls ; finally, tables and chairs fill the gallery and the terrace. The interior decoration is completely Oriental. The ceiling is painted in colour, the sunrays are subdued by coloured stained-glass windows, and it is assumed that the inevitable citations from the Koran can be seen everywhere.

If you have already heard from the travellers of the East about the strange tumult which attracts the crowds in the « cafés », especially in Constantinople, and have heard the interesting and picturesque description of a Turkish « café », one will easily get an idea of the unique sensation that this Oriental establishment, frequented almost exclusively by Westerners, produces on visitors. The contrast is obvious when coffee is served to Western guests by Oriental boys. They are native Turks, wearing the national costume, standing near the fireplace formed by a shelf, on which water is boiling. This hot water is poured into small coffee pots which contains powdered coffee, and the Turks walk between the tables, shouting from time to time : « Turkish Coffee ! Turkish Coffee ! »

Another boy invites visitors to use the « Tchibouks » equipped with long jasmine wooden pipes.

The coffee, which is prepared in the Turkish tradition, is not separated from the used coffee grounds and is contained in small silver oval shaped cups.

Through the windows and through the doors, we see only Egyptian, Turkish and Persian buildings, so that one easily surrenders to the illusion of being in the middle of Turkey.

At first, this Turkish « café » owner had hired Greek boys, but the jackets with frogs, the fez and the coloured belt above the wide trousers did not seem to attract enough people. Then, the idea came to him to introduce a service of young women to provide a true Turkish atmosphere. Only the presence of authentic Turks was missing. But the « Golden Horn » is still quite far from Vienna, and the real Turks were having problems in leaving their « harems ». But the owner being very determined, decided to manufacture Circassian, Greek, and Albanian costumes at the tailor-shop, and then, looked for Viennese women to hire wherever he could find them.

His « café » was soon transformed, and everyone was amazed to see 12 Zulmas, Zoës, and Scheherazades : Viennese-

Turkish women costumed in wool and silk, well-coloured. A little bit of excitement in the silent Oriental neighbourhood was not to be despised ...

...

The precedent set by the Ottoman and Egyptian quarters at the 1867 Paris Exposition determined the format in Vienna 6 years later. The main exposition building was a longitudinal structure with a domed central section. The Ottoman and Egyptian pavilions were in the southeastern part of the park in front of the main-hall. Once again, picturesque landscaping brought the 2 displays into relation and created an Islamic village on the periphery of the fairgrounds.

The Ottoman quarter consisted of 7 small structures : a main-pavilion carefully duplicating the Sultan Ahmed Fountain (1728) in Istanbul and presenting it as an example of Ottoman architecture ; a high domed pavilion, the Sultan's Treasury, where valuable items such as jewelry were displayed ; a residential structure based on the Yali Kösk in Istanbul and reminiscent of the « Pavillon du Bosphore » of 1867 ; a bath, along the lines of Parvillée's bath in 1867 ; a « café » , and a small 2 story building with a bazaar on the first floor and residential apartments on the second floor. Whereas all the Ottoman buildings in 1867 were designed according to a set of clear principles that followed historic references, here, the main-pavilions quoted monuments, and the commercial structures interpreted vernacular traditions.

Unlike the Ottoman section, the Egyptian section consisted of a single building, composed of several distinct parts. The dominant feature was a pavilion that duplicated the funerary complex of Sultan Qaytbay in Cairo from the late Mamluk period (1470's) , its minaret and dome carved in arabesques and star patterns. A second minaret, with a square base, possibly inspired by the minarets of the mausoleums of Salar and Sanjar al-Jawli from the early Mamluk period (1300's) , marked the other end of the structure. The eclectic styles in between enhanced the impression of a street façade rather than suggesting a single building. As in the Ottoman section, the structure referred to both the monumental and the vernacular.

...

The « Café Turc » , a very pretty wooden building, having a verandah, accessible by some dozen steps. Here, obsequious attendants brought you as you seated yourself tchibouques ready lighted, first placing on the floor a brass pan and provided you with genuine Turkish coffee in tiny « Zarfs » . At the extreme corner of this range of buildings was the « Cercle Oriental » , approached by a high staircase leading to a verandah on the second story. Its orientalism was rather bizarre, one of the side Pavilions being Turkish, the other Chinese in design, whilst in the rear was a tea house in what was supposed to be Siamese in character. All these were designed by « Herr » Montani, an architect of great repute in Turkey, who has the appointment of « Court decorator to the Sultan » .

**Expo 1873 : Swiss Chalet and pastries**

Swiss pastry is renowned all over the world. In order to make it appreciated by the international public who visited the Exhibition, the Swiss have built a graceful « Chalet », large enough to house the crowds who gather under its jagged wooden marquises, to drink their coffee or to take ice-cream, accompanied by delicious cup-cakes.

One of the reasons of this influx (a little bit also ...) is to be served by the delightful and charming Swiss ladies dressed in the fashion of each of the cantons of the Helvetic Confederation, streaming with silver armor and metallic breast-plates, which they wear with so much grace.

### Expo 1873 : Chinese Tea Pavilion

This delightful and picturesque cottage will give us an idea of the inner-life in China. You will have the chance to taste the authentic Chinese tea, with the conviction that it is not an imitation, and it is possible that this cherished national product might accentuate trade-relations with China, as it will prove that it is easy to drink good quality tea at a reasonable price rather than paying for a very expensive bad tea.

The Pavilion is built in the style of those found in the islands of China, according to the sketch of architect Montain, at the expense of Doctor Hardt. The original construction of this little house and the grotesque manner in which it is painted will not fail to excite the visitors' general attention.

It is not, as one would believe, an inhabitant of the Celestial Empire who had erected this strange structure. It is the result of an ill-intentioned speculative entrepreneur. This building has nothing but walls across which, contrary to all custom, become narrower downwards and wider upwards. The roof of the house is curved like a horse saddle. We were easily content to look at this « wonder » from the outside, and throw at most a furtive glance in its insignificant interior. Unfortunately for the entrepreneur, the summer was so hot that one wanted more ice from the « Spitzbergen » than the best infusion of hot tea. And so, the Chinese strategy missed the target.

### Expo 1873 : Farmers' or peasants' houses

Herdsmen's cottages, Austria.

Herdsmen's cottages, Salzburg.

Alsace.

Galitzia.

Kroatia.

Roumania.

Russia.

Saxony.

Hungary.

Voralberg.

English workman's dwelling-house, iron.

**Expo 1873 : School houses**

United States, Austria, Portugal, Sweden.

**Expo 1873 : Boiler houses**

United States of America, Austria, Belgium, France, German Empire, Great Britain, Switzerland, « Down Preis » fountain and hydraulic.

**Vienna : « Betty » invites Bruckner at « Möbius »**

The Mayfeld's (Moritz and « Betty ») saw Anton Bruckner frequently in Vienna because they housed at the « Hotel Kaiserin Elisabeth » during the winter months.

**1873 or before** : Knowing his grand appetite, « Betty » surprised Bruckner by inviting him at « Möbius » (Breying & Möbius) - a fine restaurant located at « Graben » Number 22 (other sides of the building on « Petersplatz » Number 4 and « Jungferngasse » Number 2) .

She said :

« And now, you order what is good and expensive - whatever you want, my dear Bruckner ! Here's the menu ! »

Bruckner did not even take the time to carefully examine the selection of « gourmet » dishes. He immediately asked for :

« Smoked meat with dumplings and cabbage ! »

He devoured 3 whole portions and washed everything up with his favourite « Pilsner » beer !

The noble restaurant « Breying & Möbius » was especially visited during Vienna's 1873 World Exhibition. The same

year, the Austrian Savings Bank bought the building (designed by architect Anton Baumgartner) . When part of it was demolished in 1875 (due to the broadening of the « Jungferngasse ») , a piece of the Old City wall was discovered.

The rear-façade of the building at « Petersplatz » Number 4 suffered serious damage on April 1945. The windows were completely shattered by the high air pressure caused by bombings. The first to complain was the owner of the vegetarian restaurant « Skala » which was one of the first Viennese inns to re-open after 7 May 1945. Unfortunately, for the time being, he was only able to serve stew to the working people (150 servings per day) - food stamps having been issued the day before ...

### Expo 1873 : Sunday's Symphonic concerts

2 Symphonic concerts as part of Vienna's World Fair :

**Sunday, 4 May 1873** : Opening speech by actor and poet Josef Lewinsky and writer, dramatist, and poet Salomon Hermann Ritter von Mosenthal.

Programme :

Franz Schubert : Essentially, works orchestrated by Franz Liszt.

Conductors : Otto Dessooff, Eduard Kremser and Rudolf Weinwurm (after refusal of Johannes Brahms) .

**Sunday, 11 May 1873** : Otto Dessooff conducts works by Ludwig van Beethoven including the 9th Symphony.

### Expo 1873 : The « Musikverein » organ concerts

**Tuesday, 22 July 1873** : The Vienna « Fremdenblatt » Number 200 reports on page 5 that Anton Bruckner gave an organ recital at the « Große Musikvereinssaal » as part of the International Exhibition musical events :

« During the World's Fair, the Society of Friends of Music offers an organ concert every Saturday from 1:00 to 2:00 pm (in front of meager audiences : 1 to 20 listeners ! ) . We had the chance to hear the general-director of the Society, “ Herr ” Leopold Alexander Zellner, the finest connoisseur of (Friedrich) Ladegast's instrument, and Professor Anton Bruckner, who carried his fame all the way to England, and from whom one can hardly say whether he plays with more devoted zeal when he transpires. (...) »

sp. » (Ludwig Speidel ?)

### Expo 1873 : Symphony No. 2

(It should be noted that Eduard Hanslick was a member of the music jury during the 1873 Vienna World's Fair.)



The 2nd Symphony, completed on July 26, 1872, was also read but rejected (as the « Nullte » before it) by Otto Dessoff and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, despite the approval of some musicians, including David Popper, the famous cellist, who claimed to have fallen « under its spell ». This time however, Bruckner will proudly stand behind his composition.

On the occasion of the 1873 World Exhibition held in Vienna from May 1st to 1 November 1st (« Weltausstellung Wien 1873 ») , Bruckner decided to program his 2nd Symphony again. This major international event seemed to offer him the opportunity to perform his new composition at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » before an exceptionally broad audience (given the circumstances) . However, the members of the Vienna Philharmonic were still hostile to the work dismissing it as unplayable, though it had already won the admiration of Franz Liszt.

But when a wealthy patron, Prince Johann Liechtenstein (Johann Merbeck) seconded by conductor Johann Herbeck, had volunteered to underwrite costs, Bruckner was able to say to the resigned musicians at the first rehearsal :

« Well, gentlemen, we can begin to repeat with intensity now that someone paid for it all. »

This anecdote comes from the 18 year old Arthur Nikisch, then acting as a substitute violinist in the Orchestra during the rehearsal.

**Sunday, 26 October 1873** : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer Saal » . Closing Concert of the Vienna World's Fair (Expo 1873) . The 49 year old Anton Bruckner conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » . (It is the first time one of his Symphonies is played in the Austrian capital.)

Program :

Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata in C minor for organ (BWV 565) . Soloist : Anton Bruckner.

Anton Bruckner : Free improvisation for organ.

The music-critic Theodor (Otto) Helm reported that it was so unfortunate that this improvisation has not been transcribed on paper by someone in the concert-hall.

(One critic had already asked Bruckner why he did not put on paper his organ improvisations. The answer was : « You don't compose like you play. »)

...

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1873 version (**WAB 102**) .

There were many changes in this revision. The order of the inner-movements was reversed ; in the Adagio, the horn

solo at the end was changed to a clarinet solo and a violin solo was added. The repeats were canceled in the Scherzo and Trio, a passage in the Finale was completely re-written, and a 4th trombone was added in the final few bars to reinforce the bass-line. (Critical version by William Carragan.)

The performance left a profound impression on the young Arthur Nikisch.

Critics were mixed, but Bruckner was very pleased by the enthusiastic response of the audience (who applauded with great warmth after each movement) :

« The musicians of the “ Philharmoniker ” played “ like Gods ” ! »

They played brilliantly, and were also pleased. As a token of gratitude, the Orchestra will accept only half of its concert-fee.

In a long letter of thanks, Bruckner addressed the Philharmonic by courteously asking if it would accept the dedication of the work :

« Honoured and respected Philharmonic Society. There is one more request I would dearly love to make. In order to allowed to the work to find its original destination, may I dedicate the work to you ? »

Unfortunately, the offer went unanswered.

The initial reception of the Symphony by the Viennese newspaper music-critics was a premonition of things to come. The more traditionalists were somewhat intrigued by this new and remarkable piece of work.

For example, critic August Wilhelm Ambros was surprised by the « musical exclamation and question marks » . He was the first to express 2 « clichés » that will persist for a great deal of time : the Symphonies Bruckner are chaotic in their form and import the Wagnerian style in the genre.

Eduard Hanslick, who was still bound to the composer, heard « several important and beautiful details in the Symphony » despite its « enormous proportions » and its « insatiable rhetoric » . But he was unable to share the opinion of the public.

### Expo 1873 : Franz Schwalm

During the World's Fair, Franz Schwalm, the father of Anton Bruckner's great-niece Laura Hueber, played twice a day in a civilian chapel located at the « Prater » .

### Entertainments in the « Prater »

Balloon ascents and « hair people », coffee-houses and the fat lady known as « Prater-Mitzi », a vivarium and « Kobelkoff, the Human Torso » - exclusive attractions offered by the Vienna « Prater », then as now a popular place of entertainment for the capital's citizens.

Between 1773 and 1799, Johann Georg Stuver staged pyro-technical displays on mythological themes or renderings of battle-scenes (The Siege of Vienna, 1783) as well as current events, all of which were extremely popular and drew crowds of up to 25,000 to the « Prater ». On these days, an admission fee was charged. Events of this kind represented the transition between courtly and middle-class festive culture. Friedrich Nicolai provides an account of one of these firework displays in the « Prater » in his « Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz » (Journey through Germany and Switzerland) :

« The earth trembles, the woods echo with deafening thunder-claps ; cities, palaces, fortresses, gardens, temples, fountains etc. , appear, all in many and changing hues of fire, lighting-up the surrounding area. »

Since the issuing of a decree by Emperor Josef II in 1775, the « Prater », formerly an Imperial hunting reserve, has been open to the public. In the 18th Century, it was already a popular destination with the middle-classes for Sunday outings. Social hierarchies are discernible in the different ways in which the area was used : the main avenue with its 3 coffee-houses was the elegant promenade where the rich and beautiful strolled, while the site of today's amusement park was the stamping ground for all the rest. Entertainments offered by the latter included merry-go-rounds, swings, skittles, shooting galleries, punching dolls and « Punch and Judy » shows, elaborate and hugely popular firework displays, even an ascent in a balloon.

The attractions in the « Wurstelprater » were a mixture of the educational and the absurd : a wax-works, a vivarium (an aquarium) and a planetarium as well as freak-shows with « hair people » (cases of hypertrichosis) and the Russian-born « Human Torso », Nikolai Kobelkoff. As technology developed, new attractions were presented such as a railway carousel or the first electrically-driven ghost train.

The « Prater » was the location for the first World Exhibition in Vienna, which was however not a great success. The Rotunda built specifically for it, at the time the largest domed building of its kind in existence, became very popular with the Viennese, but burned down in 1937.

In 1897, the famous giant Ferris Wheel was erected as part of the Golden Jubilee celebrations for Emperor Franz-Josef. 67 metres high, it represented a marvel of technology. Under the National-Socialists it was « aryanized », and was later badly damaged by fire during the Second World War. Afterwards restored, it is still the major attraction at the « Prater » funfair.

Until the early-20th Century, the « Prater » remained a place of novel entertainments : changing attractions such as « Venice in Vienna » (1895) with reproductions of Venetian palaces and canals, or a copy of an Ashanti village (1896) entertained the public. Emperor Franz-Josef seems to have visited these attractions and (as always) to have enjoyed them. People also had the opportunity to experience the new medium of film in the early Viennese cinemas at the «

Prater » .

...

The « Prater » was once Imperial hunting-ground and only accessible for the aristocracy, until the Austrian Emperor Josef II donated the area to the Viennese in 1766 as a public leisure centre. And since Emperor also allowed the establishment of restaurants and snack bars - small wonder that it didn't take long until the precursors of today's « Würstelprater » appeared on the edge of the former aristocratic hunting-grounds. Inn-keepers, coffee brewers, and gingerbread bakers (« Lebzelter ») hung-out their shingles ; seesaws and merry-go-rounds as well as bowling alleys were not far behind.

The 3 coffee-houses in the « Prater » were especially popular, in particular for their musical performances.

In 1895, the amusement area « Venice in Vienna » was established, in whose midst one of the landmarks of the city, the « Riesenrad » (Ferris Wheel) , appeared in 1897. The « Prater » became a place where everyone finds enjoyment. The « better » class of people came here in their horse-drawn carriages, military cadets and laundry girls met on secret dates, one found barrel organs, Heurigen singers and ladies orchestras - and some of the great composers of their time, such as the « Waltz King » Johann Strauß or the composers Joseph Lanner and Carl Michael Ziehrer performed here. For children's entertainment, puppet theatres were established in simple wooden booths, where Hanswurst played the leading part. The name « Würstelprater » derives from this figure.

In 1938, the « Prater » became the property of the City of Vienna.

(Image) Enthusiastic participants in a wheel-barrow race, these members of the Hitler Youth demonstrate the pro-Nazi sentiment of many Austrians after the « Anschluß » . While these young people were frolicking, others were finding the parks of Vienna far less hospitable. On 23 April 1938, numerous Jews were rounded-up on the Sabbath and forced to eat grass at the « Prater » , Vienna's famous amusement park. Some suffered heart-attacks and a few died from the ordeal.

During World War II, bombs and the construction of trenches destroyed large parts of the « Prater » area. A large part of the « Würstelprater » fell victim to fire in April 1945.

### Vienna : « Lusthaus »

The « Lusthaus » is a historic building in « Prater » park in the « Leopoldstadt » District of Vienna. It is located at the southeastern end of « Prater » Avenue, near the « Freudenau » race course.

First mentioned in 1560, as « Casa Verde » , the green summer-house served as a hunting-lodge in Vienna's « Prater » , which was then a hunting-ground. It was built in 1538, at the location where « Prater » Avenue met the Danube Canal. The « Lusthaus » was on the water until 1834, when the Danube Canal was moved.

After the « Prater » was opened to the public, in 1766, the summer-house was rebuilt from 1781 to 1783. It served as the location for large celebrations and festivities, such as the Imperial celebrations to mark the first anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, in which Napoléon was defeated.

In the 19th Century, the « Lusthaus » , as well as the entire « Prater » , was a popular meeting-place for the nobility and bourgeoisie. During the First World War, the military bridge guard tasked with protecting the Danube bridge from sabotage was stationed in the summer-house. In the inter-War period, marked by economic instability and poverty, the composition of its patrons shifted ; the « Lusthaus » then served as a bar with dance and music. During the Second World War, the « Lusthaus » was almost completely destroyed by bombings, in 1944 and 1945. However, by 1948, a decision was taken to rebuild the building, and the City of Vienna earmarked a sum of 350,000 Shillings for its repair. During reconstruction, the building was restored to its 18th Century shape. In October 1949, the « Lusthaus » was re-opened.

Today, the « Lusthaus » houses a coffee-house and a restaurant.

### Cholera at the Vienna World Fair

**July to September 1873** : A serious cholera epidemic drives Anton Bruckner out of Vienna !

A cholera epidemic broke-out in Vienna. The effects on the City's World Exhibition was as disastrous as those of the « Krach » of the stock-market, in May of the same year. A first case of cholera was declared in late-June and, soon, hundreds of foreigners fled the hotels in a state of shock. The epidemic lasted 20 weeks, from early-July until late-October. In August, due to the disease, they counted 1,304 deaths and, in September, 1,092. The local authorities tried their best to stem the state of panic by claiming that the victims were mainly counted in school classes and in poor areas ; but the international press, exaggerating the effects of the tragedy, dissuaded many tourists to travel to Vienna. Fortunately, a series of preventive health measures limited the damage, and so, the epidemic was now in a stage of regression. Many foreigners came-back to Vienna during the fall season. The epidemic of 1873 was the last to strike the population of Vienna.

Paul Durand-Ruel who sent artist Gustave Courbet's works to Vienna on February 22, 1873, and who received them all again on July 15, 1873. The paintings were part of a group of 59 works that the art-dealer had taken into safe-keeping from Courbet, probably to avoid their potential confiscation. In his memoirs, Durand-Ruel recalls his disappointed hopes for the Vienna World Exposition :

« I had every reason to expect a success. Unfortunately, my predictions were not confirmed. Cholera broke-out in Vienna and this dealt the death blow to the Exposition. Everybody fled and I sold absolutely nothing. »

...

**July 1873** : Rehearsals (presumably only with the Vienna Boys' Choir (« Wiener Sängerknaben »)) in anticipation of a

performance of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) .

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1873-1874

Anton Bruckners Schüler am Wiener Konservatorium sind Julius Czegledy (Orgel und Kontrapunkt) , Moriz Jelinek, Alfons Kraholetz, Johann Posholda (Harmonielehre) , Otto Reitinger (Harmonielehre) , Karl Schmidl (Harmonielehre) , Karl Schöfmann, Hermann Steudner (Kontrapunkt) , Johann Straka, Samuel Tausig (Harmonielehre) , Johann Winter (Harmonielehre) und Moritz Wolf (Harmonielehre, Orgel) .

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 3. Lehrkörper :

(Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.)

I Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre Kontrapunkt und Orgel) , seit 1868 (6 Jahr) . »

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Guido Adler, Julius Egghardt, Anna oder Marie Gyurkovich, Louise Kaulich, Rudolf Krzyzanowski (« aus Eger in Böhmen, 14 1/2 Jahre ») , Josef Latzelsberger, Felix Mottl und Julius Winkler ; als Orgelschüler sind Julius Czegledy, Ludwig Ernst, Karl Kittel, Otto Lamprecht (schied wegen Disziplinarvergehen am 6. März 1874 aus) , Hermann Steudner und Moriz Wolf überliefert.

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehören 5 zur Vorbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern (nur einer in der Ausbildungsstufe) 5 ganz und 1 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren - bei den 30 Kontrapunktschülern ist keine Untergliederung angegeben.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« In den Vorbildungsschulen (...)

Orgel

I. Klasse

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden : Übungen im Manual- und Pedalspiele nach Christian Heinrich Rincks Practische Orgelschule. (...) In den Ausbildungsschulen (...) Orgel, 2 Classen. (Die 2. Klasse war in diesem Jahre nicht activirt.)

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 1.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden in progressiver Folge : Die höheren Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonate, Konzerte. (...)

« Kontrapunkt, 2 Classen. (2 Lehrer.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 25.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

Gelehrt wurden :

In der I. Klasse : Einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunkt der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

In der II. Klasse : Drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt, Canon, Doppelfuge. »

Die Übersicht über die in 120 Orchesterübungen aufgeführten Kompositionen enthält auch « Bruckner : Sinfonie in D » (3. Symphonie, ohne Datierungen) .

### The vegetarianism of Richard Wagner

According to Cosima Wagner, her husband was « a vegetarian in principle but in practice, neither his health nor the orders of his physician allowed him to be » .

**December 1873** : The couple lunched on roast hare and Wagner described how he had gone hunting in Bohemia in his youth. Squeamishly, he fired without taking aim, but beginner's luck meant he hit the rear leg of a running hare. Wagner was presented with his trophy but vowed never again to go shooting. The memory didn't spoil the couple's lunch, however - Richard Wagner was a man of many ideas but little consistency.

### Marianne Selch

**Wednesday, 25 February 1874** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to « Fräulein » Marianne Selch :

Included with the letter was an admission-card to attend a rehearsal at the « Musikverein » which she could use next Saturday (28 February 1874 ?) at 3:30 pm and next Monday (2 March 1874 ?) at 10:00 am.

Greetings from Bruckner to « Frau » Selch (her mother) .

The envelope that was delivered bears the stamped date : « 26 February 1875 » (an error ?) .

**Saturday, 28 February 1874** : Rehearsal at 3:30 pm at the « Musikverein » concert-hall for which « Fräulein » Marianne Selch had received an admission-card from Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 2 March 1874** : Rehearsal at 10:00 am at the « Musikverein » concert-hall for which « Fräulein » Marianne Selch had received an admission-card from Anton Bruckner.

**Friday, 3 July 1874** : Dated music-sheet by Anton Bruckner, presumably dedicated to « Fräulein » Marianne Selch, including the second theme from the Adagio of the 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) (piano version) .

### Josefa (« Pepi ») Bruckner

**Friday, 3 July 1874** : Death of Anton Bruckner's sister Josefa (bride's name : Wagenbrenner) at Ignaz's home in St. Florian - located at « Alter Markt » Number 27 (now, « Wiener-Straße » Number 23) . Anton had reserved a tombstone for her in St. Florian.

### Plzeň : The missed « rendez-vous » with the Emperor

When Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz-Josef made a quick stop-off in Plzeň in 1874, he was probably never told that a new pavilion had been built inside the Burghers' Brewery especially to honour his visit.

Sadly, the Emperor was in such a hurry that day that he never even made it out of Plzeň's main railway station. A disappointed but determined brewery manager ordered a special batch to be delivered up the road to the Imperial train. Franz-Josef duly drank the famed « Pilsner » from a special Moser crystal glass created for the occasion.

It may never have received its intended royal visitor, but that little pavilion has remained an important part of life at the Plzeň brewery ever since.

Tucked away behind the central court-yard, « Formanka » is now a small, quaint, one storied wooden and brick building that appears slightly out of kilter with its immediate surroundings. These days, it serves as the brewery workers' pub, and, during its 140 year history, many have stopped in at « Formanka » for a chat and an after-work sampling of their day's labour.

The name « Formanka » evolved from its proximity to the main road, which allowed coachmen (or formany) to stop-off for liquid refreshment and to rest their horses. Initially, it was a public facility, built to serve visitors and dignitaries. It replaced the earlier « visitors' drinking tent » and it was a much more basic construction than the one we see today, which dates from 1907.



## Visiting his sister

**First half of September 1874** : Anton Bruckner visits his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck.

## Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (beginning of July 1874)

Anton Bruckners Schüler werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

I. Klasse

1. Grad : Hermann Steudner.

2. Grad : Moriz Wolf. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Grad : Julius Czegledy. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(10 Zöglinge.)

1. Grad : Johann Posholda, Johann Winter.

2. Grad : Alfons Kraholetz, Otto Reitingner, Karl Schmidl, Samuel Tausig, Moriz Wolf. »

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(6 Zöglinge.)

I. Klasse

1. Grad : Karl Schöfmann.

2. Grad : Moriz Jelinek, Johann Straka.

II. Klasse

1. Grad : Julius Czegledy, Hermann Steudner. » (°)

In der Übersicht der Schüler mit Klassifizierung bei der Jahresprüfung ist zu lesen :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Hermann Steudner. (°°)

Klassenprämien erhielten auch :

In der ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre (männliche Zöglinge) des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

1. Prämie : Johann Posholda.

2. Prämie : Johann Winter. »

In der ...

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Karl Schöfmann.

II. Klasse

1. Prämie : Hermann Steudner.

2. Prämie : Julius Czegledy. »

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1874-1875

Am Wiener Konservatorium hören Anton Bruckners Unterricht :

Heinrich Benkö (Harmonielehre) , Ludwig Emanuel, Hermann von Jan (Kontrapunkt) , Moriz Jelinek (Kontrapunkt) , Alfons Kraholetz (Harmonielehre) , Ernst Ludwig (Orgel) , Johann Mötz (Kontrapunkt) , Ernst Ollop (Harmonielehre) , Wenzel Pelikan (Harmonielehre) , Rudolf Pichler (Harmonielehre) , Vincenz Pritz (Orgel) , Otto Reitingner, Hans Rott (Orgel) , Karl Schöfmann (Kontrapunkt) , Johann Straka (Kontrapunkt) , Leopold Windhopp (Kontrapunkt) und Johann Winter.

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung» des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

(4. Lehrkörper.)

Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.

I. Angestellte Professoren und Lehrer :

(...)

3) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Julius Egghardt, Anna Gyurkovich, Louise Kaulich, Johann Kreuzinger, Rudolf Krzyżanowski (« aus Eger in Böhmen, 15 1/2 Jahre ») und Felix Mottl ; als Orgelschüler sind Julius Czegledy, Charles King aus Windsor, Ernst Ludwig, Vincenz Pritz, Hans Rott und Hermann Steudner überliefert.

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehören 4 zur Vorbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern (2 in der Ausbildungsstufe) 4 ganz und 2 nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren - bei den 24 Kontrapunktschülern ist keine Untergliederung angegeben.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

## Orgel, I. Klasse

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden : Übungen im Manual- und Pedalspiele nach Christian Heinrich Rincks Practische Orgelschule.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

## Orgel, 2. Klasse

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

Gelehrt wurden in progressiver Folge :

Die höheren Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonate, Konzerte. (...) , in der Musiktheorie ...

« Kontrapunkt, 2 Classen. (2 Lehrer.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 23.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 32, sonach im Jahre ... 320.

Gelehrt wurden :

In der I. Klasse : Einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunkt der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

In der II. Klasse : Drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt. Canon, Doppelfuge. »

Die Übersicht über die in 135 Orchesterübungen aufgeführten Kompositionen enthält kein Werk Anton Bruckners.

Leaving « St. Annahof » for good

**Early October 1874** : Since 1870, Anton Bruckner worked as a teaching assistant in piano, organ, and theory at the Teacher Training Institute of St. Anna in Vienna. He must now relinquish his post in favour of Rudolf Weinwurm.

**Tuesday, 12 January 1875** : In a pathetic letter addressed to his friend Moritz von Mayfeld, Anton Bruckner (who had

just left St. Anna's College for good) said :

« Nobody helps me. »

### Death of Mahler's younger brother

**Tuesday, 13 April 1875** : Death in Jihlava of Gustav's younger brother, Ernst Mahler (born in 1862) , possibly of endocarditis.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1875-1876

**Monday, 20 September 1875** :

Anton Bruckners Wiener Konservatoriumsschüler sind Heinrich Benkö (Kontrapunkt) , Ludwig Emanuel (Kontrapunkt) , Carl Kepeller (Harmonielehre) , Johann Kreuzinger (Harmonielehre) , Rudolf Pichler (Kontrapunkt) , Otto Reitinger (Kontrapunkt) , Hans Rott, Benno Schönberger (Harmonielehre) , Christian Schröder, Hermann Steudner (Orgel) , Peter Szöllösi (Harmonielehre) , Johann Winter (Kontrapunkt) und Carl Zobel (Harmonielehre) .

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 3. Lehrkörper :

(Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.)

1. Ordentliche Lehrer.

2. Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

...

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Anna Gyurkovich, Louise Kaulich, Johann Kreuzinger, Rudolf Krzyzanowski (« aus Eger in Böhmen, 16 1/2 Jahre ») , Carl Lillich (« 13 1/2 Jahre ») , Gustav Mahler, Felix Mottl, Guido Peters (« 9 1/2 Jahre ») , Franz Schalk (« 12 Jahre ») , Julius Winkler (« aus Raab, 20 Jahre ») , Hugo Wolf und Fräulein Marianne Zips (« 18 1/2 Jahre ») .

Als Orgelschüler sind Felix Mottl, Vincenz Pritz, Hans Rott, Christine Schröder (« aus Tolna, 26 Jahre ») und Hermann Steudner (« 16 Jahre ») überliefert.

Alle 5 Orgelschüler gehören zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten

Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 3 ganz, 1 halb und 1 nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren - bei den 22 Kontrapunktschülern ist keine Untergliederung angegeben.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 1 Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 0.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

(Diese Unterrichtszeit kam der Ausbildungsschule deßelben Faches zu Statten.)

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

Effektiver Schülerstand : 32.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 32, sonach im Jahre ... 320. »

Conservatory student Gustav Mahler

Friday, 10 September 1875 : The 15 year old Gustav Mahler registers at the Vienna Conservatory.

## His teachers

**1875-1876** : Julius Epstein (piano) .

**1877-1878** : Robert Fuchs (harmony) .

**1877-1878** : Franz Krenn (counterpoint and composition) .

(No conducting class in those days.)

Gustav Mahler thought little of most of the Conservatory staff and made that plain. His harmony teacher, Robert Fuchs, was a composer of pleasant orchestral serenades who later remarked with some perplexity that Mahler played truant, and yet, knew everything counterpoint Mahler learned (or, according to Victor Adler, did not learn) from Franz Krenn, a dry disciplinarian whose deadly dull tuition helped persuade Hugo Wolf to abandon his Conservatory studies prematurely. Mahler announced he was dropping-out too but, more purposeful than the explosive Wolf, he soon wrote a grovelling letter to the director, Josef Hellmesberger senior, begging for re-instatement. Hellmesberger agreed but Mahler can hardly have recalled him with affection. Although leader of a fine String Quartet which Mahler surely heard and admired, the director was a choleric anti-Semite. When Mahler made copy errors in the score of a Symphony he had written for performance by the Conservatory Student Orchestra, Hellmesberger hurled the manuscript to the ground and refused to conduct it even when the mistakes had been corrected.

Mahler promptly composed a Piano Suite instead, he noted later :

« Since it was a much weaker and more superficial work, it won a prize while my good things were all rejected by the worthy judges. »

Only 2 of Mahler's teachers really impressed him. One was that same professor Epstein, elegant pianist and publisher of Franz Schubert's piano works, who had recommended him for the Conservatory and who soon became his mentor and friend. When Mahler had to write to the Conservatory's governors asking to be let-off all tuition fees, Epstein added a post-script offering to guarantee half the sums due. He also helped-out by finding piano pupils, including his own son, for his impoverished student. Mahler was duly grateful. Long after he had left the Conservatory, he still wrote back to his old Master telling him his career was going well and, wryly, that he was just as arrogant as ever. Under Epstein's watchful eye, Mahler became a fine player, carrying-off the top Piano Prize in his first year with a performance of part of a Schubert Sonata (in A minor) .

Could he have made his career as a concert pianist ?

4 piano-rolls Mahler recorded in 1905 of excerpts from his Songs and Symphonies, the only aural evidence we have of Mahler the interpreter, raise doubts. Indispensable though the recordings are, above all as a guide to the tempi he wanted, they are rather sloppily played. No doubt Mahler, by then, was out of practice. In any case, it is a boon that

he took the conducting road instead. Without that long experience wrestling with often recalcitrant players in many different halls, his orchestration would surely have been less expert.

His fellow-students (sorted by age)

**Hans Rott (1858-1884)** .

Mahler felt that the unfortunate Rott was the most talented of them all. Rott took organ classes with Anton Bruckner. He excelled, achieving 1st grade each year, and winning First Prize in the organ competitions of the second and third years.

**Anton Krisper (1858-1914)** .

**Rudolf Krzyzanowski (1859-1911)** .

**Hugo Wolf (1860-1903)** .

**Arnold (Josef) Rosé (1863-1946)** . It was during these Vienna years, that Mahler also became friends with the Rosenblum brothers, who later changed their name to Rosé. Arnold and Eduard, accomplished musicians, later became Mahler's brothers-in-law (much to the disgust of Mahler, it might be added, who did not want to lose the domestic comfort his sisters provided him as a bachelor) .

Most of Mahler's Conservatory friends were just as poor but they somehow got to the Opera all the same. Hugo Wolf, for instance, spent much of his student life queuing for entry to the « Vierte Galerie » (« the gods ») and writing ecstatic letters home, especially about his idol Richard Wagner.

(« The gods » , or sometimes « paradise » , is a theatrical term, referring to the highest areas of a theatre such as the upper-balconies. These are generally the cheapest seats. One reason for naming the cheapest seats « the gods » is because the theatres have beautifully painted ceilings, often mythological themes, so the cheap seats are up near ... the gods !)

Along with many music-students of his generation, Mahler fell under the spell of Richard Wagner, although his main-interest was the sound of the music instead of the staging. It is not known whether he saw one of Wagner's Operas during his student days.

Mahler played percussion in the Conservatory Student Orchestra.

...

Mahler's circle of friends at the Conservatory initially consisted of no more than 4 or 5 individuals, some of them



more interesting than others, but, all in all, a good indication of Mahler's ability to attract important people of his own age. The individuals in question were Anton Krisper, Rudolf Krzyzanowski (and, to a lesser extent, his brother Heinrich) , Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf. It is also possible that Mahler briefly made the acquaintance of the mezzo-soprano Rosa Papier at this time. She later became a well-known member of the Vienna Court Opera and, following her early retirement on health grounds, a distinguished singing teacher whose pupils numbered Anna von Mildenburg. She also exerted considerable influence on Vienna's musical scene, helping in no small way to bring about Mahler's appointment as director of the Court Opera. The wife of the pianist Hans Paumgartner, she was the mother of Bernhard Paumgartner, later to become well-known as a Mozart scholar and as president of the Salzburg Festival. For a time, this group of friends was very small, an un-surprising state of affairs as Mahler was looking for something like a substitute family in the city. Professor Epstein took considerable interest in the boy and could play the part of a fatherly friend, but he inevitably had little time for the lad from Iglau, quite apart from his understandable reluctance to show undue preference for any one particular student. Of greater importance were friends of Mahler's own age : Wolf was born in the same year as Mahler, Hans Rott was 2 years older, Anton Krisper 3 years older, and Rudolf Krzyzanowski 1 year older. In comparison to today's State-run colleges of music, the Vienna Conservatory was a tiny institution, so that students of different ages very so on met on its various courses.

#### The Director : Josef Hellmesberger senior

The director of the Conservatory was Josef Hellmesberger senior, an archetypal Viennese who wore make-up and a wig that fooled no one in a desperate effort to appear younger than his 50 years ; his Franz-Josef mutton-chop whiskers also belied this attempt. Opinionated and autocratic, Hellmesberger was said to have 3 dislikes : his successor as leader of the Vienna Philharmonic, near-sighted people (!) , and Jews.

The young Gustav Mahler managed to irritate the Vienna Conservatory director not because he was a Jew, but because he, Mahler, did not suffer fools gladly. Even in his student days, Mahler was known for his self-confidence bordering on arrogance. He often let his instructors know what he thought of them and cut classes when he had better things to do.

Piano teacher Julius Epstein recalled :

« Mahler was not only a brilliant musician, but an amusing young man, and distinguished himself in his personal contacts by his ready wit. One day, as I entered a class, he called-out to me :

“ Professor ! Hellmesberger would like to see you in the office after the class. ”

I could hardly believe my ears ; I said pointedly :

“ I beg your pardon ! I didn't quite hear ! ”

Gustav Mahler repeated :

“ Hellmesberger would like ... ”

Somewhat annoyed, I snapped at him :

“ That is bad manners. You should say Director Hellmesberger. ”

Mahler replied, without a pause :

But Professor ! I have often heard you say that Director Hellmesberger is a genius ! ”

I interrupted :

“ Certainly, I have said that ! And so, he is ! ”

Mahler said with a grin :

“ Now, do we speak of a genius in this way ' Herr ' Beethoven, ' Herr ' Mozart or ' Herr ' Schubert ? If these great Masters do not need to be called ' Herr ', nor does Hellmesberger. ”

I had to admit that my pupil was right. »

...

Though Mahler was an accomplished pianist, by his second year at the Conservatory, he had decided that he would never be a professional on that instrument. Hearing the great pianists of his day in Vienna such as Franz Liszt and Anton Rubinstein convinced him of this. Thus, he focused his attention instead on composition, winning Conservatory prizes each year of his attendance. Though he failed twice to win the prestigious Beethoven Prize, his second attempt witnessed a remarkable submission :

« Das klagende Lied »

(Mahler writes numerous chamber and orchestral works that he later destroys.)

In many ways, it was his life outside of the classroom that was most defining for Mahler.

Mahler's Viennese fellow-musician, Ernst Křenek (who briefly married Mahler's daughter, Anna) wrote :

« A most peculiar attitude of hedonistic pessimism, joyful skepticism touching on morbid sophistication, became the dominant trait in Vienna's intellectual climate. »

For the impressionable Mahler, the city must have seemed like one giant candy-shop of musical goodies.

After passing-out of the Conservatory in 1878 with a diploma (but without one of the coveted silver medals for exceptional achievement won by 9 of his fellow-graduates) , Mahler stayed-on in Vienna another 2 years, sporadically attending courses at the Vienna University located on « Dr-Karl-Lueger-Ring » . He studied music history with Adolf Prosnitz and also attends occasional lectures, there, by Anton Bruckner.

Evidently, he did not learn much there, later admitting he only attended the « Vienna Woods » with any regularity.

Letter to Max Marschalk :

« Instead of going to lectures, I spent time in the Vienna Woods. »

In a way, these 18 or so months are mysteriously void of historical documentation : Mahler's « La vie bohème » days. It is known that he was under the thrall of Richard Wagner in these years and became a member of a strongly nationalistic student organization whose other members included influential Left-wing politicians such as Victor Adler, founder of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. Mahler and his cohorts reveled in a rather odd mixture of Wagnerian « Gesamtkunst » , Nietzschean philosophy, socialism, vegetarianism, and pan-Germanism. But maddeningly, little is known of his day-to-day activities.

Mahler may ultimately have found the German nationalism and anti-Semitism of the Vienna academic Wagner Society too much to stomach, for it is clear from surviving documents that, by 1879, he had already resigned his membership as part of a concerted action that also included Anton Krisper, Rudolf Krzyzanowski and Hans Rott, but not Wolf, who remained true to his beliefs until the end of his life.

When Mahler, aged not quite 20, left Vienna for the dismal little job in Bad Hall, his head was full of the sound of folk-song, Bohemian bands, trumpet calls, marches, Bruckner Chorales and Schubert Sonatas.

...

**Saturday, 1 April 1876** : Gustav Mahler takes part with Anton Door in a piano recital at the assembly-hall situated on the 3rd floor of Iglau's « Hotel Zu den drei Fürsten » (Hotel of the 3 Counts) located on Masarykovo square - Number 44/1189 (« Hauptplatz » Number 371) .

Programme :

1) Ludwig van Beethoven : Piano Sonata, Opus 31. Soloist : « Herr Professor » Anton Door.

2a) Franz Schubert : « Sei mir gegrüßt » (D. 741) . Soloist : « Herr » Gustav Mahler.

2b) Robert Schumann : Nocturnes. Soloist : « Herr » Gustav Mahler.

3a) Anton Door : « Lied ohne Worte » . Soloist : « Herr Professor » Anton Door.

3b) Eduard Silas : Gavotte. Soloist : « Herr Professor » Anton Door.

4a) Charles Gounod : Paraphrase on « Frühlingslied » , Opus 59. Soloist : « Herr » Gustav Mahler.

4b) Josef Dessauer : « Nach Sevilla » , Spanish Lied for voice and piano. Soloist : « Herr » Gustav Mahler.

5a) Anton Rubinstein : Romances. Soloist : « Herr Professor » Anton Door.

5b) Anton Rubinstein : « Konzert-Walzer » (Concert Waltz) . Soloist : « Herr Professor » Anton Door.

6) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Arias. Soloist : « Herr » Gustav Mahler.

The son of the owner of the house, Hans Bruckmüller, was another young musician, who composed a number of musical works and was a friend of Gustav Mahler.

Actuary, singer, song-writer, composer, and conductor, Bruckmüller was born on 30 October 1862 and died on 1935. He studied under Anton Bruckner and Franz von Suppé.

Iglau : « Hotel Zu den drei Fürsten »

Sources from the 1500's (16th Century) refer to an inn named « U Diveho Muze » (Wild Man) at this location. After a reconstruction in 1825, the inn was renamed « Hotel of the 3 Counts » . The large assembly-hall on the 3rd floor was used for theatre performances.

The « Hotel of the Three Counts » is believed to refer to the stay in 1805 of Marshal Bernadotte, the commander of the First Corps of Napoléon Bonaparte's great army. His adversary, the Austrian archduke Ferdinand, took-over Bernadotte's guest-room following the victory of Austria in the battle at Stoku, and also possibly during the stay of the King of Saxony in Iglau in 1815.

In 1585, the national convention of the 4 professional Federations of the Margraviate of Moravia took-place at the « Hotel Zu den drei Fürsten » .

...

**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.

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**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.

The work impressed so much Hermann Grädener (recently appointed to the teaching staff of the Vienna Conservatory) that he had it performed under prestigious circumstances : the chamber music « soirées » held at the home of Doctor Theodor Billroth, an eminent Viennese surgeon and amateur violinist, who was a close friend and musical confidant of Eduard Hanslick and Johannes Brahms.

This may have contributed to Brahms's particular interest in Mahler and his subsequent influential support of the composer. But, in other respects, the conduct of the young musician would hardly have appeared particularly congenial or promising to the composer of the « German Requiem » and the « 4 Serious Songs » . Mahler moved almost exclusively in Bruckner « circles » and took part in activities of the Academic Wagner Society, one of whose founders was his childhood friend Guido Adler. There can be no doubt at all, however, that, at the time, the young Mahler consciously avoided playing a personally conspicuous part within the Wagner movement, and was content in the role of a keenly observant and unusually receptive on-looker. For within the Academic Wagner Society, what Ernst Kurth called « the chaotic power struggles of the time, and a human-kind driven to confusion by feelings of triumphalism » struck him with full-intensity.

...

Arnold Schönberg, insisting on the legitimate interest that attaches to every aspect of the life and person of a great man, once said he would have liked to see how Mahler tied his tie. It is in something of that spirit that one approaches the earliest Mahler work to have come-down to us, the single movement for Piano Quintet in A minor (apparently the first movement of a projected 4 movement Opus) .

At one point, Mahler wished to publish the Quintet, as the surviving manuscript, which includes 24 bars of a Scherzo for Piano Quartet written in G minor, bears the stamp of music-publisher Theodor Rättig (who issued Mahler's piano-duet arrangement of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony sometime between 1878 and 1886 - this was Mahler's first publication) .

Rättig did not print the Quintet. It has been theorized that Mahler sent the work to him, but he rejected it.

The work was recalled by Mahler (in a conversation with Nathalie Bauer-Lechner in 1893) to have been the best of

the lot :

« It excited a good deal of enthusiasm. »

« In the end, I sent it to Moscow for a competition and it got lost. »

In fact, it was found among the effects of widow Alma Mahler, after her death in 1964, in a folder labelled : « early compositions » .

Despite the encouraging attention this single movement was shown, it is likely that it (plus the 24 bar sketch for a Scherzo in G minor found with it in Alma Mahler's folder) was all Mahler ever completed of the Quintet. During his Conservatory years, he rarely if ever finished anything.

As Mahler confessed to Natalie Bauer-Lechner :

« It was not only that I was impatient to begin a new piece, but rather that, before I finished a work, it no longer challenged or interested me, as I had gone beyond it. But who, at the time, could know whether my trouble was not a lack of ability or of the power to persevere ? »

It is unclear from surviving documentation whether the Quintet was complete at this time. In several letters, Mahler mentions a Quartet or Quintet, but there is no clear reference to this Piano Quintet.

**Monday, 31 July 1876** : Orchestral « soirée » given by the Iglau (Jihlava) « Stadtkapelle » and « Mannergesang-Verein » conducted by Heinrich August Fischer (1827-1917) . The concert was held at the « Großer Fest-Saal » of Hotel Čzap, located at Number 15-1696 Zizkova Street (Sct. Johann's « Platz » Number 50-51) ; now, the « Dělnický dům » (Workers Home) .

Program :

Gustav Mahler : Sonata for violin and piano. Probably the world-premiere, certainly, the first recorded public performance. The Sonata must be considered lost, and, as consequence, the key and the number of movements remain unknown.

Other works by Johann Friedrich Kittl, Ludwig van Beethoven, Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Franz Liszt, « Anonymous » , Henri Vieuxtemps, and Franz Schubert.

Soloists : Gustav Mahler (piano) , Richard Schraml (violin) , N. Eichler (violoncello) .

**Tuesday, 12 September 1876** : Benefit-concert at Hotel Čzap in Iglau (Jihlava) , at which Mahler plays his (lost) Violin Sonata and the first movement of his Piano Quintet in A minor. Also, a Chopin « Ballade » and Schubert's «

Wanderer-Fantasie » .

**1877** : Mahler becomes friendly with Hugo Wolf ; both are members of the Vienna Wagner Society and share the same room.

Although the undeniable merits of the Academic Wagner Society lay principally in organizing public and semi-public concerts in which works of Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf were performed alongside those of Wagner, the activities of the Society, nonetheless, had their negative side too. As with all other Wagner Societies, it spread propaganda derived from principles laid-down by Bayreuth with the aim of forming troops of agitators in support of that kind of radical, pan-German Wagnerianism from which the French composer Camille Saint-Saëns (one of the most enthusiastic champions of Wagner in France) distanced himself.

**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. 1 (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.

Other composers performed during the evening :

Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Erwin Schulhoff, Alfred Zamara, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Frédéric Chopin, Giuseppe Verdi, Felix Mendelssohn, Johannes Brahms, Theodor Kirchner, Charles Gounod.

The student « soirées » were not open for the public an, therefore, were never reviewed. This was Mahler's first and only appearance at these « soirées » .

**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) .

**Wednesday, 12 September 1877** : Mahler registers in Franz Krenn's class in counterpoint but does not complete the course. He obtained his « Abitur » in Iglau.

**Saturday, 20 October 1877** : Lecture evening at the Vienna Conservatory.

Programme :

Bach-Gounod : « Méditation » for violin, violoncello and organ. Soloists : Hanns Wessely, Alexander Fimpel and Franz

Weber.

Piano piece by Frédéric Chopin with soloist Franz Zottmann.

Piano piece by Xaver Scharwenka with soloist Gustav Mahler.

**After Sunday, 16 December 1877** : (As reported by Adalbert von Goldschmidt) Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski play at the Vienna Conservatory Bruckner's 3rd Symphony for piano 4 hands in the presence of Josef Schalk and Karl Goldmark.

**Thursday, 11 July 1878** : Annual « Concours » 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.

Program :

Frédéric Chopin, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Rudolf Krzyżanowski, 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) .

### Conservatory student Anton Krisper

Anton Krisper was born on 28 December 1858 in Laibach (Ljubljana, Slovenia) into a well-to-do family of businessmen ; and died in 1914 in Feldhof near Graz, Austria.

He registered at the Vienna Conservatory in 1876 and was a friend of Gustav Mahler. It seems that Krisper also played the cello, with Hugo Wolf as his accompanist.

Krisper is generally taken to have been a highly-gifted, multi-talented and extremely sensitive character. He is said to have written an Opera during his youth (probably « Zlatorog » (Gold Horn) , premiered in Prague) but no such work has come-down to us. Only one musical work survived. He also wrote about music but was not really happy doing this either.

Krisper remained at the Conservatory for only 2 years (without completing his studies) before moving to Leipzig and registering at the city's University, where he studied philosophy, and then, studied mining and worked as an engineer.

It was due their friendship that Mahler moved-in with his friend and spent some of his working life at the Krisper



House.

In 1879 and 1880, Mahler wrote 6 letters to Krisper, at that time not yet 20 years old. These letters are important because they suggest that Krisper was responsible for persuading Mahler to take the position at the Laibach Provincial Theatre « Landestheater ». Also, they contain Mahler's communication concerning his work and plans (« Rübzahl », a fairy-tale play ; a « Nordische Sinfonie » ; both of them later destroyed) revealing his impassioned disposition, filled with poetry.

Between 1881 and 1882, Mahler held the post of conductor at Laibach and learned his trade as a conductor. His bust now adorns the Krisper House's façade on « Rathaus-Platz » (« Mestni trg ») where stands the square-fountain sculpted by Francesco Robba.

Since that time, no more relations between the 2 friends can be traced.

More successful academically, Krisper wrote a dissertation entitled « Art Music in Terms of its Origins, Development and Consequences » (« Die Kunstmusik in ihrem Prinzip, ihrer Entwicklung und ihrer Konsequenz beziehungsweise Die Musiksysteme in ihren Prinzipien ») being praised by one of the leading figures of the as yet young discipline of musicology, Hugo Riemann, who characterizes it in his « Musiklexicon » as « a very interesting historical-theoretical study on harmonic-dualistic basis » .

Anton Krisper died at the Feldhof Sanatorium near Graz (a mental hospital supervised at the time by Doctor Richard von Krafft-Ebing) , evidently as the result of some venereal disease (most likely syphilis) . He was buried in Laibach.

### Doctor Richard von Krafft-Ebing

The Austro-German psychiatrist and author, Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing (full-name : Richard Fridolin Joseph Freiherr Krafft von Festsberg auf Frohnberg, genannt von Ebing) , was born in 1840 in Mannheim, Germany ; and died in 1902 in Graz, Austria.

Krafft-Ebing studied medicine at the University of Heidelberg, where he specialized in psychiatry. He later practiced in psychiatric asylums. After leaving his work in asylums, he pursued a career in psychiatry, forensics, and hypnosis.

Krafft-Ebing's principal work is « Psychopathia Sexualis : eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie » (Sexual Psychopathy : A Clinical-Forensic Study) , which was first published in 1886 and expanded in subsequent editions. The last edition from the hand of the author (the 12th) contained a total of 238 case histories of human sexual behaviour.

This book popularized the terms sadism (derived from the brutal sexual practices depicted in the novels of Marquis de Sade) and masochism (derived from the name of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch) .

« Psychopathia Sexualis » is a forensic reference book for psychiatrists, physicians, and judges. Written in an academic

style, its introduction noted that, to discourage lay-readers, the author had deliberately chosen a scientific term for the title of the book and that he had written parts of it in Latin for the same purpose.

« *Psychopathia Sexualis* » was one of the first books about sexual practices that studied homo-sexuality and bi-sexuality. It proposed consideration of the mental state of sex-criminals in legal judgements of their crimes. During its time, it became the leading medico-legal textual authority on sexual pathology.

The 12th and final edition of « *Psychopathia Sexualis* » presented 4 categories of what Krafft-Ebing called « cerebral neuroses » :

**Paradoxia** : sexual excitement occurring independently of the period of the physiological processes in the generative organs.

**Anæsthesia** : absence of sexual instinct.

**Hyper-æsthesia** : increased desire, satyriasis.

**Paræsthesia** : Perversion of the sexual instinct, i.e. , excitability of the sexual functions to inadequate stimuli.

The term « hetero-sexual » is used, but not in chapter or section-headings. The term « bi-sexuality » appears twice in the 7th edition, and more frequently in the 12th.

There is no mention of sexual activity with children in Chapter III, « General Pathology » , where the « cerebral neuroses » (including sexuality : the paræsthesias) are covered. Various sexual acts with children are mentioned in Chapter IV, « Special Pathology » , but always in the context of specific mental disorders, such as dementia, epilepsy, and paranoia, never as resulting from its own disorder. However, Chapter V on sexual crimes has a section on sexual crimes with children. This section is brief in the 7th edition, but is expanded in the 12th to cover « Non-Psychopathological Cases and Psycho-pathological Cases » , in which latter sub-section the term « *pædophilia erotica* » is used.

Krafft-Ebing considered procreation the purpose of sexual desire and that any form of recreational sex was a perversion of the sex-drive.

« With opportunity for the natural satisfaction of the sexual instinct, every expression of it that does not correspond with the purpose of nature (i.e. , propagation) must be regarded as perverse. »

Hence, he concluded that homosexuals suffered a degree of sexual perversion because homosexual practices could not result in procreation. In some cases, homosexual libido was classified as a moral vice induced by the early practice of masturbation. Krafft-Ebing proposed a theory of homosexuality as biologically anomalous and originating in the embryonic and fetal stages of gestation, which evolved into a « sexual inversion » of the brain. In 1901, in an article

in the « *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* » (Year Book for Intermediate Sexual Types) , he changed the biological term from anomaly to differentiation.

Although the primary focus is on sexual behaviour in men, there are sections on Sadism in « *Woman, Masochism in Woman, and Lesbian Love* » . Several of the cases of sexual activity with children were committed by women.

Krafft-Ebing's conclusions about homosexuality are now largely forgotten, partly because Sigmund Freud's theories were more interesting to physicians (who considered homosexuality to be a psychological problem) and partly because he incurred the enmity of the Austrian Catholic Church when he psychologically associated martyrdom (a desire for sanctity) with hysteria and masochism.

...

One of the most influential figures in the history of human sexuality, Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing was the first scientist to undertake a major study of sexual perversity in its varied forms.

Born August 4th, 1840, in Mannheim, Baden, Germany, he studied medicine at the University of Heidelberg. He chose psychiatry as his area of primary interest, and became a professor of psychiatry at the University of Straßburg (1872) . He soon re-located to the University of Graz, where, from 1872 to 1880, he served as medical super-intendent of the Feldhof mental asylum, which served more as a prison than a hospital. Krafft-Ebing crusaded for reform of this over-crowded facility (without success) , and was convinced of the importance of diagnosis, analysis and treatment of mental illness.

In 1879, he published « *Text-Book of Insanity* » , which further encouraged doctors to explore the cause of a patient's mental illness (be it hereditary, sexual, or physical) . He promoted therapy, rather than simple imprisonment. Krafft-Ebing found that, among the many manifestations of psycho-pathia, sexual deviance was routinely unexplored and merely dismissed as insanity. He launched a lifelong endeavour to demystify this form of mental illness by approaching the topic objectively and without shrinking from its more distasteful forms. The first volume of « *Psychopathia Sexualis* » was published in 1886 (first American edition was in 1892) . Beyond Krafft-Ebing's careful categorization and discussion of various forms of sexual perversity, it contained 45 case histories. In the years following its publication, Krafft-Ebing continued to interview sufferers of the various psychoses and neuroses, collect records of other noteworthy cases, and engage in correspondence with those who were encouraged to speak freely about their sexual practices (many of whom had no other outlet for discussion) . The 1888 edition had grown to 75 case histories. The 12th edition, upon which Krafft-Ebing was working at the time of his death, had 617 pages and featured 238 case-studies. It categorizes a wide array of sexual psycho-pathologies, from impotence to necrophilia, from lust-murder to handkerchief fetishism, all carefully arranged in categories of hyper-æsthesia (pathologically exaggerated sexual instinct) , anæsthesia (absence of sexual instinct) and the most frequently explored paræsthesia (perversion of the sexual instinct) .

« *Psychopathia Sexualis* » was intended as « a medico-forensic study » . Krafft-Ebing presented the case histories'

most sordid details in Latin « in order to exclude the lay-reader » .

Krafft-Ebing writes in his introduction to the first edition :

« The object of this treatise is merely to record the various psycho-pathological manifestations of sexual life in man and to reduce them to their lawful conditions. »

His book was aimed at « men engaged in serious study in the domains of natural philosophy and medical jurisprudence » .

Upon the publication of « Psychopathia Sexualis » , Krafft-Ebing became a prominent, if controversial, figure. He promoted psychiatry through a series of public lectures about his research, lectures which were described as « showy » , « glamorous » and « highly-sensational » . He was not interested simply in self-promotion. He entered the public debate by opposing Paragraph 175, a part of the German Kingdoms' legal code (adopted in 1871) that criminalized homosexuality. In spite of this progressive stance, Krafft-Ebing still considered homosexuality an illness that begged for treatment and a cure.

Krafft-Ebing would be a major influence upon the most prominent psychiatrists of the 20th Century.

In 1889, Krafft-Ebing became a chair of psychiatry at the University of Vienna, where he came in close contact with Sigmund Freud.

According to biographer Harry Oosterhuis :

« Although Krafft-Ebing dismissed Freud's seduction theory at a 1896 meeting of the Society of Psychiatry and Neurology as a “ scientific fairy-tale ” and although he felt that Freud generally did not empirically validate his theories with a sufficient number of cases, the 2 men must have been on good professional terms. Freud owned Krafft-Ebing's text-books and regularly received autographed copies of his works on sexual pathology ; moreover, Krafft-Ebing actively supported Freud's application for a professorship at the University of Vienna. »

It was while nearing the end of his studies in archæology (at the University of Basel in 1900) that Carl Jung read « Psychopathia Sexualis » . Receiving a « flash of illumination » from the book, he decided to change his field of study to psychiatry.

Among Krafft-Ebing's more unusual accomplishments was making psychiatric treatment fashionable. Catering to a middle- and upper-class patients that sought to avoid the horrors of mental asylums, Krafft-Ebing started a private practice, cultivated a well-paying « clientèle » and founded a sub-urban sanatorium for the « nervous » in 1886.

« Psychopathia Sexualis » was much more than a guide-book to perversity, it was an important part of the scientific community's efforts to establish authority over matters of sexuality. At the time, sexual dysfunction was either ignored,

dismissed as simple insanity, or dealt with as a religious issue. During the same period when science was claiming dominion over child-birth (previously the work of mid-wives) and death (ending the tradition of funeral wakes at home) , it argued that sexual behaviour was governed by the brain and the spine, and was a neurological issue, not a spiritual one « Psychopathia Sexualis » also proposed that heredity was a major factor, further establishing scientific dominion over mental illness.

« Psychopathia Sexualis » (and essays written at the time by Krafft-Ebing and others) introduced to our vocabulary such words as heterosexual, homosexual, sadism, masochism and fetishism. « Psychopathia Sexualis » quite literally defined sex.

But by gathering all forms of sexual abnormality under the umbrella of psycho-pathology, Krafft-Ebing cast a shadow of insanity upon all forms of sexual behaviour that deviated from the heterosexual norm. In spite of his efforts at objectivity and absolute honesty, Krafft-Ebing's « Victorian » mind-set is evidenced in « Psychopathia Sexualis » after all.

Michel Foucault wrote in his book, « The History of Sexuality » :

« This was in fact a science made-up of evasions, given its inability or refusal to speak of sex itself, it concerned itself primarily with aberrations, perversions, exceptional oddities, pathological abatements, and morbid aggravations. Claiming to speak the truth, it stirred-up people's fears. Involuntarily naïve in the best of cases, more often intentionally mendacious, in complicity with what it denounced, haughty and coquettish, it established an entire pornography of the morbid, which was characteristic of the “ fin-de-siècle ” society. »

...

Richard von Krafft-Ebing was born in 1840 in Mannheim, Germany. Since the Catholic Krafft-Ebing family had been ennobled around 1800 by the Austrian Emperor, from birth his title was « Freiherr » , or Baron. His father was a District administrator of the Grand Duchy of Baden. Richard went to school and studied medicine in Heidelberg, where his maternal grand-father, Carl Joseph Anton Mittermaier (1787-1867) , was a prominent professor of criminal law. During his studies, Krafft-Ebing lived in his grand-father's house, an intellectually stimulating and enlightened environment. After passing his examinations early in 1863, which permitted him to practice as a physician, he was granted a doctoral degree later that same year. His dissertation, which was published by the renowned publishing house of Ferdinand Enke, dealt with a topic that touched on psychiatry : sensory deliria (« Die Sinnesdelirien ») . The book was based on research in the Illenau asylum, near Baden-Baden, as well as on his personal experiences with hallucinations (during his training in the ward of internal medicine in Heidelberg, he had acquired typhoid, which caused serious fevers) .

During the summer of 1863, Krafft-Ebing attended lectures by the famous Wilhelm Griesinger (1817-1868) in Zürich on nervous and mental illness that included clinical demonstrations at the university-clinic Burgholzi. The young Krafft-Ebing was deeply impressed by Griesinger and decided to specialize in psychiatry. His grand-father, who was interested

in forensic psychiatry, may also have pushed him in this direction. Not only did Mittermaier pave the way for his grand-son to publish in the medico-legal journal « Friedrichs Blätter für gerichtliche Medizin » (for which Krafft-Ebing wrote the annual review on forensic psychiatric literature beginning in 1866) , his grand-father also helped him to obtain his first post in psychiatry. Mittermaier was a good friend of Christian Friedrich Wilhelm Roller (1802-1878) , medical director of the Illenau asylum and a leading figure in German psychiatry at that time. After having served as a volunteer for 3 months, Krafft-Ebing got an appointment as junior physician in this institution early in 1864. Before he started his training in psychiatry in Illenau, he made an instructional tour to Vienna, where he attended lectures of leading physicians of the renowned Vienna School of Scientific Medicine. He also visited Prague, where he gained some experience in obstetrics, and Berlin, where he attended lectures of Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) , one of the leading medical scientists in Germany.

Krafft-Ebing started his career in psychiatry in an asylum in which the idealist « moral » approach to mental disease, dating from the early- 19th Century, was still in vogue. Roller, one of the leading asylum psychiatrists in Germany at that time, was strongly committed to the idea that psychiatric diseases were « diseases of the soul » that could not be reduced to organic disorders of the brain and nervous system. According to Roller, psychiatry was a medical discipline unlike the others. He believed that mental patients should be removed from the daily social environment that had caused their insanity and be isolated in a special therapeutic setting, in a mental asylum, which functioned as a refuge, offering a special, healing atmosphere. Illenau was situated in the country-side far away from towns, with its staff living on the premises. The daily life of its patients consisted of a meticulous regime of work, religious activities, special diets, sport, and leisure activities, among which music figured prominently. One anecdote about Krafft-Ebing tells how he frequently played the piano and improvised songs, in an attempt to cheer-up the patients. All activities at Illenau, in fact, had a therapeutical purpose. The asylum enjoyed fame for its sophisticated facilities and the humanitarian treatment of patients ; in the early 1860's, it was one of the first German asylums to introduce the non-restraint principle, which was developed in the 1830's in England.

Krafft-Ebing's training period at the Illenau asylum proved to be profoundly formative, both in terms of his approach to patients and scientifically. Although Roller strongly opposed the new medical psychiatry being developed at German universities beginning in the 1860's, his junior staff welcomed the innovative scientific ideas in mental medicine (especially those of Griesinger and Morel) , Darwinian biology, and the new science of experimental psychology as developed by Gustav Fechner (1801-1887) and Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) . Krafft-Ebing used his daily interaction with patients for research, and, while at Illenau, he published articles on forensic psychiatry, « dementia paralytica » , epilepsy, transitory insanity, the connection between physical brain damage and mental disease, and the therapeutical use of electricity. For the remainder of his life, Krafft-Ebing would stay in close contact with Illenau and especially with 2 colleagues who became good friends : Heinrich Schüle (1840-1916) , who was later director of the asylum, and Wilhelm Erb (1840-1921) , who became a leading neurologist. Early in 1869, after leaving Illenau, Krafft-Ebing set-up practice as a « nerve doctor » in Baden-Baden, specializing in electro-therapy. In the same year, he undertook an instructional tour through Italy and France. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, he served at a medical station in a military camp in Rastatt, where he treated soldiers suffering from typhus. After his discharge from the army, he was put in charge of an electro-therapeutic institute in Baden-Baden.

When Krafft-Ebing started his career in the 1860's, a psychiatrist had generally little professional status ; as a standard specialization, psychiatry was not well-established until the end of the Century. It was definitely one of the least attractive specialties within medicine for an aspiring young physician. Working in asylums, most psychiatrists (or alienists, as they were often called in the 19th Century) were marginal figures at best, within the field of medicine as well as in society at large. At mid-Century, the professional situation of asylum psychiatry was even troubling. Mental asylums provided few posts and offered hardly any prospects for a scientific career. Moreover, asylum conditions deteriorated in the second half of the Century (in many respects, Illenau was the exception that proved the rule) . Hailed as sources of cure in the first decades of the 19th Century, the public asylums were silting-up with ever-expanding numbers of chronically ill patients. The majority of the patients of public mental institutions were drawn from the ranks of the poor and selected for essentially negative social reasons, rather than on the basis of sound medical criteria ; the asylum thus began to be a last resort for paupers, beggars, the disabled, the elderly, demented patients, and those who were a nuisance or a danger to society. Cure rates were low, and the often under-funded and over-crowded asylums had increasingly less in common with ordinary hospitals, which, by the 1870's, as therapeutic institutions, began to target the growing group of middle-class patients, especially with the improvement of hygienic conditions and anesthetic techniques.

By that time, however, public opinion no longer considered asylums as hospitals to cure but as custodial institutions. Psychiatrists came to realize that this carried with it un-intended and un-welcome professional consequences. Not only were they secluded in remote, monotonous, and oppressive institutions, and thus, consigned to an ignominious backwater of the medical profession, but they were also vulnerable to the accusation of locking people up on arbitrary grounds. Perceived as those in charge of removing the insane from society, alienists emerged in popular opinion more as guardians of law and order than as doctors who cured patients, even though it was invariably stressed that hospitalization was for the lunatic's own good. As long as their main institutional locus was the mental asylum, psychiatrists did little more than act as care-takers, and they could not escape the conclusion that the mental asylum had failed as a hospital. Moreover, to scientifically motivated psychiatrists, the asylum hardly proved to be a stimulating environment for their own intellectual growth.

From the birth of psychiatry around 1800, it had been a central problem for the new profession to define its expertise as a medical field. During the first half of the 19th Century, the special character of psychiatry was justified by its emphasis on « moral treatment » . This, however, did not require somatic treatment of the insane, and it was not a truly specific medical expertise. In fact, philosophers, jurists, and the clergy could and did claim to be at least as good as medical men in the practice of moral treatment. Psychiatry's dominion included many issues fraught with explosive religious and moral implications, and this made it close to impossible for psychiatrists to carve-out their own niche and gain authority as medical men. Even in the middle of the Century, psychiatrists still had substantial difficulties in convincing other scholars and the public that, as physicians, they had exclusive and scientific insight into the nature of insanity. The classification of the varieties of insanity remained subject to imprecision, uncertainty, and disagreement because it generally could only be based on more or less fleeting symptoms that were exceedingly difficult to measure according to the exact standards of positivist science.

For quite some time, psychiatry's social and intellectual position was, put mildly, a vulnerable one. Alienists longed to

be recognized not just as « moral entrepreneurs » in mental asylums, but as doctors and scientists. They sought to establish closer ties with the rest of the medical profession by trying to push psychiatry as an academic discipline and a natural science. By the late-1860's, it became clear that their attempts had not been altogether in vain, as the first university chairs for psychiatry were established in Germany and Austria. When Griesinger started his psychiatric clinic in the « Charité » Hospital in Berlin, in 1865, he set the tone of university psychiatry in central Europe. Between 1866 and 1882, similar clinics were opened in Göttingen, Zürich, Vienna, Heidelberg, Munich, Straßburg, Graz, Leipzig, and Bonn. Directed by professors of psychiatry, these clinics were dedicated to research and teaching. Patients were selected on the basis of medical criteria. The new psychiatric clinics were not just hospital wards to treat patients but also teaching facilities : patients were shown to medical students and discussed on ward rounds, and they were demonstrated in lectures. In their search for knowledge of the causes of mental disorders, physicians followed the example of laboratory medicine : brain anatomy, neuro-physiology, and bio-chemistry would lead psychiatry out of the obsolescence of the asylum and onto the road of medical status and progress. The story of psychiatry's rise as an academic discipline is closely connected to the growing popularity of biological psychiatry during the second half of the 19th Century.

Within psychiatric circles, his work on temporary mental derangements, including the so-called « Dämmerzustand » (a mental state between dreaming and being awake) and « Zwangsvorstellung » (irresistible thoughts, later conceptualized as obsessive-compulsive disorder) , was considered innovative. Even more important were his numerous publications on legal issues : he tackled questions involving, for instance, criminal acts under the influence of alcohol, the legal responsibility of hysterical patients, the self-accusations of the mentally ill, the validity of legal testimony in different psycho-pathological conditions, and dubious mental states in civil law. He was a pioneer and leading expert in the field of forensic psychiatry, and his « Lehrbuch der gerichtlichen Psychopathologie » (1875) was the first text-book in the German-speaking world to separate psychiatry from the rest of medicine as far as legal matters were concerned.

Throughout, his writings in this area show that he sought to broaden the field of psychiatry. Again and again, he argued that the current legal stipulations for distinguishing between offenders responsible for their actions and those who were not were far too formal and narrow. Usually, judges only accepted the diagnosis of lasting intellectual impairment as a valid symptom of insanity. According to Krafft-Ebing, this juridical conception of mental illness, and hence that of legal irresponsibility, was outdated : modern psychiatry showed that mental illness could be of a transitory nature and that it also included disordered emotions and deficient moral consciousness, which, apparently, left reason intact. Affective disorders figured prominently in his work :

« Deluded by the idea that only those people are insane who talk madly, one has simply ignored the expressions of disturbed feeling. Being ignorant of the insights of modern psychology that the imagination of man essentially depends on the quality of his feeling and that the motives of his will and actions are primarily determined by his feeling, one has completely failed to understand how disturbed feelings can make human action un-free. »

In addition, many mental disruptions were caused by, for example, dreaming, sleep-walking, somnambulism, hallucinations, intoxications, alcohol, fevers, or epilepsy, and these could not be taken for insanity as such but were nevertheless highly-relevant from a forensic view-point. The same applied to several cases of pelvic disorders caused by



gynecological lesions, menstruation, excessive masturbation, and sexual excitement without orgasm, which, Krafft-Ebing believed, could produce delusions. Essentially, he tried to convince his readers that there were many mental conditions that suspended the powers of the free-will but that were very difficult to identify as pathological by lay-persons. Echoing the physiological conception of disease, he pointed-out that modern medical science demonstrated that there was no clear boundary between the normal and pathological. All these arguments served one clear message : since deranged emotions and impulses could drive man to commit criminal acts and since there was good reason to speak of diminished criminal responsibility in such cases, the psychiatrist should have more say in jurisdiction « vis-à-vis » lawyers and others such as police authorities, clergymen, and educators.

These forensic considerations also inspired his best-selling « Psychopathic Sexualis » , which procured him fame (although not un-contested) inside as well as outside the medical world. Especially in the field of homosexuality, Krafft-Ebing was confronted not only with lawyers, but also with forensic experts in somatic medicine, who were responsible for furnishing physical proof of « un-natural vice » . Their investigation was generally restricted to a physical examination, and they, in fact, supported the prevailing juridical approach. Psychiatrists like Krafft-Ebing, however, focused on the personality of the offender and cast doubts on the current interpretation of the law. By the turn of the Century, the somatic experts in forensic medicine had lost some of their authority in Austrian courts, while the psychiatric view-point was partly acknowledged. From 1901 on, homosexual offenders could be cleared of charges if a psychiatrist diagnosed a « psycho-pathological condition » and concluded that the offense had been committed under the influence of an « irresistible urge » .

With his 3 volume « Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie auf klinischer Grundlage » (1879-1880) , partly based on hundreds of observations, Krafft-Ebing established his reputation as a leader in clinical psychiatry. It became a standard text-book in psychiatry and would remain so for 2 decades until it was replaced by that of Emil Kræpelin. Over the years, 7 editions came-out as well as translations in English, French, Italian, and Hungarian. Like other 19th Century psychiatrists, Krafft-Ebing was eager to contribute to a valid classification of psychiatric diseases. The basic psychiatric disorders, according to Krafft-Ebing, could be divided into 3 categories : emotional disturbances (feelings and dispositions, including strong variations therein) , mental derangements (involving the mind, memory, imagination) , and those of a psycho-motoric nature (drives and will) . Beyond these groups, his classification of the psychoses was based on a series of dichotomies. He differentiated between psychoses with and without intellectual retardation as well as between those with or without lesions of the brain (organic versus so-called functional psychoses or psycho-neuroses) . The functional psychoses were sub-divided into degenerative and non-degenerative as well as into melancholia (defined as « a painful inhibition of psychological functions ») and mania (« an exalted facilitation of psychological functions ») .

Krafft-Ebing was a highly-organized and efficient author, digesting vast amounts of literature (German as well as English, French, and Italian) and using and re-using the same material for different purposes. His published work amounts to hundreds of articles and about 90 books (including numerous re-editions and translations) . He published on a wide variety of subjects, including forensic issues, the classification and causes of mental disorders, alcoholism, moral insanity, sexual perversions, melancholia, paranoia, epilepsy, paralysis, multiple sclerosis, peripheral nerve lesions, obsessive behaviour, tabes, neuro-syphilis, hysteria, neurasthenia and nervousness, the psychiatric implications of

menstruation, the therapeutic use of electricity and hypnosis, administrative and legal issues of psychiatric treatment, and the teaching of psychiatry at the university. At the end of his career, several of his articles were collected in 4 volumes under the title « Arbeiten aus dem Gesamtgebiet der Psychiatrie and Neuropathologie » (1897-1899) . Translations of his works into English, Italian, French, Hungarian, Russian, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, and Japanese contributed to his international reputation. He was on many editorial boards and contributed on a regular basis to prestigious journals like the forensic « Friedrichs Blätter für gerichtliche Medizin » , the « Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie » (the official organ of German asylum psychiatrists) , and the academic « Jahrbücher für Psychiatrie » and « Neurologie » , the journal of the Austrian « Verein für Psychiatrie und Neurologie » . He also contributed on a regular basis to « Der Irrenfreund » and some Vienna-based medical journals.

In 1882, Krafft-Ebing, who was in a relatively powerless academic position as « extraordinarius » , acquired a full-professorship, and, 5 years later, neurology was added to his chair. At the same time, the small psychiatric observation clinic was extended with a ward for nervous disorders. His struggle for clinical psychiatric wards in the university's general hospital (which he won in 1886 only after having threatened to leave Graz for a professorship in Freiburg) was not only a strategic move to strengthen his position in academia, but also of importance for the configuration of psychiatry as a promising medical specialty. 3 years later, in 1889, Krafft-Ebing moved to the more prestigious University of Vienna, which had 2 chairs of psychiatry. He first succeeded Max Leidesdorf (1818-1889) on what was named the first chair of psychiatry ; in 1892, after the death of Theodor Meynert (1833-1892) , he obtained one of the most prestigious positions in psychiatry when he was elected to the second chair while also receiving the honorary title of « Hofrath » (Councillor) . The first chair was linked to a provincial mental asylum, the « Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Brünnefeld » , the second to a smaller psychiatric clinic in Vienna's General Hospital. Whereas the asylum mainly hospitalized chronic patients and its supervision included many administrative tasks, the clinic in the hospital, which carried more academic prestige, only admitted a limited number of more acute patients with mental as well as neurological disorders. In 1892, Krafft-Ebing also succeeded Meynert as president of the « Verein für Psychiatrie und forensische Psychologie » (re-named « Verein für Psychiatrie und Neurologie » in 1894) , the most important professional organization for psychiatrists in Austria. Unlike Meynert, who was obstinate and antagonized people, Krafft-Ebing was a diplomatic chairman who enlisted people's support ; under his leadership, the membership of the Society tripled, from 50 to 150 members. From 1895 until 1901, Sigmund Freud was a member of the administrative committee. Although Krafft-Ebing dismissed Freud's seduction theory at a 1896 meeting of the Society as a « scientific fairy-tale » and although he felt that Freud generally did not empirically validate his theories with a sufficient number of cases, the 2 men must have been on good professional terms. Freud owned Krafft-Ebing's text-books and regularly received autographed copies of his works on sexual pathology ; moreover, Krafft-Ebing actively supported Freud's application for a professorship at the University of Vienna.

Krafft-Ebing established himself firmly at the University in Vienna, like earlier in Graz, but he was nevertheless engaged in a continuous struggle with the medical faculty and university administrators over lack of resources, poor facilities, and the establishment of psychiatry as a medical specialty, fully-integrated into the curriculum. He complained that psychiatry was merely an optional specialization and not an obligatory subject in the curriculum of the medical faculty - only between 5 and 10 % of all medical students took his courses. In his view, it was a scandal that the majority of general practitioners, who, in Austria, were authorized to commit individuals to a mental asylum, had not received

any training in the diagnosis of mental illness.

« If citizens were only digesting, breathing, moving machines, one could be satisfied with such a state of affairs. However, they are feeling, thinking, and acting beings who, moreover, bear responsibility for their actions. Their psychological functions are a valuable asset for the State and their development, maintenance, and recovery, if disturbed, should belong to the most important interests of society. »

The lack of psychiatric knowledge, among physicians in general, was all the more deplorable, Krafft-Ebing asserted, because many admissions to mental asylums could be prevented if general practitioners were able to diagnose the first symptoms of arising insanity ; in an early stage, many mental illnesses were still curable. Moreover, a course in psychiatry would make doctors more attentive to the many people in modern society who had lost their mental balance and who were in imminent danger of becoming mentally ill. The study of psychiatry was useful, Krafft-Ebing admonished his students, since :

« It will sharpen your experience and knowledge with regard to all those individuals in today's society who, to be true, are not considered to be mentally ill, but who, nevertheless, may not be considered as mentally well-balanced. They display various malfunctions in their mental and moral personality and they are misguided and odd in their way of acting, feeling, and thinking. »

For medical students who did not specialize in psychiatry, it was particularly important to be confronted with mild and acute cases of mental and nervous illness, such as the neurotics, neurasthenics, hysterics, and hypo-chondriacs who were admitted to his psychiatric clinic. However, the clinic of Vienna's General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») was, in fact, no more than an observation ward for incoming patients that lacked the space, tranquillity, and stability necessary to examine the progression of acute mental disorders, to experiment with new treatments, and to teach medical students. In Vienna, as in Graz, the pressure of non-medical regulations for admitting, transferring, and discharging growing numbers of (chronic) patients placed great strains on the orderly functioning of the university-clinic in which research and teaching had to be priorities.

The desire to escape the constraints and frustrations of institutional psychiatry must have driven Krafft-Ebing to further broaden and diversify his professional territory. At the Universities of Graz and Vienna, he tried to push the boundaries of psychiatry into the direction of neurology, partly because the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system were promising fields that were part of established medical science. Some neurologists tried to establish their professional identity by setting themselves apart from psychiatrists ; American neurologists had succeeded in doing so as early as 1875, but, in Central Europe, the 2 medical specialties were closely connected. Krafft-Ebing asserted that psychiatry was a branch of neurology and that psychiatric clinics should be linked-up with neurological clinics rather than with asylums. This clearly served the purpose of distancing himself from the lunatic asylum while strengthening his ties with main-stream medicine.

Already in 1869, after his training in psychiatry at Illenau, Krafft-Ebing had established himself as a « nerve doctor » in Baden-Baden, and during the rest of his career, he would be engaged with organic nervous disorders, especially

tabes dorsalis, a paralysis of the legs often accompanied by mental derangement, and general paralysis - at that time also known as, respectively, progressive paralysis, « tabes cerebrales », paralytic madness, and « dementia paralytica ». From the middle of the 19th Century on, physicians postulated that these diseases were late manifestations of syphilis, an assumption that was definitively proved in 1905 when the syphilitic spirochetes was discovered, and then, found in tabetic and paralytic patients. In fact, neuro-syphilis was the only psychiatric disease that eventually proved to be a successful target for bacteriological research. Under Krafft-Ebing's supervision, one of his assistants, Josef Adolf Hirschl (1865-1914), experimentally tested the causal link between syphilis and general paralysis. 9 patients who suffered from general paralysis were injected with the fluid from the sores of known syphilitics. Because, during the subsequent 6 months, the patients showed no reaction to the injection, Krafft-Ebing and Hirschl concluded that they already had syphilis. Although this experiment was controversial from an ethical point of view, which is why Hirschl's name was not made public, Krafft-Ebing presented these results in 1897 at one of the plenary sessions of the 12th International Congress of Medicine in Moscow - a definite sign of the international prestige he enjoyed.

The alliance with neurology was a means to raise not only the scientific level of psychiatry but also its social prestige as it attracted more patients from the middle- and upper-classes who feared being associated with the insane. By advertising psychiatric care as involving « nerves » and by posing as « nerve doctors », psychiatrists met the needs of this lucrative « clientèle », who, at all costs, wished to avoid confinement in a mental asylum, primarily geared as it was to housing the incurably and chronically insane of the pauper classes. Social prejudices concerning asylum psychiatry entailed that physicians in private practices and « nervous » clinics often used face-saving organic diagnoses to avoid the odium of mental disease. Hearing that one suffered from a physical disorder of the nerves was far more acceptable than learning that one was mentally deranged. Nervous diseases were not supposed to be part of institutional psychiatry. In the last 3 decades of the 19th Century, numerous private « nervous » clinics and sanatoriums were established in Central Europe for well-paying middle- and upper-class patients. These offered a variety of physical treatments such as massages, rest cures, and various other therapies (including electro-, light, hydro-, and dietary therapies). Although they would never advertise this, many of these establishments also admitted psychiatric patients, as long as they were controllable and kept quiet.

Krafft-Ebing had an active role in this expansion of psychiatric care. Along with his clinical work, he developed a private practice, and, in 1886, he founded the sanatorium Mariagrün in a suburb of Graz for an exclusive, wealthy « clientèle » suffering from a variety of psycho-somatic complaints and relatively mild nervous disorders, especially neurasthenia. Nervous diseases not only referred to somatic disorders of the central and peripheral nervous system, but also to neurosis, « nervousness », or « weak » and « tired » nerves.

Publishing scientific as well as popular works on neurasthenia, Krafft-Ebing played an important part in the introduction of this new and fashionable, but also rather vague disease category in Central Europe. Neurasthenia, conceptualized as an exhaustion of the energy of the central nervous system, had been coined as a clinical entity by the American neurologist George M. Beard (1839-1883) in 1869, and his main-works on the subject were translated into German in the early 1880's. The explanation of neurasthenia resembled the energy model that also defined the understanding of non-procreative sexual activities. It was widely believed that the supply of vital force in humans was finite and that an over-burdening of the mental faculties would tax the body in other processes. According to Beard

and other doctors, the over-expenditure of nervous energy was caused by the demands of modern urbanized society in which an increasing proportion of the population was engaged in sedentary brain-work rather than supposedly healthy physical labour. Krafft-Ebing also explained neurasthenia in terms of a disturbance of the balance between the accumulation and the expenditure of nerve force.

Neurasthenia was posited as a functional nervous disease, and it occupied a broad border-land between mental health and insanity. Krafft-Ebing diagnosed many of his private patients as suffering from neurasthenia ; their treatment was important for the prevention of more serious nervous and mental disorders, he maintained, because these could emerge from affected nerves. These patients were not (yet) insane and should not be hospitalized in asylums but treated in other (semio-) medical institutions. In the commercial brochure, Krafft-Ebing published together with Anton Stiehl and his former assistant Hugo Gugl, who were in charge of Mariagrün, the sanatorium was advertised as a comfortable place to stay, « far removed from the hassles of the world » for « all those fellow men who have been shaken in their nervous powers by the pressures of life » . They explicitly stressed that « mentally disturbed patients » were excluded. Most of the middle- and upper-class patients treated between 1887 and 1891 in Mariagrün were diagnosed with neurasthenia (nearly 60 %) , followed by hysteria (nearly 25 %) , morphinism (morphine addiction ; nearly 10 %) , and spinal disease (about 5 %) . They were offered a peaceful and pleasant environment, rest cures, copious diets, facilities for entertainment, physical therapies such as massages, and a variety of different baths. Implicitly, these well-paying patients were permitted to be demanding with the staff. Whereas in asylums and clinical wards Krafft-Ebing mainly treated lower-class patients with more or less serious mental derangements, the sanatorium as well as his private practice catered to men and women from the higher-ranks of society for whom hospitalization was not desirable. Among them, were several members of the German, Austrian, and Hungarian aristocracy and other wealthy patients from all over Europe ; they provided Krafft-Ebing the reputation of a « society doctor » . Although he also advocated the establishment of public institutions for nervous patients of the lower-classes, he must have been clear-minded enough to see that here was a profitable market to be exploited. This « clientèle » was not only more interesting and more rewarding than the generally poor asylum population, but it also gave him the possibility of up-lifting the social prestige of psychiatry.

Krafft-Ebing ventured beyond the asylum and the clinic to seek a new « clientèle » as well as to enlarge the audience for the new medical specialty, not only among medical students and physicians but also among the lay-public. In various ways (in lectures, demonstrations, writings) , he tried to popularize psychiatry. Being a good lecturer and often demonstrating patients, Krafft-Ebing's courses in Vienna attracted a large audience, consisting of medical students as well as others. His contemporaries have characterized his lectures as « showy » , « glamorous » , and « highly-sensational » , as theatre performances rather than academic lectures. In this respect, he resembled the famous French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, whose clinical lectures on hysteria in Paris were also public happenings. On occasion, Krafft-Ebing's more or less public activities (such as lectures, spectacular demonstrations of hypnosis, and his treatment of high-placed patients) were covered by the press. Moritz Benedikt (1835-1920) , a professor of electro-therapy in Vienna who disqualified Krafft-Ebing's scientific stature, noted slightly that Krafft-Ebing, dealing with « fashionable » topics like neurasthenia, sexual perversions, and hypnosis, had a fine nose for « worldly success » and was endowed with « journalistic talent » .

Krafft-Ebing also sought to advance the moral authority of his specialty in the wider community. He believed that, as a psychiatrist, he had a moral task to fulfill in society. Especially in the fields of forensic psychiatry and sexual pathology, he posed as an enlightened moral entrepreneur : ignorance and prejudice should make way for a scientific and humanitarian approach. Deeply influenced by his grand-father Mittermaier, who advocated reforms in jurisdiction, punishment, and the prison system, the forensic field had been an incentive for Krafft-Ebing to specialize in psychiatry after his medical studies. Again and again, he insisted that jurisdiction and punishment had to be geared toward a medical diagnosis and that criminals who couldn't be held responsible for their actions should be treated medically rather than being punished. Especially in the field of sexual perversion, he began to take a stand against what he viewed as ignorance and prejudice about moral offenders, whom as a forensic expert he came to know so well. Only those who were aware of the immorality of their actions and who could control their leanings were considered to be responsible and punishable in a legal sense. Stressing the significance of the distinction between immoral perversity and sickly perversion, Krafft-Ebing repeatedly insisted that only professional psychiatrists were qualified to diagnose mental illness in court. Echoing the concept of moral insanity, he pointed-out that acts covered by the law were often behaviours of a pathological nature over which moral offenders had hardly any control. Although individuals who suffered from moral insanity were a danger to society, they should not be considered as criminals but as sick persons, as « step-children of nature » in need of compassion. In a popular lecture on the development of morality, he asserted that it was the task of science to save « moral idiots » who suffered from a defective development of their brain, from scorn :

« Science shows that such moral monsters are step-children of nature, unfortunate creatures, against whom society has to protect itself, to be sure, but who should merely be rendered harmless and who should not be made to suffer for their social incapacity and their sexuality, for which they cannot be held responsible. »

As a member of the Liberal intelligentsia, Krafft-Ebing, although not politically active in a strict sense, generally felt obliged to raise his voice against social evils on behalf of mental and moral health. Together with Max Nordau (1849-1923) , among others, he contributed to a manifesto denouncing anti-Semitism (« Freiheit, Liebe, Menschlichkeit. Ein Manifestes Geistes van hermagenden Zeitgenossen ») published in 1893, in which he denounced the increasing class-antagonisms and ethnic conflicts as a « spiritual epidemic » . He also supported the pacifist movement of Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) , expressed his aversion to the rising nationalism, and expounded the ideal of an international legal order that would ban War. Addressing a wide non-medical audience from time to time, Krafft-Ebing also revealed himself as a cultural critic. Like many others in « fin-de-siècle » Europe, he believed that mental and nervous diseases were increasing and that these were typical for modern industrialized and urbanized society. At the same time, he took a strong stand against the widespread distrust of natural science. When asked to give a lecture on the history of the plague in Vienna for the « Volksbildungsverein » , he dealt with the panic that had broken-out after 3 people involved in laboratory experiments with animals involving the plague had been infected and died. Criticism of science was also voiced in the Austrian parliament. Krafft-Ebing, however, pleaded for scientific research even though certain risks could not be ruled-out ; laboratory experimentation, he argued, was the only way to suppress this contagious disease that had claimed thousands of lives in the past.

Although Krafft-Ebing was at the apex of his career while in Vienna, he never felt at home in this city as he had

earlier in Graz. The academic climate in Vienna was spoiled by power struggles and intrigues, and Krafft-Ebing, not one to make enemies easily, was engaged in an up-hill struggle for years. Notwithstanding his aversion to divisions and dissension, he seems to have antagonized some of his colleagues in the medical faculty as well as some government officials. Partly due to his out-spoken views on forensic issues and also on sexual perversions (views that were often considered too lenient) , he was passed-over for a position on Austria's Supreme Medical Council. At the end of the 19th Century, forensic experts were increasingly emphasizing the extent to which mentally disturbed defendants posed a danger to society instead of pointing to illness as an extenuating circumstance.

In a letter to a friend, written early in 1894, Krafft-Ebing expressed his frustration with Vienna as well as with the clinic and hospital where he practiced. He complained bitterly about :

« Vienna with its soot, dust, wind, lack of walks for me and my family, its miserable clinic which sneers at every human feeling and the bureaucratic spirit which rules the hospital, not to mention the Jewishness with which one is confronted everywhere. For the next 10 years, there is no hope for the clinics here. Not only money, but also many other things are lacking. One's feeling and fair aspiration have to be blunted to endure the miserable conditions of my clinic, the stain on Vienna. Ethical sacrifices are the most difficult to make, for one sacrifices a large part of one's own moral substance. »

Weighed-down by many time-consuming administrative duties, badly equipped wards, and high-numbers of incurable patients, Krafft-Ebing retired early in 1902, at the age of 61. After celebrating his 30th anniversary as a professor of psychiatry at the University of Vienna, he returned to Graz to devote himself to writing and his work for the sanatorium. However, his lifestyle had never been a healthy one : he was over-weight and over-worked, always making long hours late at night, while drinking large amounts of black coffee. During his last term at the University of Vienna, he suffered from chronic pains due to migraine and neuralgia. All this had taken its toll over the years. At the end of the first year of his retirement, Krafft-Ebing died at the age of 62. Just before his death, he managed to re-edit the 12th edition of « *Psydiopathia Sexualis* » and the 7th edition of his psychiatric text-book. He also completed a substantial monograph on menstrual psychosis.

In his obituaries, written by close friends, students, and colleagues, Krafft-Ebing is depicted as a serious, hard-working man with a strong sense of duty. All noted his aristocratic appearance and complaisant character. Obviously, he strongly believed in good manners and bourgeois respectability, and, in his association with other scholars, he was very diplomatic.

As his friend Heinrich Schüle wrote :

« He did not easily open himself up to others and associate with people ; he was formal and reserved by nature. »

He was attacked several times, but, unlike many of his colleagues, he tried to avoid personal polemic. Apparently, Krafft-Ebing was not able to cope with the highly-competitive academic climate and the ruthless plotting and scheming

by some of his colleagues. Moreover, his successor Julius Wagner-Jauregg clearly suggested that Krafft-Ebing's complaisance bordered on the naive :

« He was extremely dignified by nature, and this was not always to his advantage. He was very peace-loving. In his entire life, he never wrote a polemic article and, in his professional as well as in his private life, he avoided any controversy or fight. He was perfectly honest, without any distrust. He did not even harbor the degree of suspicion which is part of the common insight into human nature and his goodness was often taken advantage of. »

At the same time, he had few close friends ; as a dedicated father to his family, he seems to have confined all intimacy to his wife (since 1874, he was married to Marie Louise Kissling - 1846-1903) and their 3 children. Although he was often praised for his kindness toward his students and patients, one cannot escape the impression that he was rather distant, reticent, even stiff and uncreatively formal - an impression that is reinforced by the arid style of his writings. There may be some truth in Emil Kræpelin's characterization of Krafft-Ebing. Kræpelin, who visited Krafft-Ebing in Graz in the summer of 1888 (right after meeting the flamboyant and impulsive Theodor Meynert) , wrote about him in his memoirs :

« A bigger contrast than that between him and Meynert is hardly possible. He was well-educated and, without doubt, very experienced, but, in general, he came across as an unimaginative, almost parochial man. His views were not surprising at all and although their sophistication was obvious, they did not attest to a superior intelligence. He told me that he often finished his book manuscripts long before the publisher's dead-line, and this struck me as very characteristic of the man ; he was orderly and systematic, but without special flair. »

## Works

« Die Melancholie : Eine klinische Studie » (1874) .

« Grundzüge der Kriminalpsychologie für Juristen » (2nd edition, 1882) .

« Psychopathia Sexualis : eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie » (1st edition, 1886) .

« Die progressive allgemeine Paralyse » (1894) .

« Nervosität und neurasthenische Zustände » (1895) .

## Translations

Doctor Domino Falls translated and edited « Psychopathia Sexualis » : The Case Histories (1997) .

Charles Gilbert Chaddock translated 4 of Krafft-Ebing's books into English :



An Experimental Study in the Domain of Hypnotism, New York and London (1889) .

« Psychosis Menstrualis » (1902) .

« Psychopathia Sexualis » (12th edition, 1903) .

Text-Book of Insanity (1905) .

### Graz : Feldhof Sanatorium

Doctor Richard von Krafft-Ebing, who following his dissertation had published numerous articles and some monographs, was one of those psychiatrists hoping to find a position at a university. In the 1869 annual-report of the local Medical Officer of Health in Baden, he was characterized as « an ambitious man thoroughly educated in the sciences » and as someone who « takes a great interest in forensic medicine and psychiatry and hopes one day to lecture on these subjects at a university » . Just when Krafft-Ebing was applying at the University of Leipzig in 1872, he was nominated adjunct professor of psychiatry at the University of Straßburg. Straßburg had been conquered from France in the Franco-Prussian War, and the German authorities attempted to turn this university into a showcase of German science. However, because of the poor clinical and teaching facilities, and perhaps also because Krafft-Ebing (who admired French culture and science) disagreed with the highly-nationalist Prussian policies, he left Straßburg within a year to become medical superintendent of « Feldhof » , the newly-established mental asylum of the Austrian province of Styria, situated a few miles from Graz. This position comprised a professorship in psychiatry at the University of Graz as well.

Upon his arrival in Graz, Krafft-Ebing's professional « élan » was again severely challenged. As an adjunct professor, his position in the university's medical faculty was weak. Moreover, teaching psychiatry to medical students proved no easy task. Krafft-Ebing felt that medical students should be exposed to both psychiatric theory and clinical practice. Clinical teaching in « Feldhof » was inconvenient for several reasons : the asylum was located outside of town, quite a distance from the university ; there were only chronic patients, who could hardly be cured ; and he faced serious internal opposition to using patients in his teaching because others felt that the presence of strangers could upset them and aggravate their illness, as would be the risk of public examinations and demonstrations of their cases. Apart from teaching facilities in the asylum, Krafft-Ebing needed a psychiatric clinic at the university, so that he could demonstrate patients to his students, preferably « fresh and curable cases » , as he phrased it in a letter to the provincial administration. Much to his disappointment, he was only granted a small observation ward.

There were substantial differences between the asylum in Illenau and the large and over-crowded asylum in « Feldhof » . Designed for 320 patients, it held 400 in 1879, Krafft-Ebing reported, and, 3 years later, there were 516 inmates. Whereas Illenau's medical staff could work in relative independence of government interference, « Feldhof » directly fell under the Department of Health in Vienna and the provincial government of Styria, which in the asylum was represented by a non-medical administrator. Although Krafft-Ebing insisted that the management of asylum should be in medical hands, as medical director, he continued to be dependent on government officials who often applied non-

medical criteria for the admission of patients (1881) . In « Feldhof » , he was faced with generally poor, uneducated, chronic, and sometimes violent patients who were difficult to treat and who included criminals suffering from mental derangements.

In a very critical account of the conditions in which the insane lived in Styria, published as a brochure in 1879, Krafft-Ebing presented a dismal picture of the asylum. After expressing his indignation about the inhuman treatment the insane received from their relatives outside the asylum, he asserted not only that « Feldhof » was too small to admit all patients from Styria, but also that it had not lived-up to expectations. Therapeutic facilities were lacking, the staff was forced to resort to outdated methods like restraint and isolation cells, and the physical health of the patients left much to be desired. All hope of curing patients had vanished, Krafft-Ebing continued : the wards were filled with numerous restless and raving patients, and only 20 % of those admitted to « Feldhof » could look forward to an improvement of their condition. Many patients stayed-on in the asylum until their, often premature, death. In such an institution, psychiatry had become more akin to routine custodial care than to a gratifying professional and scientific calling. Krafft-Ebing also complained about the bad location of the asylum and its poor architectural structure, which was unsuited for its medical purpose.

Leaving aside whether or not public opinion is right in claiming that a lunatic asylum should never have been built on this place outside Graz (exposed to storms as well as the heat of the sun, with poor connecting roads to the town, and without a park) , it cannot be denied from a technical point of view that the very simple architectural design of this asylum might, indeed, facilitate the care of massive numbers of chronic, mostly incurable patients ; yet is hardly appropriate for a hospital with the aim to cure people.

The best solution, Krafft-Ebing concluded, would be the construction of a new mental hospital in Graz, which should include a university-clinic and admit patients on a voluntary basis as well. Whereas admission to an asylum was subject to legal regulations and usually involved time-consuming bureaucratic procedures, in clinics only medical criteria would be applied.

Krafft-Ebing's efforts to reform « Feldhof » failed. Disillusioned with the prospects of a large public asylum, Krafft-Ebing withdrew from asylum management and turned his full-attention to the university. Since 1874, he had been in charge of a small clinical ward for the observation of psychiatric patients in the old mental asylum of Graz. What he wanted was a larger psychiatric and nervous clinic within the general hospital of the university, close to the other medical departments and dedicated exclusively to the medical treatment of potentially curable patients. He felt that it was important that this clinic admitted patients whom he would be allowed to use as illustration material in lectures for medical students who did not specialize in psychiatry. As prospective general practitioners, these students should be trained in the early diagnosis of mental illness. With an eye to his teaching, research, and writing, as well as to being able to design effective methods of treatment, Krafft-Ebing needed a wider variety and a higher turn-over of more acute patients than the asylum could provide for. What he wanted was, as he put it, good « usable patient and material » . This was especially important for demonstrations so as to make his lectures more concrete and attractive for medical students, for whom courses in psychiatry were not compulsory, and to convince a non-medical audience of the social importance of psychiatry. Apparently, he presented many patients in his lectures and courses ; in 1890, he

reported that to this end he had called upon some 3,000 of them in the previous 17 years.

After his resignation as medical superintendent of « Feldhof » in 1880, Krafft-Ebing focused his activities on teaching and research. He had already established a reputation in the academic world with a series of publications on various subjects.

...

Zu dieser Zeit bereits auf eine stattliche Anzahl von wissenschaftlichen Publikationen zurückblickend, war Doktor Richard von Krafft-Ebing bestrebt, eine akademische Laufbahn zu ergreifen. Nach einer Probevorlesung in Leipzig unter dem Dekan der medizinischen Fakultät Wunderlich war eine Entscheidung des Professorenkollegiums über die Bewilligung seiner Habilitation bereits zu erwarten. Jedoch am 13. Mai 1872 konnte von Krafft-Ebing nach der Angelobung seine psychiatrische Klinik in Straßburg eröffnen.

Nach einer einjährigen Gastrolle an der damals neu errichteten Psychiatrischen Klinik der Universität Straßburg (die Universitätsklinik bestand aus zwei Betten in einem Zimmer für Männer, einem weiteren Zweibettzimmer für Frauen und zwei Räumen für die Leitung der Klinik) brauchte der inzwischen zweiunddreißig Jahre alte Universitätsprofessor diese Beschränkungen nur kurze Zeit hinzunehmen.

Durch Vermittlung seines Lehrers Roller wurde ihm 1873 die Direktion der soeben neu errichteten steiermärkischen Landesirrenanstalt Feldhof bei Graz und gleichzeitig der Lehrstuhl für Psychiatrie an der Grazer Universität übertragen.

Im Jahr darauf folgte ihm dorthin als seine Gattin eine Landsfrau, Maria Luise Kißling (1846-1903) aus Baden-Baden.

Am 22. Mai 1874 eröffnete er die Klinik in Graz und leitete diese bis zum Jahre 1880. Nach jahrelangen Bemühungen erreichte er schließlich, daß er von den Belastungen der Doppelstellung in der Weise enthoben wurde, daß er die Verwaltung der Anstalt in Feldhof abgeben konnte. Unter entsprechenden Adaptierungen an der Klinik und seiner Ernennung zum Ordinarius 1885 war er ausschließlich Professor für Psychiatrie.

...

Es werden Menschen mit psychischen, psychosomatischen und neurologischen Erkrankungen aus der gesamten Steiermark sowie aus dem südlichen Burgenland ambulant und stationär behandelt, für die rund 780 Betten zur Verfügung stehen.

Die ursprünglich für 460 Patienten ausgelegte, 2 Weltkriege überdauernde und bis heute bestehende Krankenanstalt, zwischenzeitig mit mehreren Zubauten und der Einbeziehung mehrerer Filialen erweitert, ist Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts ein großer Spitalkomplex mit mehreren Fachbereichen (Departements) .

Im Jahr 1839 beschloß die Landesbehörde des Kronlandes Steiermark, den Neubau einer sogenannten « Irrenanstalt »

in Graz bei der zuständigen Hofkanzlei in Wien anzuregen. Dieses sollte als Ersatz für ein bestehendes Irrenhaus für psychisch Kranke dienen, welches 1788 unter Förderung von Kaiser Josef II. gleichzeitig mit dem Allgemeinen Krankenhaus in Graz in der Paulustorgasse im aufgehobenen Kapuzinerkloster entstanden war. 1840 mit der Planung begonnen, wurde 1863 die Ausführung eines dem Stand der damaligen medizinischen Wissenschaft entsprechenden Neubaus einer Landesirrenanstalt für die Steiermark beschlossen. Durch den darauf erfolgten Ankauf des Feldhofes, einem Gutshof nächst Straßgang bei Graz mit Wirtschaftsgebäude und ausgedehnten landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen, wurde ein geeigneter Standort gefunden.

Nach dem Bauplan (1868) und der Grundsteinlegung im Jahr 1870 konnte die neue Landesirrenanstalt am 26. Dezember 1872 ihrer Bestimmung übergeben werden, deren I. Direktor der Professor der Universität Graz, Johann Nepomuk Czermak, wurde. Im Mai 1873 wurde dem zuvor in Straßburg tätigen Psychiater Richard von Krafft-Ebing die Anstaltsleitung übertragen. Am 22. Mai 1874 ging dazu die psychiatrische Klinik am Feldhof in Betrieb und Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing trat als Primarius der Universität Graz das Lehramt der Psychiatrie an. Mit Oktober 1880 gab er die Funktion als Direktor der Landesirrenanstalt auf, um sich auf Lehre und Forschung (1885 erfolgte seine Ernennung zum Ordinarius) zu konzentrieren. Sein Nachfolger wurde Julius Wagner-Jauregg (1857-1940) .

Steiermärkische « Landes-Irren-Heil- und Pflegeanstalt » Feldhof.

Gründung/Eröffnung : 1872-1873.

Erweiterung/Adaptierung : 1876, 1888, 1894, 1899, 1907, 1908-1909.

Anlage : Korridorsystem und 12 Pavillons (1896) .

Bettenkapazität : 402 (1896) ; 1262 (1910) ; 1800 (1937) .

Personalstand : 5 Ärzte, 8 Beamte, 127 Pflegepersonal, 48 Hauspersonal (1896) ; 7 Ärzte, 10 Beamte, 205 Pflegepersonen (1910) ; 10 Ärzte und 1 Ärztin, 277 Pflegepersonal (1937) .

Verpflegskosten pro Person und Tag : 43 Kreuzer (1896) ; 3 Verpflegsklassen 1,80-8 Kronen (1910) ; 3 Verpflegsklassen (1937) .

### Kinder als « Euthanasie » -Opfer im einstigen Feldhof

Unter dem ärztlichen Leiter Oskar Begusch und seinem Nachfolger Ernst Sorger wurden circa 1.500 Patienten der NS-Tötungsanstalt Hartheim zugeführt. Rudolf Lonauer schreibt von Rückständen, die er noch in der Zwischenanstalt Niedernhart in Linz hat, und Begusch von Überbelag, den er mittels Eisenbahntransport loswerden will. Auch Heinrich Wolfer war von 1938 bis 1940 dort Assistenzarzt.

Die gezielte Tötung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Behinderung durch das NS-Regime gilt als eines der dunkelsten

Kapitel der Medizingeschichte. Hunderte Kinder wurden im damals so genannten Feldhof in Graz « euthanasiert ». In Graz fand dazu am Freitag ein Gedenksymposium statt.

Der ehemalige Feldhof in Graz-Puntigam, heute die Landesnervenklinik Sigmund Freud, war während der Zeit der Nationalsozialisten für viele Kinder und Jugendliche die letzte Station. Im Feldhof gab es eine « Kinderfachabteilung ». Kinder und Jugendliche mit einer Behinderung wurden hier eingewiesen und begutachtet, schilderte der deutsche Historiker, Thomas Ölschläger, der sich seit Jahren mit diesem Thema beschäftigt, bei dem Gedenksymposium in Graz.

### **Gutachter entschieden über Leben oder Tod :**

Das im Feldhof diagnostizierte Krankheitsbild sei direkt der Kanzlei des Führers Adolf Hitler in Berlin gemeldet worden, so Ölschläger. Mehrere Gutachter entschieden, ob ein Kind getötet werden konnte oder nicht. Im Grazer Feldhof fanden 270 Kinder und Jugendliche den Tod. Die Tötungen wurden mittels Verabreichung von Barbituraten und Schlafmitteln in Überdosierung durchgeführt. « Das war keine Ad-hoc-Tötung, es wurde sukzessiv vorgenommen, damit es nicht so auffiel », sagte der Historiker.

### **In nassen Kleidern bei offenem Fenster verhungert :**

Nicht alle Kinder wurden auf diese Weise ermordet, zahlreiche Kinder habe man auch einfach verhungern lassen, sagte Rainer Danzinger, Facharzt für Psychiatrie und Organisator des Symposiums :

« Zum Teil hat man sie einfach sterben lassen durch Unterernährung, bei offenem Fenster mit nasser Kleidung liegen gelassen, das ist aus den Krankengeschichten erkennbar, wie die Kinder immer weniger spielen, immer stiller werden, und dann sind sie plötzlich tot. »

### **Der Grazer Feldhof zur NS-Zeit :**

Während der NS-Herrschaft wurden auch in Graz im Rahmen der « T-4-Aktion » Erwachsene und Kinder mit einer Behinderung eingeliefert. Insgesamt schickten vier verantwortliche Grazer Ärzte bis Kriegsende mehr als 1.000 Patienten im Feldhof in Graz-Puntigam in den Tod.

### **Vorfälle blieben jahrelang geheim :**

Trotz Dutzender Mitwisser wurde nach dem Ende des 2. Weltkrieges nur ein Arzt des Feldhofs angeklagt. Außerdem sei dieses dunkle Kapitel jahrelang vertuscht worden, weil nach Kriegsende zahlreiche belastende Krankengeschichten verschwunden seien, so die Organisatoren des Symposiums. Mit dem Symposium am Freitag wollte man die Beteiligung der Grazer Ärzteschaft an Patientenermordungen aufarbeiten, aber auch eine Brücke in die Gegenwart schlagen, betonte Danzinger.

Aus der Sicht Danzingers geht es auch maßgeblich um die Bedeutung der Trennung der Patienten, und zwar in solche,

die die teuren Leistungen der Medizin bekommen, und jene, für die es sich nicht mehr auszahlt. Hier, so Danzinger, müsse eine Brücke zwischen der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart geschlagen werden.

#### **Buch zu « Euthanasie » -Verbrechen in der Steiermark :**

Mit dem Gedenksymposium am Grazer LKH sollte dieser jahrzehntelange Mantel des Schweigens endgültig gelüftet werden - im März erscheint dazu auch ein Buch, das unter dem Titel « Schattenseiten » bisher verleugnete « Euthanasie » -Verbrechen in der Steiermark behandelt.

#### **Mahler and « St. Vitus' Dance »**

It is said that Gustav Mahler had a twitching leg. When considering this characteristic, we already adduced the theory that this tic was a throw-back to a childhood illness, chorea minor, more popularly known as « St. Vitus' Dance » . If Mahler did, indeed, suffer from this illness as a child, then, it is not unlikely that his later mitral valve defect remained as a consequence, albeit undetected, a diagnosis that has repeatedly been proposed by writers on the subject. The problem is that the evidence that Mahler suffered from this particular type of chorea is so slender that we simply cannot be certain : in short, the connection between his twitching leg and a childhood chorea is impossible to prove. In the case of a person as highly-strung as Mahler, we may simply be looking at a nervous tic that he was not always able to control. In much the same way, it was only with difficulty that he was able to stop biting his fingernails at moments of nervous tension. This may or may not have been the case. Whatever the answer, it is likely that Mahler's mitral stenosis was the fatal consequence of a rheumatic illness or similar disease, and when we examine the frequency of Mahler's generally severe attacks of tonsillitis, then, the link becomes more than likely : his striking susceptibility to this complex of symptoms may more plausibly be seen as the starting-point for his final fatal illness than any congenitally weak heart.

...

Sydenham's chorea (SC) or chorea minor (historically referred to as « St. Vitus' Dance ») is a disorder characterized by rapid, uncoordinated jerking movements primarily affecting the face, hands and feet. Sydenham's chorea results from childhood infection with Group A beta-hæmolytic Streptococcus and is reported to occur in 20 to 30 % of patients with acute rheumatic fever (ARF) . The disease is usually latent, occurring-up to 6 months after the acute infection, but may occasionally be the presenting symptom of rheumatic fever. Sydenham's chorea is more common in females than males and most patients are children, below 18 years of age. Adult onset of Sydenham's chorea is comparatively rare and the majority of the adult cases are associated with exacerbation of chorea following childhood Sydenham's chorea.

Sydenham's chorea is characterized by the abrupt onset (sometimes within a few hours) of neurologic symptoms, classically chorea, usually affecting all 4 limbs. Other neurologic symptoms include behaviour change, dysarthria, gait disturbance, loss of fine and gross motor control with resultant deterioration of hand-writing, headache, slowed cognition, facial grimacing, fidgetiness and hypotonia. Also, there may be tongue fasciculations (« bag of worms ») and

a « milk sign » , which is a relapsing grip demonstrated by alternate increases and decreases in tension, as if hand-milking.

Non-neurologic manifestations of acute rheumatic fever are carditis, arthritis, erythema marginatum, and subcutaneous nodules.

### Death of Hans Rott's father

**Thursday, 10 February 1876** : Death of the famous Viennese comic actor Carl Mathias Rott (real name : Roth - born in 1807, married in 1862) , Hans Rott's father.

He was crippled in 1874 by a stage-accident (which lead to his death) .

**Friday, 11 February 1876** : An obituary was published in the « Wiener Illustrierten Extrablatt » .

### Conservatory student Otto Mahler

The Bohemian-Austrian musician and composer Otto Mahler was born on 18 June 1873 in Jihlava and died on 6 February 1895 in Vienna. He committed suicide at the age of 21.

The 12th child of Bernhard and Marie Mahler, Otto resembled his elder brother Gustav in displaying a special talent for music at an early age.

Gustav Mahler was already Director of the Royal Opera in Budapest when Otto Mahler entered the Vienna Conservatory in 1888, at the age of 15. Natalie Bauer-Lechner's memoirs describe Otto as having been « liberated from his father's business » by Gustav - who became head of the family, and financially responsible for Otto, upon the deaths of Bernhard and Marie in 1889.

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. After a few successful terms studying harmony and counterpoint with Anton Bruckner and piano with Ernst Ludwig, his marks declined, and the annual report for his first year shows that for some reason he took no final examination in composition. From that point on, his academic performance was increasingly poor, and, in April 1892, Otto Mahler left the Conservatory without a diploma.

With the help of his brother, Otto was able to find minor musical posts in provincial towns. He seldom stayed long in any place, however. In the autumn of 1893, he took on a position as choir-Master and second conductor of the Leipzig Opera. After moving to a position in Bremen, he returned to Vienna.

### Conservatory student Hans Rott

The Austrian composer and organist Hans Rott was born on 1 August 1858 in Braunhirschengrund, a suburb of Vienna ; and died on 25 June 1884 in Vienna.

Hans Rott's music is little-known today, though he received high-praise in his time from Gustav Mahler and Anton Bruckner.

Hans 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 Krzyzanowski. He studied piano with Leopold Landskron and Josef Dachs, harmony with Hermann Graedener, counterpoint and composition (like Mahler) with Franz Krenn. He studied organ with Anton Bruckner, starting in 1874, and graduating from Bruckner's organ-class in 1877, with honours. Bruckner said that Rott played Bach very well, and even improvised wonderfully (a high-compliment since Bruckner himself was a great improviser) . Rott was also influenced by the works of Richard Wagner, and even attended the very first Bayreuth Festival in 1876. During that time, Rott was also organist at the Piarist church « Maria Treu » in Vienna.

...

At 20, Hans Rott was a phenomenon that no one forgot : Hans looked like King Ludwig II, friends said. And he was highly-talented.

The musicologist Guido Adler even explained :

« He was the most talented of us all. »

This statement was of some significance in a circle that included Hugo Wolf and Gustav Mahler. Many people believed in a great career for Hans Rott, especially his organ teacher at the Vienna Conservatory, Anton Bruckner. His « most outstanding pupil » was a figure with star qualities. Rott succeeded in presenting himself, although having absolutely nothing, in such a way that others admired him. Rain-water had free discharge out of his shoes, as he himself said. But when he came along in his old Havelock, a broad over-coat with a shoulder flange, without sleeves and in his red-and-white striped butcher's trousers, gigantically tall and with a dark-blond lion's mane, shining grey-blue eyes, easy-going and cheerful, then everyone saw a winner in him.

...

Until the summer of 1877, Hans Rott had been inscribed for organ lessons with Anton Bruckner, proved to be talented above average and became his favourite student. The fruits of the lessons become obvious in the programmes of the organ evening concerts of the Conservatory. On February 16, 1876, Hans Rott plays a « Chant et Variations » by Johann Christian Rinck ; on May 3, 1876, the « Adagio » from the Sonata in F minor by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the Fugue in C major by Joseph Vockner ; on May 16, 1877, the « Fugue in G major » by Johann Sebastian Bach.



No doubt, the very good relationship between Anton Bruckner and Hans Rott had a beneficial effect on the musical and personal development of the student, although evidence is scarce. But this can be taken for granted : Hans Rott belonged to the « inner circle » of Bruckner disciples. The extreme closeness with the Master was linked with a strict condition : presence at Bruckner's « inn appointments » in the evening was obligatory. The Master's capacity of being an example for his subordinate and devoted students, was, however, not limited to holding one's liquor ; it was essentially grounded upon his musical authority and human qualities.

Hans Rott did for his teacher what he could. Together with his fellow-students Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyzanowski, he wrote a piano-score of the flopped 3rd Symphony - a time-consuming task endangering the urgent preparations for the eminent examination at the Conservatory ! As with the 3rd Symphony, Hans Rott also would have gained a detailed knowledge of the 5th Symphony, then in progress : Bruckner wrote it in those years (1875-1878) during which he taught Hans Rott the organ. The final choral theme which (I am sure) Bruckner had conceived at the organ and played to his students, is promptly echoed in the first movement (bars 188-190) of Hans Rott's Symphony in E major (III. 5) .

...

Hans Rott composed his strongest and most personal works between 1878 and 1880 : the 1st Symphony in E major, a « Pastoral Prelude, the art-song « Der Sanger » (The Singer) and probably also the String Quartet in C minor, sketches for a 2nd Symphony and an Oratorio, « Der Tod » (Death) . When he completed his Symphony in E major in June 1880, he had a premonition of death. People became alien to him.

He wrote to a friend :

« I'd give everything for a dog. An animal could make me happy. I cannot entrust my heart to a person now. »

Hans Rott drafted his last will and testament in 1880, at the age of 22. But at the same time, he vibrated with desire for a future. He applied for the position of music-director in Muhlhausen and wrote to Hans Richter, the « Kapellmeister » of the Vienna Court Opera. Richter was to perform Rott's Symphony in E major with the Philharmonic. Rott was in financially dire straits, but he was in such high-spirits that even he became frightened.

He feared :

« The depth of the plunge will let people know the height of my present life. »

...

**Wednesday, 16 February 1876** : Hans Rott plays an organ composition by Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (Choral variations) during a lecture evening at the Vienna Conservatory.

It is not known whether Anton Bruckner was present.

**Thursday, 2 March 1876** : The performance of « Lohengrin » under Richard Wagner's personal direction is attended by Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf.

**Wednesday, 3 May 1876** : Hans Rott plays organ works by Felix Mendelssohn (Adagio from the Sonata in F minor) and Josef Vockner (Fuge in C) during the lecture evening's second part (dedicated to « Neue Musik ») of the Vienna Conservatory.

**Wednesday, 21 June 1876** : Hans Rott wins the First Prize in the organ category (first academic year) at the concurs of the Vienna Conservatory (for harp, organ, cello and wind-instruments) with Felix Mendelssohn's Sonata in D minor.

Herman Dahlak wins the First Prize in the same category (second academic year) with Johann Sebastian Bach's Toccata in F major.

The jury was composed of Josef Hellmesberger senior, Johann Peter Gotthard, Doctor Karl Hausleithner, Karl Hoffmann, W. Rabenau, Doctor Josef Standhartner and Doctor J. von Walther.

Hans Rott had been admitted in a composition competition, although he had not completed the obligatory minor subject, « History of music » .

**August 1876** : Hans Rott goes to the Bayreuth Festival with the Vienna academic Wagner Society.

**Tuesday, 9 January 1877** : Hans Rott plays the Prelude and Fugue in D major by Johann Sebastian Bach at the lecture evening of the Vienna Conservatory.

Programmed works :

Songs by Ottokar Wöber.

Duet from « Jessonda » by Louis Spohr (with Miss Marianne Zips) .

Trio from « Zemire und Azor » by Louis Spohr (with Miss Marianne Zips) .

Also, works by :

Heinrich Heine (declamation) , Robert Volkmann, Friedrich von Flotow, Johannes Brahms, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Robert Franz, Wilhelm Kleinecke junior, Henryk Wieniawsky, Giuseppe Verdi, Ludwig van Beethoven and Matthias Durst (Septet for 7 trumpets performed by students from the class of Adalbert Maschek) .

Participants :

Female music students : Gruschonig, Julius Bernhard Stern, Miss Amalie Stahl, Kruß and Miss Henriette Klunzinger.

Male music students : Winter, Girska, Benkö, Schram, Engel, Ludwig, Zobel, Schönberger, Rosenblum and Mattachich.

**Thursday, 15 February 1877** : Anton Bruckner's organ students participate at the lecture evening of the Vienna Conservatory.

Christian Schröder plays a Prelude and Fugue on BACH by Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck.

Largo for violins, violas, harp and organ (with Hans Rott) by Georg Friedrich Händel.

Also works by :

Felix Mendelssohn, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Henryk Wieniawsky, Franz Liszt, Josef Sucher, Josef Dessauer, Hiller, Matthias Durst, Wilhelm Bernhard Molique and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

Participants :

Female music students : Weintraub, Weichsel, Eisler, Kosch, Okolok and Zamara.

Male music students from the class of Mister Harmsen. Male students from the class of Mister Karl Heißler. Belley, Mattachich, Rosenblum, Schreiber, Wunderer, Rudolf Pichler, Schandara and Kravchowitz.

**Monday, 2 April 1877** : Hans Rott is part of the Beethoven Concert organized by the Vienna academic Wagner Society. Unfortunately, it is cancelled at the last minute.

**Wednesday, 16 May 1877** : Hans Rott plays the fugue in G major for organ by Johann Sebastian Bach (BWV 541 or BWV 550) at the lecture evening of the Vienna Conservatory.

Also, works by :

Georg Muffat, Heinrich Albert, Johann Schop, Reinhard Keiser, Johann Sebastian Bach, Christoph Willibald Gluck, Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Carl Heinrich Graun, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Rust, Johann Adam Hiller, Christian Gottlob Neefe, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Carl Maria von Weber and Franz Schubert.

Participants :

Female music students : Bergmann, Sax, Miss Henriette Klunzinger, Miss Marianne Zips, Holeczek, Henritte Mallovic, Miss

Otilie Neuß, Rosner, Miss Marie Linde, Wolf, Ziffer, Kosch and Geißler.

Male music students : Liebau and Rosenblum.

**Wednesday, 30 May 1877** : Hans Rott plays the fugue in E minor for organ by Johann Sebastian Bach at the lecture evening of the Vienna Conservatory.

Also, works by :

Camille Saint-Saëns, Oskar Franz, Elias Parish Alvars, Robert Schumann, Franz Schubert (played by pianist Franz Zottmann) , Heinrich Röver, Ludwig, Rossi, Frédéric Chopin, Hans Schmitt und Ferdinand Hiller (choir from the class of Mrs. Mathilde Marchesi) .

Participants :

Female music students : Marie Exner, Göstl, Miss Marianne Zips, Miss Amalie Stahl.

Male music students : Rosenblum, Winter, Schram, Schreiber, Fimpel, Liebau, Fischhof and Ludwig.

**Thursday, 14 June 1877** : Anton Bruckner has just received his friend Prelate and « Regens chori » Ignaz P. Traumihler's letter and is dismayed at the news of Josef Seiberl's death. He hopes to be available for St. Florian until August 15, 1877.

Bruckner recommends as successor his Vienna Conservatory student Hans Rott, who is an excellent Johann Sebastian Bach player and improviser who studied counterpoint and composition with Franz Krenn and is currently organist at the Piarist church.

« May I give my warmest recommendation to Hans Rott, a graduate of the Organ School at the Conservatory. The son of the late-actor at the “ Theater an der Wien ”, he is an excellent musician, very pleasant and modest, very “ moral ”, plays Bach outstandingly and improvises astonishingly well for an 18 year old.

You will never find a “ better ” young man. He has been my “ best ” pupil, up to now. He studied Counterpoint with Krenn, who also likes him very much, and also Composition. He is now organist at the Piarist church in “ Josefstadt ” (in Vienna) . He and I would both be very grateful. But I do not want in the least to anticipate your decision. »

Rott did not get the job and, indeed, his short career reads like a series of set-backs. Born in Vienna, in 1858, Hans Rott was, as Bruckner comments, the son of an actor. His mother died early, in 1872, and when his father died 4 years later, Rott was left without any means of support. He was obliged to suspend his studies and take an office job but was able to resume his education when the Vienna Conservatory remitted the fees for the remainder of his course. In June 1876, he graduated from Bruckner's organ-class with distinction, winning the First Prize and a medal.

How different Hans Rott's ranking would be today had he been successful in gaining the position of an organist at the Monastery of St. Florian ! Alas, Bruckner's recommendation was not accepted, and Hans Rott remained unemployed.

**Saturday, 16 June 1877** : Hans Rott wins the First Prize (second academic year) with the performance of 2 movements from Johann Sebastian Bach's Fugue in G minor for organ. :

Hans Rott, « pupil of the second training-class for organ of professor Anton Bruckner » , wins unanimously the First Prize.

Approval signatures of Josef Hellmesberger senior and Leopold Alexander Zellner.

The prize jury : Josef Hellmesberger senior, Doctor Gerhard von Breuning, Rosa Csillag, Friedrich Heßler, Franz Otter, W. Rauch und F. Wilt.

Second 1st prize : Christian Schröder performed 2 movements from Felix Mendelssohn's Sonata in B-flat major.

Also performed : Johann Sebastian Bach's Concerto for harp, organ, cello and wind-instruments.

**Thursday, 12 July 1877** : Student concert of the Vienna Conservatory with the 2nd prize winners under the direction of Josef Hellmesberger senior.

Programme :

Works by Ignaz Brüll (with pianist Henritte Mallovic) ; Dieudonné-Félix Godefroid (with harpist Eduard Schuöcker) ; Carl Maria von Weber (with pianist Marie Exner) ; Johann Sebastian Bach (Toccatà in D minor for organ, played by Hans Rott) ; Joseph Joachim Raff (with pianist Franziska Kuhn) ; Franz Liszt (with pianist Ida Morgenbesser) ; Franz-Josef Haydn (Aria from « The Creation » sung by Miss Henriette Klunzinger) ; Frédéric Chopin (with pianist Anna Huber) .

**Wednesday, 13 March 1878** : Concert by the Vienna academic Choral Society performed at the « Musikverein » Great-Hall. Hans Rott participates as organist.

**Tuesday, 16 April 1878** (Car-Tuesday) : Second extraordinary concert by the « Society of Friends of Music » under the direction of Eduard Kremser.

Works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Händel.

John Leo Löwi and Hans Rott participate with Father Anselmus from Göttweig.

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

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

After the concert, they joined Karl Rott and Friedrich Löwi-Løhr 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 « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schlöbelgasse » Number 12 (14), in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th).

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

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 (...) »

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

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

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

(...) Anton Bruckner rushes Hans Rott to contact Rudolf Krzyżanowski at Eile for the piano reduction of the 3rd Symphonie (WAB 103), since music-publisher Theodor Rättig has visited him 5 times ! (...) Bruckner believes in the re-entry of Rudolf Krzyżanowski's into his organ class (...)

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

« Friday 13th, Anton Bruckner - finished. » (Work on the 3rd Symphony or 4th Symphony ?)

**Thursday, 19 August 1880** : Hans Rott wrote to his friend John Leo Löwi :

« (...) there is something hypertensive, feverish in my present life that is pushing me to make a decision. »

(He was not the one who decided - it decided.)

### Bruckner stands for Hans Rott

A notable friendship had developed between Anton Bruckner and Hans Rott, his favourite student, causing Bruckner stand with him in the « cheap » ranks, rather than sit at his place of honour, during performances which they attended together.

**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 : Rudolf Krzyzanowski 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.

Carl Hrubý relates the event :

« At the end, a scornful laughter was heard from the “ Merker ” chair, sorry, the examiners' table. Thereupon, the otherwise so timid Bruckner rose and cried the flaming words to the “ Merkers ” down there :

“ Do not laugh, gentlemen, of this man you will hear great things yet ! ” »

Which of Hans Rott's works caused the gentlemen's scorn is not mentioned in the account ; most probably, it was the first movement of the young composer's Symphony in E major, a work which, more than 100 years after it had been written, experienced an unexpected renaissance and confronted the general public with the hitherto almost unknown name of « Rott » .

Bruckner was so impressed with his student that he wrote him a glowing recommendation as an organist to St. Florian's monastery.

Hans Rott resigns from his « Josefstadt » organist position after being falsely accused of stealing from the church archives. Unable to get work in Austria, he was obliged to accept a post in the Alsatian town of Mühlhausen (Mulhouse) , part of the German « Reich » , since 1870.

### Rott's sausages

Gustav Mahler mentions a number of anecdotes about 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** : Prize-winners' concert at the Vienna Conservatory, at which Mahler performs his Quintet.

### Bruckner offended by absenteeism

**Saturday, 20 July 1878** : 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 « Schlöbelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

### University student Gustav Mahler

**Mid-September 1877** : Gustav Mahler registers at the University of Vienna and takes courses in early Germanic literature, history of Greek art and history of art.

In the fall of 1877, 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 ?



In the biography by Richard Specht that appeared in 1905 one reads :

« This born-musician, during that indeterminate fermentation process of the typical young artist (...) gave-up for a long time the thought of musical creativity and instead thought of becoming a poet. »

Mahler read the text of this small study before it went to press and did not object to this assertion, although both he and Bruno Walter (acting on Mahler's instructions) contested certain other details. Was attendance at the University perchance supposed to aid his development as a poet ? Today, it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of Mahler's vacillation between music and literature, since his surviving poetic works from this period are lacking both in originality and in fluency of expression. Probably the 3 university semesters served above all for the still very impressionable young man to become clearer about his own personality.

### University of Vienna : Winter Semester (1877-1878)

**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.

### University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1878)

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 university years

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

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

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

**Autumn 1879** : When Mahler met Josephine Poisl, his longing acquired a more concrete sense of direction, and so we now find him writing to Anton Krisper :

« I have just arrived in Vienna and am visiting the places where together we so often shared our joys and sorrows. I am the unhappiest of fortune's favourites ever to have writhed among roses. A new name is now inscribed in my heart alongside yours - true, only whisperingly and blushing, but no less powerfully for that. »

2 months later Mahler wrote to Krisper again :

« Dear friend, I have been quite dreadfully entangled in the delightful fetters of the darling of the gods. (...) For the most part, I have really spent the time wallowing in sweet sufferings in the most varied ways, arising in the mornings with “ Ah ” and going to sleep with “ Oh ” ; dreaming, I have lived, and waking, I have dreamt. (...) In a week, I shall be in Iglau and shall awake from my rosy dreams into a still rosier daylight. »

**Winter 1879-1880** : Third term at the University of Vienna, where 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 « Margarethenstraße » near the « Naschmarkt » , within walking distance of the Conservatory, but from there, he moved to the « Salesianergasse » near the « Schwarzenbergplatz » , a quarter that evidently appealed to him as he later took rooms at the « Auenbruggergasse » , just round the corner from here, during his tenure as director of the Vienna Court Opera. In the **autumn of 1879**, he moved round the corner to the « Rennweg » , a major thoroughfare that leads-out of the town from the « Schwarzenbergplatz » , past the Belvedere Gardens, but, by the end of November, he was once again outside the city, living in one of Vienna's suburbs. When he left, Hugo Wolf moved into the room.

By **February 1880**, Mahler was living at Number 39 on « Windmühlgasse » in the 6th District of Mariahilf, a street that leads off the « Mariahilferstraße » . Within only a matter of weeks, he had moved again, this time to Number 12 « Wipplingerstraße » in an entirely different part of the city, a street that runs past the « Judenplatz » . 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.)

There is a clear link here between Mahler's mood of world-weariness and his interest in Richard Wagner's notion of regeneration. (Wagner's essay on « Religion and Art » , in which these ideas, including vegetarianism, play a central role, had just appeared in the October issue of the « Bayreuther Blätter » .) Mahler had felt something similar in the **spring of 1880**, when he wrote to Anton Krisper to complain that the world had affected him for the first time on a « material » level, a remark that relates in part to his feelings of unrequited love but that was valid in other ways too.

**April 1880** : Mahler re-registers at the University of Vienna (in art and history) .

**Tuesday, 25 May 1880** : Unsigned post-card by Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Herr Kapellmeister » Gustav Mahler (« Wohlgeboren, Theatergebäude, Hall, Ober-Österreich ») .

**Thursday, 19 August 1880** : Mahler left Bad Hall and returned to Vienna. His agent, Gustav Lewy, had nothing lined-up for the coming season. It is clear from his few surviving letters from this period that Mahler (already suffering from melancholia, not to say depression) was plunged into the depths of despair.

**Autumn 1880 to autumn 1881** : This part of Mahler's life is exceptionally poorly documented.

Virtually all Mahler's letters are addressed to a small circle of adolescent friends, although his contacts with Siegfried Lipiner, with whom he had previously been so close, were noticeably distant at this period. Perhaps, the most eloquent of these letters is the one that he wrote to Emil Freund in Seelau in response to a particularly upsetting piece of news from Freund : on his first visit to Freund's house in Seelau during the **summer of 1878**, he had met a young woman who was related to his host and who fell in love with Mahler - we do not even know her name. According to Freund's later account of the matter, Mahler did not return her feelings but appears, rather, to have been annoyed by the strength of her emotions. Instead, he advised her to beware of unduly passionate feelings, a warning that must have made Mahler seem both precocious and cold.

In spite of the fact that he had just completed « Das klagende Lied » , all 3 events, together with his evidently unrequited love for Josephine Poisl and his inability to decide between the careers of piano virtuoso, conductor and composer, plunged Mahler into a state of deep depression.

**October 1880** : Emil Freund wrote to tell Mahler that the young woman had killed herself out of un-requited love.

Although Mahler himself appears not to have been responsible, the news arrived at a time when he was already feeling profoundly upset as Hans Rott had just been committed to an asylum and the first signs of Anton Krisper's syphilitically induced mental illness had made themselves felt to devastating effect.

**Monday, 1 November 1880** : Mahler's reply to Emil Freund reveals his state of mind in no uncertain terms :

« I have been dealt so many emotional blows in recent weeks that I find it almost impossible to speak to anyone who knew me in happier times. I can counter your news with some that is unfortunately just as upsetting : my friend Hans Rott has gone mad ! (And I'm bound to fear a similar fate for Krisper.) Your lines reached me at the same time as this last piece of news at a time when I myself was in need of comfort [no doubt Mahler is referring to his feelings for Josephine Poisl] . Misery is everywhere. It wears the strangest guises to mock us poor human beings. If you know a single happy person on this earth, tell me his name quickly, before I lose the little courage to face life that I still have.

Anyone who has watched a truly noble and profound individual struggle with the most vapid vulgarity [here, Mahler is clearly referring to Rott] can scarcely suppress a shudder when he thinks of his own poor skin ; today is All Saints' Day - if you'd been here at this time last year, you would know in what mood I welcome this day. Tomorrow will be the first All Souls' Day of my life ! Now, I too have a grave on which to lay a wreath. For the last month, I have been a total vegetarian. The moral impact of this way of life, with its voluntary castigation of the body and resultant lack of material needs, is immense. That I am completely taken by this idea you can infer from the fact that I expect of it no less than the regeneration of the human race. »

### Mahler, the vegetarian

Through the Academic Wagner Society (« Akademische Wagnerverein » , founded in 1873 at the University of Vienna) Gustav Mahler must have obtained a copy of 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. »

(Michael Kennedy. « Mahler » from « The Master Musicians » series, 1974.)

In November of that year, he wrote to a friend :

« 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. »

The comment about « the regeneration of mankind » is straight-out of Wagner. Mahler took-up a conducting appointment in Olmütz, Moravia, from January 11 to March 17, 1883.

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. »

The third movement of Gustav Mahler's 1st Symphony is described as a funeral march based on the children's song « Frère Jacques » (or « Bruder Martin » to Mahler) interrupted at times by carnival type music. Mahler stated that it was based on a wood-cut made by Moritz von Schwind in 1850 called : « The Hunter's Funeral Procession » .

Mahler wrote :

« The external stimulus for this piece of music came to the composer from the parodistic picture, known to all children in Austria, “ The Hunter's Funeral Procession ”, from an old book of children's fairy-tales : the beasts of the forest accompany the dead woodsman's coffin to the grave, with hares carrying a small banner, with a band of Bohemian musicians, in front, and the procession escorted by music-making cats, toads, crows, etc. , with stags, roes, foxes, and other 4 legged and feathered creatures of the forest in comic postures. »

...

« The following season proved a very gloomy one for Mahler. Once more the “ city of music ” could furnish him no greater material consolation than that of a few piano pupils. Evenings, he would attach himself to a group of young, poverty-stricken Wagnerian enthusiasts and over a cup of coffee help wage the abstract battles of the music-dramatist's political and ethical doctrines. Of these sage utterances, one the young musicians adopted unanimously was the proposal to regenerate mankind through strict, vegetarian diet. Perhaps, the cost of meat dishes had as much to do with this resolution as the realization that carnivorous humanity was going to the dogs. (...) Although 2 years had passed since those unforgettable meat-less meetings of the young Wagnerians in Vienna, Mahler was in Olmütz still a vegetarian, claiming bitterly that he went to the restaurant to starve. »

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

We don't know exactly how handy Mahler was in the kitchen, but we do know that his sister, Justine, baked a killer « Marillenknödel » - 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 « Marillenknödel » :

« What ! Is there a Viennese to whom “ Marillenknödel ” 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. »

Karpath became an immediate fan of the apricot dumplings.

« In Hamburg, in 1894, his principal literary preoccupations were Dostoyevsky and Schopenhauer. »

It would appear that Mahler was eating meat again by the time he was working in Budapest, 1888-1890. It shouldn't be too surprising if he gave-up vegetarianism out of expediency - he later gave-up being Jewish and converted to Roman Catholicism simply to get the job wanted in Vienna. However, the indication that he was reading Schopenhauer in 1894 shows that he was still interested in the issues that had led 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 knucklebone and horseradish 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.)

## Professor Bruckner and Mahler go to lunch

Young Gustav Mahler used often to foregather with Anton Bruckner at midday. 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 Honourable Israelites » (« die Herren Israeliten ») .

...

Seeing him at lunch-time gnawing a roll with cheese rind, Mahler buys Bruckner a beer to wash it down. Mahler calls Bruckner his « father-in-learning » , over-looking his repeated disparagements of Jewishness. It is the price he has to pay for having a « Mentor » .

...

The short-score of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony finds a music-publisher in Theodor Rättig and, in appreciation of his efforts (as an arranger) , Anton Bruckner presented to Gustav Mahler nothing less than the autograph of the work's second version.

...

Although not actually a pupil of Bruckner, Mahler admires Bruckner's music, attends his lectures, and develops a friendship that will last until Bruckner's death.

In an undated letter to August Göllerich junior, Bruckner's personal biographer, Mahler later clarified his relationship to Bruckner :

« 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 Krzyzanowski (working in Weimar at the present) and I were the only ones at that time. This would be in the years 1875 to 1881. The letters he sent me over a number of years are of very little interest. My involvement with him lasted until the completion of his 7th Symphony. I still recall with pleasure how, one beautiful morning during a lecture at the University, he called for 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, almost child-like disposition and his trusting nature made our relationship a true 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. »

...

Theodor W. Adorno couched his view of Mahler's relationship to Bruckner in the following way :

« No matter what apparent advantage Bruckner's dark and deep unaffected demeanour had over Mahler's disunity - it is still regarded as clumsiness on Bruckner's part, a somewhat unyielding structure which has no firmer foundation than that the influence of Nietzsche had not yet filtered through to St. Florian. »

...

The age of Romanticism, stressing at times banked emotion as a source of experience, was probably the perfect environment nurturing the aesthetics typical for poems and music of the time. It remains speculative if this elated « sensitivity » compensated for often unfulfilled dreams and wishes.

### Conservatory student Hugo Wolf

Hugo Wolf had a burning thirst for knowledge and a fever for work which made him sometimes forget the necessity for eating and drinking. Financial problems plagued him throughout his life.

Once, he declared :

« I had got used to being hungry. »

...

Hugo Wolf was born in Windischgrätz (now, Slovenj Gradec in Slovenia) , in the Duchy of Styria then a part of the Austrian Empire. An interesting and well-known fact is that Wolf's family origins are at Šentjur, near Celje. His grandfather's surname was « Vouk » ; his mother's ancestors came from Mojstrana. From his maternal side, Hugo Wolf was related to the famous conductor Herbert von Karajan.

Wolf's father was a leather merchant at Slovenj Gradec and an enthusiastic amateur musician. A child prodigy, little Hugo was taught piano and violin by his father beginning at the age of 4. He played the violin in the family orchestra at the age of 5 already. In primary school, he studied piano and music theory with Sebastian Weixler. Self-educated, he studied the scores of world-famous Mæstri. Subjects other than music failed to hold his interest. He was of quick temper from an early age, his contemporaries found him strange, he would drop-out of several secondary schools.

Wolf was dismissed from the first secondary school he attended as being « wholly inadequate » , left another over his difficulties in the compulsory Latin studies, and, after a falling-out with a professor who commented on his « damned music » , quit the last.



Wolf did not like his hometown. A letter to his sister has been preserved, in which he declares « that he opposes Slovene encroachment upon the German stronghold of Celje » . He made a modest living, at first as a piano teacher and an accompanist at dances, later also as a violinist in an orchestra.

Wolf went to the Vienna Conservatory much to the disappointment of his father, who had hoped his son would not try to make his living from music. He often changed friends (with whom he also lodged ; he and Gustav Mahler were lodgers together ! ) . He had tempestuous love-affairs, all of which ended unhappily for him.

Once again, Wolf was dismissed from the Conservatory for « breach of discipline » , although the oft-rebellious student would claim he quit in frustration over the school's conservatism.

After 8 months with his family, Wolf returned to Vienna to teach music. Though his fiery temperament was not ideally suited to teaching, Wolf's musical gifts, as well as his personal charm, earned him attention and patronage. Support of benefactors allowed him to make a living as a composer, and a daughter of one of his greatest benefactors inspired him to write « Vally » (Valentine) Franck, his first love, with whom he was involved for 3 years. During their relationship, hints of his mature style would become evident in his Lieder. Wolf was prone to depression and wide mood swings, which would affect him all through his life. When Franck left him just before his 21st birthday, he was despondent. He returned home, although his family relationships were also strained ; his father was still convinced his son was a ne'er-do-well. His brief and undistinguished tenure as second « Kapellmeister » in Salzburg only reinforced this opinion : Wolf had neither the temperament, the conducting technique nor the affinity for the decidedly non-Wagnerian repertoire to be successful, and, within a year, had again returned to Vienna to teach in much the same circumstances as before.

As a composer, Wolf won recognition with his lieder. Experts hold the view that none of his contemporaries was quite so successful in bringing the text into harmony with the music, not even Franz Schubert was on a par with him. Wolf stressed that, to him, setting a poem to music meant the realization of a poetic idea. In Vienna, he became very popular already in his student days. At the beginning, his role model was Richard Wagner, but he soon drifted away from him in his compositions. He knew personally the leading German composers of his time : Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Richard Strauß, he had also visited Franz Liszt. In 1884, when he was just 24, he became the music-critic of a somewhat sensation-seeking Vienna weekly. As a critic, he acquired more enemies than friends among musicians, above all because of his disparaging appraisal of Brahms. 10 years later, Gustav Mahler, as the director of the Vienna National Opera, turned down the staging of his only Opera, « Corregidor » . How popular he had become on the German musical scene, despite the lack of success in certain music circles, is attested by the founding of the « Friends of Hugo Wolf » clubs in Berlin, in 1896, and later, also in Stuttgart and Vienna. We may well speculate what else Hugo Wolf could have produced in the sphere of Symphonic, orchestral music, had he not died relatively young, at an age when neither Brahms nor Bruckner had tried their hand at Symphony scores.

Hugo Wolf was not a prolific composer : apart from the numerous lieder, greatly appreciated in German circles, and the only Opera, « Corregidor » , he left few compositions for the piano, the strings or the Symphony Orchestra. Wolf's early piece, a string quartet in D minor, attests that he is an excellent composer, the piece is full of ingenious ideas

and bold solutions as regards harmony, rhythm and counterpoint, but the thought that occurs to the listener is that the composer, scared by the melody and the warmth of the harmony, abandoned them and continued with a more modern idiom, which, however, does not tell us anything. He obviously wanted to demonstrate that he was a musician of the new wave and that he was not continuing the neo-Romantic tradition of Johannes Brahms (of whom he had been so critical) . It was probably for that reason that it was not executed in public during his lifetime.

...

Like Anton Bruckner, Hugo Wolf was a « little man » persecuted for his talent. A strict Catholic upbringing could not shield him from the heady atmosphere of the « Café » Griensteidl, whose luminaries he blithely assailed. His benefactress remained Rosa Mayreder, who, in 1895, persuaded him to compose a score for her libretto « Der Corregidor » . She has described how fussy the tiny man was. Since even the ticking of a watch could unnerve him, he forbade anyone to enter when he was composing. As a guest in the Mayreder house, he was fascinated to hear Lou Andreas-Salomé reminiscing about Friedrich Nietzsche, although she, in turn, proved an unmusical listener.

When told that a friend held him dearer as a person than for his music, the composer protested :

« My works, my music (for these, he must care above all) compared to them my person is entirely secondary ? »

Such was the self-effacement of the man who signed letters to « Frau Mayreder » :

« Your poor little Wolf » (« Dein armer Wölfling ») - an allusion to Siegmund in « Die Walküre » .

### Wolf's struggle with poverty

Hugo Wolf, at about the age of 17, was expelled from the Vienna Conservatory. Resolved as he was to stay in Vienna in order to work-out his musical destiny in his own way, he was now practically thrown upon his own resources. Remittances did indeed come occasionally from his father, but they were small - certainly insufficient to maintain the boy in comfort. To keep the pot boiling, he had to give piano and violin lessons. He had found some good friends in high-places in Vienna musical society, notably Felix Mottl the conductor and Adalbert von Goldschmidt the composer, who assisted him to get a few pupils. The struggle must have been a severe one. It helped to make the boy's character, but probably the mental strain and the physical privations he had to suffer at this time had something to do with the sad collapse of his nervous system in later years. That, he gloried, after his sturdy fashion, in his artistic independence is undoubted ; but in his letters to his parents, he preserves a tone almost of timidity, his object perhaps being, as his friend Edmund Hellmer suggests, not to wound, by too exuberant a display of joy, the father and mother who had so unwillingly given their consent to his residing in Vienna. He speaks only vaguely of his small successes, and makes as little as possible of his more painful experiences, as though dreading the obvious rejoinder that he had only himself to blame for them.

It goes without saying that he was constitutionally unfitted for teaching, or, at any rate, for the kind of teaching he

had to undertake at this time. Boy as he was in years, his musical nature was matured enough to create a wide gulf between himself and his pupils. He was probably impatient beyond the average of teachers at having to spend valuable time in labouring with children at the rudiments of piano technique ; and it is not surprising to learn that he put this side of his duties out of sight as far as was possible, and gave his energies to teaching his pupils the wearisome, but not quite so wearisome, elements of musical theory. We have a record of what his behaviour could be at its worst in the case of a certain « Fräulein G. » , to whom he had to teach the piano in the early 80's. She had apparently little musical talent, and Wolf found it hard to keep his temper with her. His language to her at times is said to have been more in keeping with the situation than with the conventions of polite society. He used to play duets with her, of a variety ranging from Beethoven Symphonies to Lanner Waltzes. When his patience was at an end, he would angrily drive her from the piano, and play by himself long stretches of the music of his predilection, especially that of Hector Berlioz. It ended with his refusing to teach her any longer, and telling her mother it would be the death of him to have anything more to do with so talentless a person. Conduct of this kind, comprehensible as it is to us, would hardly help him either to get new pupils or to keep old ones. His life was undoubtedly a hard one at this time ; while to his poverty, he added a pride that made him resent and reject all offers of assistance in which the charitable intention was too obvious. Only when in the greatest need does he ask his parents to send him money. The loss of even one lesson, we can see, must have been rather serious for him. In April 1878, he tells his father that he has been reading Kuh's « Life of Hebbel » , and, desperate as his own situation is, he congratulates himself on not being quite so badly off as the poet. Miserable as things are, he is thankful they are no worse. Another pupil has left him, the family having gone away for 5 weeks. He is living, he says, on one meal a day (soup, meat, and vegetables at 1 o'clock) and he has plans for saving the expense of eating at a restaurant by making his own wife at home, adding to it a little home-made cake and a piece of ham or sausage. A year later, he writes that his lessons bring him in on an average no more than 36 or 38 Gulden per month - not enough to pay for his lodgings, food, washing, and clothes. He begs his father to come to his support during May and June ; next year, he says, he hopes to be certain of being able to maintain himself. In May, there is the same pitiful story ; he is living on bread-and-butter, and complains bitterly of having no money in his pocket. The next year, 1880, his affairs are still no better. Yet, nothing could shake his determination to remain in Vienna, living in this way as best he could. From Windischgraz, whither he had gone on a short visit to his people, he wrote in terms of great urgency to Mottl. His father, he says, has had business misfortunes and is not in a position now to help him very materially ; Wolf, therefore, begs Mottl to get him some more pupils in Vienna.

In 1881, he seems to have found his pinched and precarious financial condition no longer endurable, and to have sought a theatrical appointment that would at last give him a settled if meagre income.

Year after year of sordid misery went by, until in the winter of 1883-1884, Wolf thought seriously of emigrating to America. A friend who was on his way to the States had made all arrangements, and it was actually settled that Wolf should sail from Bremen ; but, at the last moment, he changed his mind. He seems to have been making innumerable experiments in composition all this time.

**Hugo Wolf : Dates and events**

**Tuesday, 13 March 1860** : Hugo Filipp Jakob Wolf is born in a house on the main-square (at present : Glavni trg Number 40) in Windischgrätz, Duchy of Styria, Austrian Empire (now : Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia) , 70 kilometres southwest of Graz, 4th of 8 children born to Philipp Wolf, leather merchant and amateur musician, and Katharina Nußbaumer, daughter of a forge owner.

**Friday, 30 September 1870** : Hugo Wolf, aged 10, begins piano lessons at the school of the Styrian « Musikverein » (Musical Association) in Graz. His teacher is Johann Buwa.

**Thursday, 4 November 1875** : Hugo Wolf attends a performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's « Fidelio » .

**Wednesday, 17 November 1875** : At 10:45 am, outside the stage-door of the Vienna Opera House, wherein a rehearsal of « Tannhäuser » is in progress, Hugo Wolf, aged 15, meets Richard Wagner, aged 62, for the first time :

« With a truly religious awe, I gazed upon this great Master of Tone ... »

**Monday, 22 November 1875** : Premiere of Richard Wagner's new revision of « Tannhäuser » under the direction of Hans Richter. Hugo Wolf attends the performance.

**Sunday, 12 December 1875** : Richard and Cosima Wagner accompanied by Karl Goldmark attend the third subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic under conductor Hans Richter.

On the programme : Works by Hector Berlioz, Frédéric Chopin and Robert Schumann (2nd Symphony) .

Wagner meets Hugo Wolf after the concert.

**Wednesday, 15 December 1875** : Premiere in Vienna of a new production of « Lohengrin » under the supervision of Richard Wagner.

Hugo Wolf reports that Siegfried Wagner and a daughter of Wagner attended the performance.

**Sunday, 19 December 1875** : Hugo Wolf attends a performance of Carl Maria von Weber's « Der Freischütz » .

**Thursday, 2 March 1876** : A performance of « Lohengrin » under Richard Wagner's personal direction is attended by Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf.

**Sunday, 4 March 1877** : 7th subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic.

On the programme : Works by Robert Schumann, Robert Richmond (3rd Serenade with cellist Reinhold Hummer) and Felix Mendelssohn.

Hugo Wolf is especially inspired by Mendelssohn's « A Midsummer Night's Dream » incidental music.

**Monday, 5 March 1877** : Premiere of Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » under the direction of Hans Richter.

Hugo Wolf and Felix Mottl want to meet both of them.

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

**Saturday, 10 November 1877** : Hugo Wolf, aged 17, sets-out from his home in Windischgrätz to Vienna in an attempt to support himself as a free musician.

**Sunday, 11 November 1877** : 6h30 - Hugo Wolf, aged 17, enters Vienna.

First subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Hans Richter.

On the programme : works by Robert Schumann (« Genoveva » Overture) ; Johann Sebastian Bach ; Richard Wagner (Prelude and Liebestod from « Tristan und Isolde ») ; Ludwig van Beethoven (5th Symphony) .

Hugo Wolf is in the audience.

**Wednesday, 14 November 1877** : Hugo Wolf attends a performance of Luigi Cherubini's « Wasserträger » .

**Sunday, 25 November 1877** : Second subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Hans Richter.

Premiere of Johann Herbeck's Organ Symphony in D minor.

Also on the programme : works by Felix Mendelssohn, Franz Schubert (8th Symphony) and Henry Litoff.

Hugo Wolf is attending the concert.

**Thursday, 29 November 1877 (?)** : Hugo Wolf and Adalbert von Goldschmidt attend the chamber recital by the Hellmesberger Quartet.

**Saturday, 14 December 1878** : Hugo Wolf attends the performance of Richard Wagner's « Siegfried » .

**Sunday, 15 December 1878** : Hugo Wolf attends the 4th subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Hans Richter.

On the programme : Symphony No. I of Johannes Brahms, and works by Felix Mendelssohn and Wolfgang Amadeus

Mozart (soloists : the Thern brothers) .

**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.

**Around 1880** : Hugo Wolf so revered Heinrich von Kleist that he carried his « Penthesilea » as a breviary in the vain hope of setting it to music.

**1880** : Sponsors arranged domiciles for Hugo Wolf, like the one at Mayerling. Wolf lived here a few 100 yards away from what was to be the Crown Prince's hunting-lodge. When just past his teens, he rolled his cigarettes at Mayerling, worked his coffee-machine, ate his vegetarian milk-and-groats, wandered the black-fir woods, bedded in farm-houses a girl named Wally Frank and wrote the « Mausfallsprüchlein » , an exquisite song uncanny in view of Mayerling's future. « Mausfallsprüchlein » sings about a Romantic idyll with a sweet little mouse - which turns sinister as a cat joins the party.

**Sunday, 20 February 1881** : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Charity Concert to fund the « Deutscher Schulverein » (German School Association) . Hans von Bülow and Hans Richter conduct the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music « King Stephan » , Opus 117.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto No. 4 in G major for piano and orchestra, Opus 58. Soloist : Hans von Bülow.

Hans von Bülow : « Des Sängers Fluch » (The Minstrel's Curse) , based on the poem by Ludwig Uhland, ballad for large orchestra, Opus 16. The work is conducted by the composer with Hans Richter on viola and soloist Josef Sulzer.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

Hugo Wolf probably attended the concert.

**Sunday 13 to Tuesday 15 August 1882** : Hugo Wolf who was a student at the time of the 1882 Bayreuth Festival, still managed to find money for tickets to see « Parsifal » twice.

He emerged overwhelmed :

« Colossal - Wagner's most inspired, sublimest creation. »

**Monday, 16 October 1882** : Hugo Wolf arrives in Bayreuth late in the evening.

**Wednesday, 2 November 1881** : Hugo Wolf, aged 21, enters duties as chorus Master at the « Stadttheater » in

Salzburg.

**Wednesday, 14 February 1883** : Upon hearing the news of Richard Wagner's death, Hugo Wolf, aged 22, plays the funeral march from « Götterdämmerung » , then, spends the rest of the day in a tree crying.

**Friday, 6 April 1883** : Hugo Wolf, aged 23, plays through some of his songs for Franz Liszt, aged 71, now visiting Vienna. The older Master pronounces delight in what he hears.

**Sunday 8 to Tuesday 10 July 1883** : Hugo Wolf, Felix Mottl, Gustav Schönaich hear « Parsifal » in Bayreuth. (Travel grants were given to Robert Erben and Rudolf Bibl for the premiere.)

**Tuesday, 12 February 1884** : Hugo Wolf attends a piano recital of Anton Rubinstein in Vienna.

**Saturday, 13 March 1886** : Hugo Wolf meets Franz Liszt at the house of Adalbert von Goldschmidt in Vienna.

**Sunday, 18 April 1886** (Palm Sunday) : 8th subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Hans Richter. A tumultuous event !

On the programme : works by Franz Liszt, Franz Schubert (8th Symphony) and Ludwig van Beethoven (6th Symphony) .

In the audience : Rosa Papier, Gustav Schönaich, Eduard Hanslick, Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms, Hugo Wolf and Friedrich Klose.

**1888** : Because Hugo Wolf had dared to mock Eduard Hanslick and Johannes Brahms, the press ignored the publication of 53 of the « Mörike » songs.

**Friday, 2 March 1888** : Hans Paumgartner's wife, the mezzo-soprano Rosa Papier gives the first public performance of any songs by Hugo Wolf, (aged 27) . She sings « Morgentau » to anonymous words, and « Zur Ruh, zur Ruh ! » to words of Doctor Justinus Kerner.

**Friday, 23 March 1888** : Hugo Wolf plays and sings his « Mörike » settings to the « Wagner Verein » in Vienna. They are impressed.

**Saturday, 15 December 1888** : Ferdinand Jäger, who sang « Parsifal » at Bayreuth, gives an all Hugo Wolf concert accompanied by the composer in the « Bösendorfer-Saal » in Vienna - Wolf's first appearance in that role. Premiered are : « Der Soldat I » (first time in public) and « Seemans Abschied » to words of Joseph von Eichendorff ; « Anakreons Grab » and « Der Rattenfänger » to words of Johann Wolfgang Goethe ; « Der Jäger » (first time in public) , « Der Tambour » (first time in public) , « Fußreise » , and « Peregrina I » to words of Eduard Mörike ; and « Gesellenlied » to words of Robert Reinick. The performance is very successful.

**Wednesday, 22 January 1890** : In the « Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung » , an article by Josef Schalk appears entitled « Neue Lieder, neues Leben » . This will spread the name of Hugo Wolf, aged 29, beyond Vienna for the first time and give him an international fame.

**April 1890** : The 30 year old Hugo Wolf completes the 44 songs of the « Spanisches Liederbuch » (Spanish song-book)

**Thursday, 8 May 1890** : 7 songs for voice and piano by Hugo Wolf are performed for the first time at the « Kleiner Musikvereins-Saal » in Vienna :

« Die Bekehrte » and « Die Spröde » to words of Johann Wolfgang Gøethe ; « Begegnung » and « Frage und Antwort » to words of Eduard Mørike ; « Wer sein holdes Lieb verloren » to anonymous words (translation : Emanuel Geibel) ; « Und schlãfst du, mein Mãdchen » to words of Gil Vicente (translation : Emanuel Geibel) ; and « Elfenlied » to words of William Shakespeare (translation : August Wilhelm Schlegel) .

**Saturday, 21 November 1891** : Incidental-music to Henrik Ibsen's play « Das Fest auf Solhaug » (translation : Emma Klingensfeld) by Hugo Wolf is performed for the first time at the « Kaiserlich-Kønigliche Hof-Burgtheater » in Vienna.

**Thursday, 3 March 1892** : The first « all Wolf » recital in Berlin takes place. It is well-received.

**Saturday, 16 June 1894** : The « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » Number 163, page 1, reports the critic of a concert by Hugo Wolf, in which Anton Bruckner is mentioned.

### Max Graf about Hugo Wolf

Hugo Wolf was one of the most passionate enthusiasts. Although his wonderful « Møricke Lieder » , which now belong to the repertoire of all concert singers, had been published at that time, Wolf still had to live in the outskirts of Vienna as if in exile. A ferocious revolutionary, he was expelled by Vienna's fashionable society which detected in his songs strong traces of the damned Wagnerian poison. In writing the modern chromatic harmonies and expressive declamatory lines of a new musical epoch, he had committed a crime which was punished with the death sentence by the conservative music-critics of Vienna and by conservative musical society. Besides writing modern music, he dared, as music-critic of a weekly, to attack Eduard Hanslick and Brãnnns. Wolf was enthusiastic about the music of Wagner and Liszt, and excited about that of Berlioz. Bruckner was his saint, before whom he knelt. He was furious about the superficial taste of high-society, and stormed like a crusader against the walls of the old music fortress Vienna, swinging the banner of Wagner. He was fanatical, enthusiastic, moody, like all true artists. He was unjust, of course, subjective, but courageous and brave. The conservative music-critics of Vienna who pretended to defend Classical music when they were really defending their own narrow-mindedness, never forgave Wolf the enthusiastic fanaticism of his criticisms. The name Hugo Wolf disappeared from the columns of the Viennese daily papers where musical conservatism had entrenched itself. He was shunned like a leper and had to live outside the pale of a musical society which did not even know his name. He had to be satisfied with the love and admiration of a small group of friends who



recognized his greatness and his genius, and who could feel the delicacy of his soul behind the pricks of his personality. We young musicians, devoted to Wagner, fanatical believers in modern music, who hated the sensual conservatism of Vienna's wealthy society, believed in Hugo Wolf. His songs were new music. The words were filled with a new kind of emotion. A modern, nervous tempo swung through his harmonies. There was a new and fascinating lyrical feeling in his melodies, and more air and atmosphere in them than in other songs. There were new shades and colours which corresponded to those to be found in the impressionistic paintings of those days. Hugo Wolf belonged to us and we belonged to him. There is a secret understanding among young men of the same generation.

(...)

In the « Prater » of Vienna where people, by the hundreds, sat in the many restaurants, or rode on the merry-go-rounds ; where young couples, in love, walked under old chestnut trees, and where on lovely summer evenings the air was filled with music, songs and kisses, in 1902 a new amusement park had been opened. It was called « Venice in Vienna » . A sort of make-believe city had been built of canvas and wood. On water-filled canals, gondolas were manned by gondoliers imported from Venice. They shouted their melodious « Sta-li » and beat the dirty water with their long, black oars, standing on the high stern of the gondola and rocking to and fro. Vienna's best society sat in the restaurants and coffee-houses of the amusement section, or walked among the cheap settings of Gothic palaces, laughing, flirting and throwing « confetti » . Italian music floated seductively from the great open-air theatre, and in all the coffee-houses and restaurants, small groups of Italian singers shook their tambourines and entertained with folk-songs of Venice and Naples.

I had been standing in front of one of the stages, listening to Neapolitan songs, canzonettas and barcarolles, which reminded me of moonlit nights in Naples, of the white-sailed fishing boats heading slowly for Capri, of the wide Gulf of Naples and of Vesuvius. I was so absorbed in reminiscing, that I was not aware of 2 men who stood beside me and listened quite as attentively as myself. One of them was my friend Fritz Eckstein, a manufacturer and world-traveler, a great scholar in philosophy and calculus, a mystic and music-lover, who was serving as a volunteer secretary to Anton Bruckner, and who had the Symphonies of Bruckner and the songs of Hugo Wolf printed at his own expense. (This great man died in Vienna, not long ago, after the Nazis had expelled him from his home where, among books on philosophy and mathematics, piled from floor to ceiling, Hugo Wolf had lived as his guest for a long time.) The other listener was Hugo Wolf. He was extremely pale, and in his eyes a disastrous fire was burning. The approaching catastrophe was already painted in the pallor of that suffering face and in the restlessness of the eyes.

Fritz Eckstein introduced me to Wolf, but a conversation did not start for some time. Wolf remained silent, as if submerged in his thoughts. His glance was stinging, and I was careful not to disturb him, for, to all appearances, he wanted to be left alone with the dark powers in his soul.

Like many great artists, Wolf went from deep depression to excitement and fits of elation. He struggled between melancholy and agitation, and like Beethoven, the greatest musician of this kind, he knew hell and heaven, the deepest abysses and the highest peaks. I was greatly moved when, after Wolf's death, the director of the lunatic asylum where he died, showed me the chart where the physicians of that institution had recorded day-by-day the sufferings and

tortures of his sick mind. This diary of a diseased soul, as it were, proved that even in the changing moods of mental illness there was the same regular cycle of depression and excitement, of shining day and black night, restlessly revolving until his death, as there had been in the happier days of the creative artist. Fritz Eckstein, Hugo Wolf and I, after some fruitless attempts to start a conversation with the silent composer, sat down at a table in one of the coffee-houses and ordered coffee, the smell of which accompanies all phases of life in Vienna. The Italian singers there were singing the world-famous canzonetta, « Funiculi-Funicula » - the rattling rhythms of which had been sung for the first time when Cook opened the cog-railway carrying tourists to the summit of Vesuvius. It seemed as if this melody awakened Wolf out of a deep dream. He became excited, gave the singers money, and had them repeat the tune, which was new to him, again and again. He shouted enthusiastically, « I shall write a Symphony about that melody ! » He was not, of course, accorded the time to write any such Symphony, since he soon became lost in his sickness as in a dark swamp. But somewhat later, the young Richard Strauß used the merry tune in the last movement of his Symphonic-poem, « Aus Italien » , mingling the vivacious rhythms of the « funiculi » with the noises of the streets of Naples.

(...)

Hugo Wolf was, in his imagination, living in sunny Spain when his spirit dipped into darkness. While I was studying his new songs, he was walking under the arcades of the Vienna Opera House, shouting : « I am the new Director of the Opera House ! » Friends tried to calm him, and told him, at last, that he had to drive to the Imperial Castle in order to present himself, as new Director of the Opera, to the Emperor. He consented, and his friends took him to a lunatic asylum.

### Mahler and Wolf

The living Mahler was Wolf's nemesis when they both inhabited the fiercely competitive artistic world of « fin-de-siècle » Vienna. And the dead Mahler still haunts Wolf's reputation now, days before the centenary of Wolf's own death. While Mahler's extraordinary Symphonies fill the largest halls, Wolf's no less extraordinary songs still belong mainly to the connoisseur.

Almost none of this was, or is, Mahler's fault. But Mahler and Wolf made the same career at the same time in the same place. Their lives intersected at many key-moments and their reputations have danced in a kind of extended counterpoint ever since. But it is Mahler who won the prizes, then and now. And that, then and now, is Wolf's tragedy.

Mahler and Wolf were almost exact contemporaries, born just 4 months apart in 1860. They came from similar modest social backgrounds in the provinces of the Austrian Empire - Mahler's in Bohemia ; Wolf's in Styria. Artistically, their lives were both formed by the influence of Richard Wagner.

Their early careers marched in lock-step. Both arrived in Vienna in 1875 and inscribed in the Vienna Conservatory at the precocious age of 15. Both studied harmony in the same class. Mahler lasted longer than the always impatient and disrespectful Wolf but, even after Wolf's expulsion in 1877, the two remained close.

By 1879, Mahler and Wolf were sharing a garret, along with Mahler's friend Rudolf Krzyżanowski, in a classic Viennese « La Bohème » existence. All 3 were Anton Bruckner's pupils at the organ-class of the Vienna Conservatory.

Alma Mahler testified :

« 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.

Within a year, though, Mahler and Wolf drifted apart. Mahler left Vienna to pursue his conducting career. Wolf stayed, turning to music-criticism for a living. Away from one another, the two each matured as composers. But it was Wolf's songs, rather than Mahler's orchestral works, that were first to win critical acclaim, both in Vienna and beyond. Indeed, by the time Mahler returned to Vienna in 1897 to take-up the most prestigious post in Viennese music, director of the Court Opera, Wolf was probably the better-known composer. But Wolf's composing career was already at an end. His last completed songs date from March 1897, and, although he continued to work on his unfinished Opera « Manuel Venegas » , his body and mind were on the verge of collapse. And it was Mahler who triggered it.

Mahler's appointment to the Opera had fired Wolf's hopes that his Opera « Der Corregidor » would now at last receive a performance of which Wolf was convinced it was worthy. He went to see Mahler to press his case. Their meetings were friendly. Mahler showed some interest, though whether it was as much interest as Wolf immediately assumed is unclear.

What is clear, though, is that Wolf's visit to Mahler in his office at the Opera, in May 1897, was the breaking-point for Wolf's sanity. Seeing the score of Anton Rubinstein's Opera « The Demon » on Mahler's desk, Wolf became angry. He denounced Rubinstein's work. Mahler responded with some critical comments about « Der Corregidor » , and expressed doubts about whether it would be performed in Vienna. This argument was, as Wolf's biographer Frank Walker calls it, « the spark that had kindled a conflagration in his brain and brought on the long threatened insanity » .

### Wolf, the German nationalist

Hugo Wolf's patrons included Sigmund Freud's collaborator, Josef Breuer, Friedrich Eckstein, Adalbert von Goldschmidt, the civil servant, who would later himself become a typographer, Rudolf von Larisch, the conductor Ferdinand Löwe, the musician Natalie Bauer-Lechner and the ethnologist Michael Haberlandt. He did not spare them his German-nationalist mouthings, to which they only luke-warmly responded. Wolf had warmly endorsed Richard Wagner's fanatical campaigns against Jews, Johannes Brahms and eating meat.

Hugo Wolf had warmly endorsed Richard Wagner's fanatical campaigns against Jews, against Johannes Brahms and

against eating meat. Anti-Semitism was stock-in-trade.

He once cried :

« What should one say, when one has been deprived of Wagner's Operas for a whole month and Meyerbeer is played 3 times a week ? Are we in Palestine or in a German city ? »

### Conservatory student Rudolf Krzyżanowski

During Mahler's early years in Vienna, the Krzyżanowski brothers appear to have been his closest friends.

The Austrian conductor and composer Rudolf Krzyżanowski was born on 5 April 1859 in Eger (Cheb) , and died on 20 June 1911 in Graz.

**1872-1876** : Krzyżanowski studied violin, organ, piano and composition at the Vienna Conservatory together with Gustav Mahler. 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.

Together with Friedrich Löhr, Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf, Krzyżanowski was part of the close circle of friends of Gustav Mahler, who studied at the Conservatory from 1875 to 1878.

At the same concert in which Gustav Mahler's prize-winning Scherzo for Piano Quintet was played, an Adagio for String Sextet by Rudolf Krzyżanowski was performed : it too, was awarded a prize.

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

**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 Krzyżanowski. The concert is held in the « Kleiner Fest-Saal » of Hotel Čzap, located at Number 15-1696 Zizkova Street (St. 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.  
Programm :

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.

The 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 (Johann's « Platz » Number 50/51) .

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

Rudolf Krzyżanowski expresses his irritation with the new « Hunting Scherzo » from Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony (WAB 104) .

**Tuesday, 16 April 1878** (Holy Tuesday) : Second special « Gesellschaft » concert under the direction of Eduard Kremser. Works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Händel.

In the audience : Hans Rott, his friend John Leo Löwi and Father Anselmus from Göttweig.

**Thursday, 2 May 1878** : Rudolf Krzyżanowski 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-Løehr) and Rudolf Krzyżanowski will go to the pub of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant (« Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus ») 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) :

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

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

**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-Saala, Elberfeld, Ljubljana, Hanover, and Munich.

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

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

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

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

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

**1892-1895** : Rudolf Krzyżanowski succeeded Karl Muck as first « Kapellmeister » at the « Neues Deutsches Theater » (Prague German Theater) . He conducted there the premiere of the Opera « Donna Diana » by Emil von Řezníček on December 16, 1894. In the composer's words written for the book « Künstler plaudern » , the work became not only a great success, but even a world success. And the Overture, which indeed passed into the repertoire of the concert-halls, had a tumultuous story of origin. Initially, that is to say, there was to come from me its Overture, but the manager suggested one day before the premiere, « It is truly unfortunate that this Opera has no Overture - could you not still write one ? » , « I sat-up all night and composed it. I was 24 years old back then ! » Krzyżanowski figures prominently in Řezníček's induction into a professional Society that existed until the end of the Second World War in Prague : the « Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur » .

**1896-1897** : Rudolf Krzyżanowski became second « Kapellmeister » at the Hamburg « Stadttheater Oper » - next to Gustav Mahler. However, there was a disagreement.

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) .

**November 1899** : Rudolf Krzyżanowski performed Gustav Mahler's completion of « Die Drei Pintos » by Carl Maria von Weber.

Krzyżanowski was commissioned with Mahler in preparing the piano-duet version of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony.

**1898-1907** : Rudolf Krzyżanowski was the first « Kapellmeister » of the Court Theater Orchestra in Weimar. There, he would conduct a production of Emil von Řezníček's « Donna Diana » .

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.

A possible re-establishment was preceded by his sudden-death in Graz, on 20 June 1911 (only few weeks after Mahler's own death) , as a result of a failed operation.

Rudolf Krzyzanowski was married to soprano Ida Doxat (born in 1867) .

## Works

Piano Quintet, lost (1875) .

String Sextet, lost (1878) .

« Zaroni » , Overture or Symphonic poem for large orchestra, lost (1878) .

Symphony for large orchestra, lost (1878) .

« Elfe » , lied for mezzo-soprano and orchestra (1908) .

« Das Abendgöcklein » , lied, lost.

2 « Schilfflieder » , for voice and piano.

5 Songs, for solo voice and piano (published by Ries & Erler) .

Arrangement for large orchestra of Schubert's « Die Allmacht » , unfinished.

Arrangement of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony for piano 4 hands.

...

His older brother Heinrich Krzyzanowski (1855-1933) was a writer. Both brothers were close friends of Hans Rott and Gustav Mahler.

The Krzyzanowski family came from Eger in Hungary.

Mahler's early friendship with the Krzyzanowski brothers was warm and intimate. He had interests and ambitions in common with Rudolf, and his holiday plans on occasions included both brothers. His correspondence for some years makes frequent reference to Rudolf's career and he was always ready to advise, or use his influence on his friend's

behalf, where such was required. He suggested to his agent, for instance, that Rudolf should fill his post at Kassel when he moved on to Leipzig. Until the 1890's, at least, his letters show that he kept in touch with these companions of his youth. At one stage, Heinrich wrote to Mahler suggesting an Operatic project, but it appears that nothing came of the idea. They did Alpine walking together.

### Conservatory student Julius Korngold

Doctor Julius Leopold Korngold was a controversial figure - Jewish, a conservative figure (who abhorred atonalism and the whole Second Viennese School) , and possessor of an acid-tipped pen in a city rife with intellectual and political ferment and rivalries and an under-current of anti-Semitism, Doctor Korngold made his share of enemies with his influence.

He collaborated with his son Erich Wolfgang on the libretto of the Opera « Die tote Stadt » under joint pseudonym : « Paul Schott » .

The young Julius grew-up in Brno, the capital of Moravia, in a family who was not interested in music. In high-school (« Gymnasium ») , he found his own way in learning about music and literature. His diploma mentioned « excellent » in all fields, and « very well » in « German » . A talented amateur pianist, he took piano lessons and saw the early Operas, Operettas and Plays at the local « Deutsche Theater » .

A frustrated composer, Julius Korngold left Moravia to study part-time (starting with the autumn session of 1878) at the Conservatory of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») with professors Franz Krenn and Anton Bruckner (in music theory and harmony) , but also with director Josef Hellmesberger senior. His fellow-students included Hugo Wolf and Franz Schalk. The cultural life of the Austrian capital offered Korngold the chance to go to the « Hofoper » , the « Musikverein » and the « Burgtheater » .

Korngold's memoirs recall private meetings with Anton Bruckner in a beer-hall after class, where the professor would carry forth a monologue, often to his student's dismay. When Korngold defended Antonín Dvořák's instrumentation, Bruckner proclaimed :

« Paint a pair of sausages green and blue if you like - isn't it still a pair of sausages ? »

(A more elegant version of this same bias against timbre is Gustav Mahler's comment, in a conversation with his brother, that Tchaikovsky's instrumentation in the « Pathétique » is no more substantial than a coloured top that ceases to fascinate, once it is no longer spinning.)

As a young critic and admirer of Johannes Brahms, Korngold had attracted Eduard Hanslick's attention after defending a performance of the 4th Symphony in an essay. Korngold's sympathies are, yet, another example of the false dichotomy history has drawn between Wagnerians and Brahmsians. As a youth, Korngold met with friends, each week, to discuss and analyze Wagner, and his enthusiasm did not wane even as he discovered the music of Brahms.



Korngold befriended the critic and spent time with Brahms during a visit to Vienna. Hanslick was chief music-critic at the most important German-language newspaper « Neue Freie Presse », and Julius became his « protégé » ; being named his assistant by the 1890's (succeeding Theodor Herzl) . Upon Hanslick's death, in 1904, he assumed his post. Now a noted music-critic, reviewer and front-page feuilletons writer, he was regarded as the top critic in Vienna in the early 20th Century, when that city was viewed as the centre of Classical music.

He is most notable for championing the works of Gustav Mahler at a time when many did not think much of him.

### Conservatory student Émile Jaques-Dalcroze

In 1887, Émile Jaques accompanied his father to Vienna and was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory. From 1887 to 1889, he studied organ, piano, composition, harmony and counterpoint with Anton Bruckner, Robert Fuchs and Hermann Grædener. The presence of Jaques-Dalcroze in Bruckner's classroom was short-lived : Bruckner insisted that « der dumme Franzose » (this idiot Frenchmen) study harmony right from the beginning. But the student objected. Bruckner tried to get him expelled from the Conservatory, but the Faculty administration stopped him. The intolerance and authoritarianism of the Upper-Austrian Professor represented the antithesis of Jaques-Dalcroze's freedom and playful nature.

The following episodes occurred in 1887-1888 and are recounted in a biography by his sister.

Émile Jaques-Dalcroze writes in a letter :

« I wish you could have some lessons from Bruckner. You can't imagine how particular and demanding he is. He loses his temper if you hold a note a second longer than necessary. Once you've reached the end of a fugue played to perfection, he makes you start all over again for not having sustained the final pedal-note.

After forcibly knocking you off your stool, he drives you firmly to the door. He is constantly taking snuff and seems unable to cope with the most trifling details of practical life. Before he leaves the classroom, we retie the knot of his cravat for him. »

In the same letter, Émile mentions some Operatic experiences in Vienna :

« I went to hear “ Lohengrin ”, and it fired my enthusiasm. The Orchestra under Richter was terrific, the production splendid, the singers very able, the choruses marvellous. At the performance of “ Faust ” last night, on the other hand, I would have left by the 2nd Act if I hadn't had to escort a young girl home. »

Émile's relationship with Bruckner went further downhill :

« When I'm on the organ stool, what comes-out is a series of oaths, curses, grumbles, stamping on the floor with his enormous feet, rebukes, ill-founded criticisms, rude remarks about the French. »

Matters came to a head when, after being requested to read through the figured bass of a Mass which he was sure had been well-executed, my brother heard a terrible scolding.

Bruckner cried :

« It's nearly right but you were playing in 5 parts and this bass only has 4 ! You'll have to go back to the beginning and follow my method. »

A violent scene ensued, the Master wanting to force his pupil to start the harmony course afresh, and the pupil stoutly refusing. There was nothing for it but to go to the director of the « Conservatoire » , who said that he would have to support the teacher.

Jaques declared that, not wanting to waste a year, he was abandoning « Monsieur » Bruckner and the organ and composition alike to take other composition and piano courses. His teacher bellowed that he wouldn't even manage to get into the elementary class.

2 days later, in front of a jury composed of Julius Epstein, Anton Dohr, Adolf Prosnitz, Robert Fischhof and the director, Josef Hellmesberger senior, the recalcitrant pupil played the « Étude » Number 15 from the « Gradus ad Parnassum » (by Muzio Clementi) and Beethoven's Piano Sonata in D. He read through and, then, performed a romance and minuet of his own. After the final note, complete silence. Bruckner was jubilant, thinking Jaques had lost, whereas Jaques was downcast, thinking the same thing.

Then, Prosnitz rose and said :

« I shall accept this boy in my class because, although he lacks technique, I can see undeniable talent in him. »

Later on, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze took lessons in Paris from Léo Delibes and Gabriel Fauré, the latter becoming a firm friend of his.

### University student Heinrich Krzyżanowski

Heinrich Krzyżanowski : « Gymnasium » teacher, literary, Germanist. Elder brother of Rudolf Krzyżanowski and friend of Hans Rott.

Relation to Mahler : Close friend in his youth, hiking companion.

**Wednesday, 20 July 1887 and Wednesday, 17 August 1888** : Meeting in the Fichtel Mountains with Mahler.

**July 1891** : Mahler takes a walking-tour of « Fichtelgebirge » .

Heinrich Krzyżanowski was born in 1855 (in the town of Cheb ?) and was inscribed not at the Vienna Conservatory but at the University, from where he graduated in German philology in 1877, his teacher being the eminent Germanist Richard Heinzel. After teaching in a series of grammar schools, he married and moved to Germany, working as a freelance writer in Starnberg near Munich (1883) , Munich and Berlin. His short-story « Im Bruch » was published in 1885.

Heinrich Krzyżanowski later moved back to Vienna, where he worked as a private tutor, for a time supported by Mahler, and lectured on literary topics. He spent some time in a mental institution. By the 1920's, he was living in the Tyrol. Heinrich Krzyżanowski died in 1933.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June-July 1875)

Anton Bruckners Schüler werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

1. Grad : Ernst Ludwig, Hans Rott.

2. Grad : Vincenz Pritz. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(2 Zöglinge.)

I. Klasse

1. Grad : Hermann Steudner.

II. Klasse

1. Grad : Julius Czegledy. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(11 Zöglinge.)

1. Grad : Heinrich Benkö, Ernst Ollop, Wenzel Pelikan, Rudolf Pichler.

2. Grad : Alfons Kraholetz. »

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(10 Zöglinge.)

I. Klasse

1. Grad : Ludwig Emanuel, Hermann von Jan, Leopold Windhopp.

2. Grad : Otto Reitingner, Johann Winter.

II. Klasse

1. Grad : Carl Schöfmann.

2. Grad : Moriz Jelinek, Johann Mötz, Johann Straka. »

In der Übersicht der Schüler mit Klassifizierung bei der Jahresprüfung ist zu lesen :

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

1. Prämie : Ernst Ludwig.

2. Prämie : Hans Rott. »

Klassenprämien erhielten auch :

In der ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

1. Prämie : Heinrich Benkö, Rudolf Pichler.

2. Prämie : Ernst Ollop, Wenzel Pelikan. »

Und in der ...

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Klasse

1. Prämie : Leopold Windhopp.

2. Prämie : Ludwig Emanuel, Hermann von Jan.

II. Klasse

1. Prämie : Carl Schöfmann. »

Als einziger Schüler, der in diesem Schuljahr im Fach Orgel absolvierte und ein Diplom erhielt, ist Julius Czeledy verzeichnet.

### Steyr : Organ recital

**Thursday, 26 August 1875** : Anton Bruckner gives another organ recital at the parish church of Steyr, which again left a deep impression. His concluding improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja » elicited rapturous applause. The « several friends » mentioned in the review no doubt included Georg Armingier, the parish priest, who was presumably already playing host to Bruckner in the rectory. The hospitality extended to Bruckner, there, was precious to the composer : as a committed Catholic cultivating a close, lifelong relationship with clerics and the life of the Church, he found a congenial environment there that enabled him to concentrate on his work. At the same time, he was able to relax on excursions organized by his friends and to sample the down-to-earth « pub fare » on offer in Steyr and its environs.

### A bad joke by the students

**1875** : A group of students decided to make fun of Professor Bruckner ... the famous hardened bachelor. They asked permission to show-up at his apartment to surprise him. The « surprise » proved to be a notorious prostitute of Vienna. Bruckner did not say a single word. He crossed the room and knelt down on his « prie-dieu » . Above the crucifix was an picture hidden behind a little green curtain. Rising upright, he pulled the curtain and stood in silence in front of the students. The image (taken by the Linz photographer Zinnogger) was that of his beloved mother, Theresia Helm (from whom he had inherited the ardent faith) , exposed on her death-bed.

### Wagner praises Bruckner

1875 : Private « soirée » organized by the Viennese neurologist Josef Standhartner, the famous society doctor and earnest devotee of music. For the occasion, Richard Wagner read the 3rd Act of his Opera « Götterdämmerung » .

At the end, the « Master of Bayreuth » turned to Anton Bruckner and affirmed to the audience :

« There is only one, in the field of pure music, which can be at the level of Beethoven, only one, and his delighted face tells you to whom I think. »

At that same moment, the shy Bruckner (in tails and white gloves ...) had to feel immense pride, a renewed strength to continue on the demanding path he had traced.

### Doctor Josef Standhartner

The Austrian neurologist, physician, Court counselor, singer and music-lover Doctor Josef (Johann Nepomuck Vincenz) Standhartner was born on 4 February 1818 in Troppau, Austrian Moravian Silesia (now, Opava Moravskoslezsky, in the Czech Republic) ; and died on 29 August 1892 in Vienna.

Son of District secretary Leopold Standhartner et Johanna Nepomuck Schönaich.

Father of Mathilde Maria Wilhelmina Josefa Standthartner Schnabel (1856-) .

Standthartner was the husband of Wilhelmina (« Minna ») Josefa Khym Schönaich (1819-1900) . They married in 1856 at St. Stephen Cathedral in the 1st District. Their daughter was also baptized there.

His step-son was the journalist Gustav Schönaich. His niece was the Opera-singer, soprano Henriette Standthartner (1866-1933) , the wife of conductor Felix Mottl.

After attending the « Gymnasium » in Znojmo (Znojmo) , Standthartner came to Vienna in 1834. He studied medicine at the University of Vienna from 1835 ; became Doctor of Medicine in 1843. The same year, he entered the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») . He became internist there in 1845 ; secondary physician in 1847 ; ordaining physician in 1851 ; head-physician and Director of the General Hospital in 1857. Member of the General Hospital.

Standhartner was mostly concerned with inflammatory brain tumours, brain diseases, brain membranes, gap formations in the brain (« Porenzephalie ») , epilepsy and diabetes.

His medical publications appeared mainly in the « Medical Report of the General Hospital of Vienna » (« Ärztlichen Bericht des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses Wien ») , in the « Viennese Medical Press » (« Wiener medizinischen Presse ») and in the « Medical Year-Books » (« Medicinischen Jahrbüchern ») .

Standthartner was also a private practitioner and the personal physician (« Leibarzt ») of Empress Elizabeth of Austria (wife of Emperor Franz-Josef) .

Josef Standthartner was an important patron of music in Vienna. « Frau » Schönaich, received in her « salon » the principal artists and greatest musicians of the time.

Doctor Standthartner was one of Richard Wagner's closest and most helpful friends in Vienna - a major benefactor of the composer. He was perhaps the only physician ever to examine him.

He was also a staunch supporter of Anton Bruckner.

**May to August 1861** : Richard Wagner lived as a guest at the home of his friend Doctor Josef Standthartner, the primary physician at the General Hospital of Vienna. It was located at the corner of « Singerstraße » Number 32 (« Seilerstätte » Number 4) and « Singerstraße » , in the 1st District.

**November 1862** : The libretto of the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » had its first public reading in the parlor of the Standthartners' apartment.

With the influence of neurologist Standthartner and surgeon Theodor Billroth, the General Hospital became from 1865 a real cultural centre in Vienna.

In **1872**, Doctor Standthartner was one of the co-signatories for the foundation (1873) of the Viennese Academic Wagner Association (« Wiener Akademischen Wagner-Verein ») . Became an honorary member.

**1872, 1875, 1876** : Last visits of Richard Wagner to Vienna. He conducted with great success performances of his works at the « Musikvereins-Saal » . Wagner stayed at the Hotels « Zur Stadt London » (at Fleischmarkt Number 24) and « Erzherzog Karl » (« Kärntnerstraße » Number 31) but also at the Standthartners, and at Josef's work-place : the Director's office of the General Hospital !

**1861-1892** : Member and Director of the board of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » .

Vice-President of the « Rudolfiner-Verein » .

Standthartner died after a long and serious illness, on 28 August 1892 (shortly before midnight) , at his home in the « Alsergrund » District of Vienna. He was buried at « Heiligenstadter Friedhof » .

The funeral Masses of Josef Standthartner, his wife Wilhelmina, and several of their children were celebrated at the All-Holy Trinity Church, at « Alserstraße » Number 17, on the border between Josefstadt and the Alsergrund. (The funeral Mass for Ludwig van Beethoven was also celebrated here.)

## Honours

Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown (1874) .

Knight of the Royal Prussian Red Eagle Order (3rd class) .

Comthur of the Royal Bavarian Michael Order.

Order of Christ of Portugal.

Order of the Ernestine House of Saxony.

North Star of the Hawk of Weimar.

Commander of Isabelle of Northern Spain.

Takowa Order of Serbia.

Imperial and Royal Councilor (1892) .

## Standhartner and Wagner

### 1861

« I stopped first of all at Karlsruhe for another interview with the Grand Duke, was accorded the same friendly reception, and got permission to engage in Vienna those singers I might need for a model performance of “ Tristan ” at the theatre in Karlsruhe. Armed with this command, I went-on to Vienna, where I stayed at the Archduke Karl and awaited the fulfillment of a promise “ Kapellmeister ” Esser had made by letter to put-on a few performances of my Operas for me. It was here I first heard my “ Lohengrin ” performed on the stage. Although the Opera had already been given very frequently, the whole ensemble got together for the complete rehearsal I had requested. The Orchestra immediately played the Prelude with such beauty and warmth, and the voices of the singers and their other good qualities were displayed to such good advantage in the performance of a work they already knew well that, overcome by these impressions, I lost all inclination to criticize any aspect of the production. People seemed to notice how deeply moved I was, and, to Doctor Hanslick, this no doubt appeared the proper moment to have himself amicably introduced to me, while I was sitting on the stage and listening ; I greeted him shortly as if he were entirely unknown to me, whereupon the tenor Ander introduced him to me again with the comment that this was my old-acquaintance Doctor Hanslick ; I replied laconically that I remembered Doctor Hanslick very well, and turned-back to the rehearsal. It seems my Viennese friends now had the same experience as previously my London acquaintances, when they had tried to direct my attention to the most fearsome critic and found me disinclined to any such gesture. This fellow, who, then still a young student, had attended one of the first performances of “ Tannhäuser ” in Dresden and



had written about the work with glowing enthusiasm, had since developed into one of the most vicious opponents of my work, as had been amply demonstrated on the occasion of productions of my Operas in Vienna. Those members of the Opera company well-disposed toward me seemed, henceforth, to have no greater concern than to effect a reconciliation between me and this critic ; as they did not succeed, those who ascribed to the enmity, thus, aroused the ensuing failure of every undertaking in which I counted on Viennese support may not have been far wrong ... I was able to go about the real business I had in mind. The academic young of Vienna had wanted to do me the honour of a torchlight procession, but I declined this, thereby, gaining Esser's whole-hearted approval, in particular. Together with the highest-authorities at the Opera, he began considering how these triumphs could be exploited. I presented myself to Count Lanskoronsky, Comptroller of the Imperial Court, who had been described to me as a strange man who knew absolutely nothing about art and its requirements. When I submitted my appeal that he should give the principal singers at his Opera House, namely " Frau " Dustmann (formerly Luise Meyer) , " Herr " Beck, as well as possibly " Herr " Ander, leave at some future time to participate in the performance of " Tristan " I was planning for Karlsruhe, the old gentleman replied dryly that this would not be possible. He thought it far more reasonable, given the fact that I was satisfied with his ensemble, to give my new work in Vienna. I promptly lost the courage necessary to oppose this proposition.

As I was descending the steps of the " Hofburg " meditating about this new turn of events, I was met at the gate by a stately gentleman of unusually sympathetic countenance, who offered to conduct me in his carriage to my hotel. This was Josef Standhartner, a famous society doctor and an earnest devotee of music, destined henceforth to be a staunch friend for life. »

« Princess Metternich, who had sensed my difficulty in these matters when I left Paris, had recommended me most heartily in Vienna to the family of Count Nakos, of whose wife she had spoken to me with particular emphasis. I had now also made the acquaintance through Standhartner, during the few days I spent with him before he left, of young Prince Rudolf Liechtenstein, known to his friends solely as " Rudi ". He had been commended warmly to me as a fervent admirer of my music by his doctor, with whom he was on close terms. I often met him for meals at the Archduke Karl after Standhartner had rejoined his family, and there, we agreed upon a plan to visit Count Alakos at his estate, Schwarzau, some distance away. »

« In May, a surprise visit to the Wesendonks in Zürich had netted Wagner little, and, when during his Vienna sojourn they invited him to join them on a Venetian holiday in November, he saw the opportunity of striking again. (Fearful of mentioning Mathilde's name to Minna, he wrote her that Doctor Standhartner, summoned to Venice for consultation by Empress Elizabeth, had insisted on his companionship during the journey !) The " Tristan " project, which he described as dangling on the lax vocal cords of a fatigued tenor, was moribund, and his situation desperate ; plans to import Schnorr or Tichatschek to Vienna had fallen through. But Otto and Mathilde, at the end of their " largesse ", were deaf to hints. Poor Bülow, who could barely keep his household together, was soon bothered for a loan. »

« Money problems gave him no rest. Minna was again set-up independently, and his own needs were far from small. No new income would be forthcoming until " Tristan " was performed and started on the round of German theatres. News from Vienna's great " Kärntnertor " Opera House was not encouraging. The tenor, Ander, so glorious a " Lohengrin ", had become terrified of Tristan's part and was succumbing to a series of strategic indispositions. By mid-

August, Wagner was in Vienna and took-up residence in the house of Doctor Standhartner, a Wagner enthusiast and physician to Empress Elizabeth. Tausig formed part of Wagner's Viennese circle, as did Peter Cornelius, to whom had been entrusted the copying of those alterations and transpositions in the part of Tristan indispensable to Ander's recuperation. »

« In Weimar, he again enjoyed outwardly friendly relations with Liszt, who had recently avoided him in Paris on account of the Blandine affair and also because he feared being again laid under contribution. Though Liszt's trunks were already packed for his removal from Weimar, he had tarried for the concerts. The Princess' absence from " Haus Altenburg " (she was in Rome) helped the friends regain something of the old conviviality. Blandine and Ollivier were also with Liszt, and, when the Festival came to an end, Wagner enthusiastically accompanied his mistress and her husband to Nuremberg, Munich, and then, Reichenhall, where Cosima was taking the saline water-cure, Ollivier being obliged to submit all the while to Blandine's and Wagner's joking in German over his head. During this brief August visit to Reichenhall, Wagner first sensed that a " liaison " with the younger sister was also possible. Fascinated by Cosima's wild disposition, he would soon answer her questioning look. »

« On my last visit to Vienna, Kolatschek had called on me to offer the hospitality of his house if I should ever return for a longer stay, in order to spare me the unpleasantness of residing in a hotel. For reasons of economy alone, very urgent at the time, I had willingly accepted this offer, and now, drove with my luggage directly to the address he had given me. To my astonishment, I discovered at once that it was in a very remote suburb, virtually without any transport to Vienna. Moreover, the house was quite deserted, for Kolatschek had gone-off with his family for a summer vacation in Hutteldorf ; with some difficulty, I unearthed an old servant who had been given some vague idea by her employer that I was to be expected. She showed me to a little room where I was to sleep, if I wanted ; there appeared to be no arrangements for laundry or any other service. Greatly put-out by this disappointment, I first went-back into the city in order to wait for Kolatschek in a " café " near St. Stephen's square where, according to the maid, he would show-up at a particular hour. I sat there for a long time, repeatedly asking after the man I expected to meet, when suddenly I saw Standhartner come-in. His utter amazement at finding me here was intensified, as he told me, by the fact that he had never before entered this particular " café ". It was only a peculiar coincidence that had led him there on this day and at that time. When I informed him of my situation, he at once became incensed that I should be living in the most remote part of Vienna when I had such urgent business in the middle of the city, and he immediately offered me his own home, which he was about to leave for 6 weeks with his family, as a temporary abode. An attractive niece (Seraphine Mauro) , who was living in the same house with her mother and sister, would take-care of breakfast and the necessary services. I would, thus, be able to make myself comfortable with the whole house at my disposal. He jubilantly led me to the house, which had already been vacated by his family to spend their summer holidays in Salzburg. Kolatschek was notified, my bag brought-in, and, for several days, I enjoyed Standhartner's company as well as his splendid hospitality. But I also had to recognize a number of new complications for my situation in the further news my friends gave me. The rehearsals scheduled the previous year for this time (I had arrived in Vienna on August 14th) had already been postponed indefinitely, because the tenor Ander had reported trouble with his voice. Upon hearing this, I at once came to the conclusion that my stay in Vienna would be pointless ; yet, I could not think anybody would have any idea where I should turn to pursue any constructive purpose. »

« After the disastrous " Tannhäuser " performances in March 1861, Wagner fluctuated for a while between Paris,

Karlsruhe and Vienna, at length settling-down on the 14th August in the last named city, where it was proposed to produce “ Tristan ”. Minna had gone to Soden for a cure on the 10th July : from there, she went on to Dresden once more. In Vienna, Wagner had the loan of Doctor Standhartner's house for some weeks during the physician's absence. His wants were attended to by a “ pretty niece ” of Standhartner's. This pretty niece was one Seraphine Mauro.

According to Hagen Kunze's book, “ Richard Wagner und die Frauen ” :

“ Wagner was not insensible to so much beauty in his daily surroundings, and his ' dear little doll ' ( ' Puppe ' ) , as he always called Seraphine, did not let him sigh in vain ... The suffering in this affair of Wagner's fell upon his friend Peter Cornelius, who ... had lost his heart to the beautiful Seraphine some time before. ” »

« While this whole “ Tristan ” affair was running its endless course like some chronic illness, Standhartner had returned at the end of September with his family. Consequently, the next thing I had to do was to look about for a residence, which I found in the Hotel Empress Elizabeth. Through my cordial association with my friend's family, I got to know his wife (Wilhelmina) and 3 step-sons (Gustav, Karl and Franz) , as well as a daughter (Wilhelmina) from her first marriage, plus another daughter (Mathilde) from her second with Standhartner. With regard to my stay in this congenial home, I would henceforth greatly miss the kindly care devoted to me by the aforementioned niece Seraphine, who was not only tireless in her solicitude but also an amusing companion. Because of her dainty figure and hair always curled “ à l'enfant ”, I had named her “ the doll ”. Now, I found it more difficult to get along in a gloomy hotel-room. My living expenses also increased severely. »

**Friday, 16 August 1861** (Vienna) :

« I had another shock with my lodgings. Good Kolatschek lives in a frightfully distant suburb so that I promptly recognized I couldn't stay there as my cab-fares alone would have cost more than my lodgings. Moreover, it was very uninviting otherwise, and I was on the point of hunting for fresh lodgings when Doctor Standhartner, my highly-enthusiastic Viennese friend (a kind of Doctor Schuster) , luckily intervened, offering to house me in his roomy abode for as long as his family is away - til about the middle of September. This lies in the heart of the city and I'm getting to feel quite at ease in it ; the only thing I have to procure for myself is dinner. At least so far, as lodging is concerned, then, I can quietly wait now and see if anyone else will invite me thereafter, or if I must look-out for a furnished “ logis ” for myself, which indeed is what would suit me least. For now comes the other melancholy item in my communications, which will make it comprehensible to you that I'm not exactly in a cheerful mood ! »

**Wednesday, 13 November 1861** (Vienna) :

« Last Wednesday (6th) , my friend Doctor Standhartner (as deputy physician in ordinary) was summoned in haste by the Empress to a consultation in Venice ; as doctor and friend, he insisted on my accompanying him, since I needed a change, some distraction, if I meant to hold-out here. I returned this morning, and shall hope it has benefited me : at least, I had no talking to do for a few days running, but only sights to see, which really did me good. »

1861-1862

« By a fortunate last-minute coincidence, Wagner bumped into Doctor Standhartner, who was on the point of taking his family abroad. Standhartner offered him the use of his “ Seilerstätte ” apartment for several weeks, complete with the services of his pretty niece, Seraphine Mauro, who lived in the same house and could, therefore, attend to his creature comforts. Half-Italian and half-Viennese, Seraphine had a doll-like face framed by a wealth of dark ringlets that hung-down to her ripe young bosom. Wagner could hardly have remained indifferent to the charms that had already enslaved Peter Cornelius, who was tortured with jealousy. For a short while, “ Seraphinchen ” or “ Dolly ” became the sole focus of Wagner's interest in the opposite-sex - so much so that he shunned the company of everyone save Cornelius and Tausig. »

1862

« Wagner writes to Cornelius from Paris, at the end of January 1862 :

“ Listen ! On Wednesday evening, the 5th February, I am to read the ' Meistersinger ' at Schott's house in Mainz. You have no idea what it is, what it means to me, and what it will be to my friends ! You must be there that evening ! Get Standhartner at once to give you, on my account, the necessary money for the journey (from Vienna) . In Mainz, I will reimburse you, and whatever may be necessary for the return journey. ” »

« Sitting in a “ café ” on the “ Stephansplatz ” the next afternoon, Wagner suddenly saw a man enter whom he had met earlier in the year, when he had been in Vienna to look for singers for “ Tristan ”. The man was, personal physician to the Empress Elizabeth and an enthusiastic follower of Wagner's music. He insisted that Wagner should come and stay with him while his family was away, and Wagner made Standhartner's house his own for over a month, visiting the aristocracy, making new acquaintances, like that of the dramatist Friedrich Hebbel, discussing the world with his old friend Heinrich Laube again, now director of the Vienna “ Burgtheater ”, and trying to get “ Tristan ” finally performed. »

« Cornelius hesitated, as well he might, to give himself up body and soul to this devouring flame of a man ; he knew Wagner, and knew what sacrifices a friendship of his kind meant for the friend. Wagner was very angry with him for not accepting the invitation at once. He came to Vienna to liquidate his debts with the 135,000 guilders placed at his disposal for that purpose by the King, and generally to put his affairs in order. Asked by Seraphine Mauro the object of his visit to the city, he curtly replied, “ To quarrel with my friends. ” Heinrich Porges and his brother had called upon Wagner, but Cornelius did not go. “ There were such scenes, ” he writes to his brother Carl on 15th June, “ and tears of rage and despair over my conduct : no answer to his letter - my Cid had ' miscarried ' (he could put everything in order, go through it all cordially and calmly with me) at Sternberg, etc. , etc. , pianoforte ready (a box full of cigars) , Peter as man and artist, etc. , etc. ” He saw Standhartner, who advised him, in case he did not mean to accept Wagner's invitation, not to go near him just then, as it would probably lead to a complete rupture. So, Cornelius writes to Wagner between 1 and 3 in the morning, telling him that he could not settle in Munich now with anyone but his brother, but that when he has finished “ The Cid ” he will be willing to live there in merry

companionship with Carl and Wagner. No answer was vouchsafed to this letter. “ Standhartner speaks to him again in my interest. Heinrich Porges writes him - ' Reconciliation with Peter : otherwise - Egoist ! ' Thereupon, he writes at once to Porges : ' do not visit me today ', and to Standhartner : ' do not come till tomorrow ', etc. , etc. , etc. , and when they come next day, he is gone ! So that one can truly say that he has treated his best friends in Vienna like so many shoe-blacks ... He came in May 1861. This is the upshot of these three years ! ” »

« Cornelius writes at the same time to Reinhold Kohler on the 24th :

“ A row with Wagner ... I was simply to be a Kurvenal. Wagner does not understand that though I have many qualifications for that (even to a dog-like fidelity) - I have unfortunately just a little too much independence of character and talent to be his cipher behind his unit. ”

And on the same day, to his sister Susanne :

“ Unfortunately, we have separated, perhaps for ever. He wrote me :

' Come to Sternberg (come for ever) or I will have absolutely nothing more to do with you. - I could not consent to that - for ' The Cid ' has haunted me all the time since February, and is now coming to life - and if I were with Wagner I should not write a note ... I should be no more than a piece of spiritual furniture for him, as it were, without influence on his deeper life. I send you his letter. Tell me if any man ought to put such an ' Or ' to a friend : either everything, skin and hair - or nothing at all. I have never forced myself on Wagner. I rejoiced sincerely in his friendship, and was truly devoted to him in word and deed. But to share his life - that entices me not. ” »

« In Mainz, I saw Friederike Meyer again ... As I was also about to leave for Vienna, she was pleased to be able to make part of the journey with me, because she expected to stop for one day in Nuremberg where I could meet her for the rest of the trip. This, we did and arrived in Vienna together, where she went to the Hotel Munsch, while I again took-up residence in my already familiar Empress Elizabeth ... Friederike's own condition soon aroused my most intense concern. She had contracted for 3 guest-performances at the “ Burgtheater ” without bearing in mind how unfit she was at that time to make a favourable impression in the theatre, particularly before a Viennese audience ; the severe sickness from which she had recovered only in the most turbulent circumstances had disfigured her by making her unduly thin ; in addition, her head had grown virtually bald, and yet, she insisted on refusing to use a wig. The enmity of her sister had alienated the members of the “ Burgtheater ” company, and, as a result of all this, as well as an inept choice of roles, her appearances were a failure, and there could be no question of a permanent engagement. Although she grew steadily weaker and suffered from constant insomnia, she still tried to conceal her true situation from me out of courageous reticence. At a somewhat cheaper inn, “ The City of Frankfurt ”, she now intended, as she did not seem to be embarrassed for funds, to spare her nerves as much as possible and await an improvement : at my request, she summoned Standhartner, who didn't seem to be able to help her very much. »

« While these matters involved me in all sorts of difficult complications, I had been keeping-up my old acquaintances in Vienna. A strange incident had occurred at the outset of this visit. I was to read my “ Meistersinger ” for the

Standhartner family, just as I had done everywhere else : since “ Herr ” Hanslick was now considered a friend of mine, they thought it would be a good idea to invite him as well ; but here, we noticed in the course of the reading that this fearsome critic became constantly paler and angrier, and remarkably enough, when the reading was over, he could not be persuaded to remain for a time, but departed at once in obvious vexation. My friends all concluded that Hanslick had interpreted the entire libretto as a “ pasquinade ” directed at him and our invitation to the reading as an insult. And the critic's attitude toward me indeed underwent a highly-noticeable change from that evening forward and turned into bitter enmity, the results of which we were soon to see. »

« Though harsh, his estimate of Wagner is closer to modern criticism than is the indiscriminating adulation of the Wagnerites. As a partisan of the Leipzig School, Hanslick was deaf to many beauties in Wagner's scores, and, in respect to Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt (and later, Bruckner and Richard Strauß) was unable to surmount an innate conservatism and a prejudice against “ literary ” music. Nonetheless, he could never be accused of intellectual dishonesty. One may disagree with his complaints about Wagner's unvocal writing, boring declamation, orchestral din, clumsiness, monotony, exaggeration of expression, and perpetual modulation ; yet, considering the hysterical excesses of the Wagnerites, he generally kept his temper, his logically presented opinions being based not on emotion but on a thorough study of the score in question. He had had 4 years of theory, composition, and piano with Tomaschek and was thoroughly professional at the keyboard. »

« I recognized “ Madame ” Kalergis, who had just arrived to spend some time in Vienna, being motivated, I fondly hoped, by the desire to do something for me as well. As she was also a friend of Standhartner, she got together with him at once to consider how I could be helped-out of the critical situation I was in, once again, as a result of the heavy expenses of the concerts. She herself had stated to our mutual friend that she had no funds at her disposal and could only meet special expenditures by going into debt. Thus, richer patrons needed to be enlisted. Chief among these was Baroness von Stockhausen, wife of the Hanoverian minister : as a very intimate friend of Standhartner, she was warmly attached to my cause, and also won-over Lady Bloomfield together with her husband, the English ambassador. There was a “ soirée ” at the residence of the latter, as well as several evening parties at the house of “ Frau ” von Stockhausen. One day, Standhartner delivered 500 guilders to me from an anonymous donour to help cover my expenses. “ Madame ” Kalergis managed to scrape together 1,000 guilders, and these were also turned-over to me by Standhartner for my subsequent needs. In her efforts to interest the court in me, however, she remained unsuccessful, despite her close friendship with Countess Zamoiska. »

« When the Standhartner family returned from vacation, Wagner moved into the “ Kaiserin ” Elizabeth Hotel on the “ Weihburggasse ”, which quickly proved far too expensive. At the invitation of the Wesendonks, he spent a week with them in Venice, then returned to Vienna. But this time with a new purpose in mind - to carry “ Die Meistersinger ” through to the end. In November, he wrote a fresh scenario - in December, back in Paris at the invitation of the Metternichs, he started the poem, and the complete libretto was ready by the end of the following January. »

« True, he got down to orchestrating the first Act of “ Die Meistersinger ” and spent his 50th birthday more pleasantly, in the company of his staunch friend Standhartner, than he had its immediate predecessors. True, the local glee-clubs and choral societies celebrated the occasion with a belated torchlight procession and serenade on June 3, and their written dedications referred to him for the first time as “ honoured Master ”, but the Master lacked a

mistress and his happiness was incomplete. »

**Wednesday, 12 November 1862** (Biebrich) :

« I hope to start my trip tomorrow, though ; so expect my next letter from Vienna. If you have anything of moment to write me meanwhile, please address c/o “ Doktor J. Standhartner, Stadt 806. Wien. ” »

« On **(Sunday) November 23, 1862**, he gave a reading of the “ Meistersinger ” libretto at the home of Doctor Standhartner. The latter, obviously with Wagner's consent, had included Eduard Hanslick in the guest-list. Hanslick, who left in high-dudgeon when the reading was over, is widely reported to have done so because he recognized himself in Beckmesser or thought the character a deliberate travesty of himself. A more likely assumption is that someone in the know tipped him off to the fact that Beckmesser's name had originally been “ Hanslich ”. No one would admit to this indiscretion, of course, and the critic was cynically congratulated on having sat through the reading without losing his temper. Although Hanslick disclaims any annoyance in his memoirs, it is true that most of his subsequent pronouncements on Wagner contained some element of malice. »

« Hanslick was subsequently invited to the home of Doctor Standhartner to hear Wagner recite the “ Meistersinger ” poem **(Sunday, 23 November 1862)** . At this time, the pedantic, narrow minded character now known to the world as Beckmesser appeared in Wagner's manuscript under the name of “ Hanslich ”. Wagner had maliciously trapped the critic in a barbarously contrived situation. Pale and upset, Hanslick fled the reading as soon as he could, Wagner doubtlessly finding the whole affair vastly amusing. As Hans Sachs, he had acted-out the last Act of “ Meistersinger ” and sent the cantankerous Marker fleeing the scene of contest. He wanted no mercies from the critics. Success would come from the Folk, from those with no knowledge of the musty “ Tabulatur ”. »

**Saturday, 27 December 1862** (Vienna) :

« Among all my cares and troubles, the care for you has still remained the most consuming. Nothing having turned-up from anywhere, at last I begged Standhartner to advance me the needful on my “ Tristan ” honorarium. He has had my wish complied with through his banker - so now, take heart, good Minna ! »

**1862-1863**

« But less than 5 months later this, together with the remains of sundry fees and loans, had disappeared, most of it swallowed-up by the expenses of a large, handsome apartment in a villa at Penzing, some 5 minutes ride from the beautiful palace of Schönbrunn, just outside Vienna. Biebrich had become petty and provincial, no place from which to launch an offensive against the theatrical establishment of Europe. The choice of Vienna was motivated by 2 thoughts : one was the lingering hope of seeing “ Tristan ” performed there ; the other, as he put it in “ Mein Leben ”, was because “ with no other German city had I developed so close an artistic relationship ”. Here, in the company of Cornelius, Tausig, Standhartner and others, and waited upon by a servant couple who remained faithful to him for a number of years, he celebrated his 50th birthday in grand style. “ Wagner is just like a child when he has money in

his pocket ”, said the Viennese conductor Heinrich Esser, who was to have directed the first performance of “ Tristan ”, “ and it does not seem to enter his head that it will not last for ever. And then, he claims that he cannot work at all unless his rooms are luxurious and unless he has exclusive use of a large garden - in a word, unless he can live like a lord. ” »

« Whether Wagner's account of the interview is strictly accurate or not, we have no means of knowing ; but the story, even as he tells it, indicates that Hanslick was not at this time a hopelessly prejudiced or evil-natured antagonist. In November 1862, they met again at the house of Doctor Standhartner in Vienna. Wagner read the “ Meistersinger ” poem to the company. »

1863

« Wagner had visited Vienna for a few days, in May and June, to gather-up his servants (the Mrazeks) and the dog, to pay the most urgent debts, and to re-purchase what could be located of his auctioned possessions. In a fury against friends who had faithfully acted to protect what they could of his property from the Viennese deluge he himself had let loose, he blamed them for his losses and wrote Mathilde Maier of their “ unbelievable stupidity ”. Cornelius especially aroused his ire by refusing an invitation to settle permanently with him in Bavaria. In his strange way, he loved Peter. During the dark hours at Mariafeld, he had gloomily written to Doctor Standhartner in Vienna, “ One thing ! Send Peter to me soon ! ... He must share all sorrow with me ... Only death must he leave to me alone ; he need only be close by ! ” Now, he found it incomprehensible that Peter preferred work on his Opera “ The Cid ” to the post of jester at the new Wagnerian court. Wagner was becoming more and more intractable. The opposing-side of a problem had never been within his vision ; now, even the middle-ground was blurring. One was either for or against him, and to be for him implied a complete sacrifice of personal desires. Cornelius reflected that he was treating old friends “ like boot-blacks ”. In a mood of deep resentment, Wagner had stormed Wotan like from Vienna to take-up residence at Villa Pellet. »

« Standhartner having returned to Vienna at the end of September, Wagner had to leave his comfortable quarters, and as there seemed no prospect of an early performance of “ Tristan ”, and life at a hotel was expensive, he accepted an invitation from the Wesendoncks to meet them in Venice. He remained there only 4 days - “ 4 miserable days ”, he calls them. How unbridgeable was the gulf made between him and Minna by the memory of the Mathilde affair of 3 years before may be estimated from his letters to his wife of 19th October and 13th November 1861. The first is sensible and tender ; he is full of pity for the poor suffering woman, and will gladly do anything in his power to alleviate her misery - anything, that is, but give-up the Wesendonck acquaintance. He still has plans for a reunion, and a quiet old age to be spent together. But as a preliminary to any rapprochement he insists, as he had always done, on her consenting never again to mention the name of Mathilde, for whom, he declares, his passion has from beginning to end been absolutely pure. Of all the tragedies of Wagner's life this surely is the greatest, that his one noble love, the one that was so necessary to him as an artist, to which we owe “ Tristan ” and many of the finest moods of the “ Meistersinger ” and “ Parsifal ”, should have been the one to embitter his existence and his wife's beyond all hope of remedy while his less worthy attachments were either unknown to Minna or counted for little with her. With Wagner obstinately resolved not to give-up the Wesendonck acquaintance, and Minna (blind to the ideal



nature of the attachment, and seeing it, in all probability, merely as another Lausot affair) as obstinately bent on making the cessation of this acquaintance a condition of a full-reconciliation with her husband, it was impossible that the breach between the 2 tortured and self-torturing souls should ever be healed. That Wagner dreaded giving Minna any cause to be reminded of Mathilde's name is evident from the sophisticated version he gives her of his Venice excursion, in his letter of 13th November 1861 : we can only regard as a piece of well-meant fiction his story that Doctor Standhartner, having been summoned in haste, as deputy physician in ordinary, to attend the Empress of Austria in Venice, had pressingly insisted upon Wagner accompanying him for his health's sake.

“ I returned early this morning. I hope it has done me good ; at least, I had no talking to do for several days, but only to go sight-seeing, which really benefitted me. ”

Not a word, it will be observed, as to having gone to Venice at the request of the Wesendoncks, or even as to their being in Venice at that time. »

« After the marked success of my first concert, I received some approaches from those circles to which, as now became clear to me, I had been secretly but strongly recommended by Marie Kalergis. My unseen patroness had most circumspectly prepared my introduction to the Grand Duchess Helene. I was instructed first of all to make use of a recommendation from Standhartner to the Grand Duchess's personal physician, Doctor Arneth, whom he had known in Vienna, and who, in turn, could introduce me to her most trusted lady-in-waiting, “ Fraulein ” von Rhaden. I would have been well content to make the acquaintance of this lady alone, for in her I found a woman of wide culture, great intelligence and noble bearing, whose increasingly earnest interest in me was admixed with a certain anxiety, which seemed to pertain to some worry about the Grand Duchess. It struck me that she felt something more should be done for me than could plausibly be expected from the Grand Duchess, her temperament and character being what they were. I was still not admitted directly to this exalted person, but rather received first an invitation to an evening party in the quarters of the chief lady-in-waiting, at which among others the Grand Duchess would also be present. »

« In the company of my gun-dog named Pohl, one of the most lovable and excellent animals that ever became attached to me, I undertook long walks every day, for which the extremely pleasant neighbourhood afforded admirable opportunities. Otherwise, I remained more or less alone for a time, as Tausig had been confined to his bed by a severe illness for an extended period, and Cornelius was suffering from an injured foot as a result of having jumped down carelessly from an omnibus when visiting Penzing. I continued my amicable association with Standhartner and his family. »

## 1863-1864

« I was able to spend New Year's Eve with the Standhartners in a confident mood and enjoy a poem specially written for the occasion by Cornelius, which was equally humorous and appropriate. »

« But the new year of 1864 soon assumed an increasingly ominous aspect. I fell ill with a rapidly worsening, painful catarrhal malady, which necessitated my making frequent demands on Standhartner's care. »

« Wagner had been staying at his hotel for 2 months. He was still hoping for the payment which was to be made to him after the first performance of “ Tristan ”, but it did not arrive - the proprietor became worried and sent him one bill after the other ... When one evening, together with Tausig, I went to visit him, he was full of woe and bemoaned his miserable position. Full of sympathy, we listened to him and sat on the sofa in deep depression, while he was pacing-up and down in nervous haste.

Suddenly, he stopped dead and said :

“ Ah, now I know what is missing and what I need. ”

He ran to the door and rang the bell loudly. The waiter finally appeared, slowly and with hesitation, for these people soon know which way the wind is blowing, and he was no less amazed than we were when Wagner ordered :

“ Will you bring us immediately 2 bottles of champagne on ice ! ” ; “ For God's sake, in this situation ! ”, we cried-out when the waiter had left again.

But he gave us a fervent lecture on the absolute necessity of champagne especially in desperate situations - only champagne could help one to overcome such embarrassments ... If you associated with Wagner, you went from surprise to surprise. When I entered his room the next morning, he showed me 1,000 guilders which the Empress had sent him, presumably at the instigation of Doctor Standhartner. »

« Now, it became clear to me that under these circumstances I could no longer maintain my position in Vienna or my establishment in Penzing, because there was not only no prospect of earning any money even on a temporary basis, but also my short-term debts had mounted to such an ominous height under the well-known system of usury that without some extraordinary assistance my very person was actually threatened. In this situation, I turned in utter frankness, at first only for advice, to Eduard Liszt, the youthful uncle of my old friend Franz and a judge at the Imperial Provincial Court. During my first stay in Vienna, he had commended himself to me as a warmly devoted friend, who would always be willing to do me a favour. As far as the redemption of my short-term bills was concerned, he could see no way-out other than to find a rich benefactor who would settle with the creditors. For a time, he believed that a certain “ Madame ” Schöller, a devoted admirer of mine and also the wife of a rich merchant, not only possessed the means but the willingness to use them on my behalf. Standhartner, from whom I concealed nothing, also thought he could do something for me in this regard. By these efforts, my situation was held in a state of suspension for a few more weeks, until it eventually turned-out that the best my friends could do for me was to provide enough money to take what seemed the absolutely necessary step of fleeing to Switzerland, where I would be personally protected until such time as I could raise funds to redeem my bills. »

« Thoughts of death gripped me so tightly that I lost all desire to shake them off. I set about bequeathing my books and manuscripts, of which Cornelius was to receive a share. Some time previously, I had taken the precaution of

commending my household effects remaining in Penzing, now no longer secure, to the protection of Standhartner. As my friends now most urgently recommended that I get ready to flee, I had turned to Otto Wesendonck, given the fact that my path would take me to Switzerland, and asked him to shelter me in his house. He rejected my request categorically : in response, I could not avoid pointing-out how shabbily he was behaving. Now, it was a question of arranging my departure so that it would appear I would be coming-back in the near future. In his great anxiety to cover-up my departure, Standhartner had me come to dine at his house, where my servant Franz Mrazek brought me my luggage. I bade a very distressed farewell to him, his wife Minna, as well as my good dog Pohl. Standhartner's step-son Karl Schönaich, who wept from grief, and Cornelius, who by contrast was in a frivolous mood, accompanied me to the station, where I departed on the afternoon of March 23rd, to go first of all to Munich, where I hoped to be completely unnoticed and have a chance to recuperate for 2 days from the frightful strain of the recent past. I spent those days in the " Bayerischer Hof ", from which I undertook a few walks through the city. It was Good Friday : the weather was very bad and seemed to reflect the mood of the entire populace, whom I saw proceeding from one church to another in deepest mourning. King Maximilian II, whom the Bavarians had grown to love, had died a few days before, leaving his son to ascend the throne at the youthful but still legitimate age of 18 and a half. In a display window, I saw a portrait of the young King Ludwig II, and felt that special emotion awakened in us by the sight of beauty and youth being placed in what will presumably be a very difficult situation. Here, I wrote a humorous epitaph for myself and, then, journeyed unmolested over Lake Constance, a refugee once again and in need of shelter, and on to Zürich, from where I immediately proceeded to the estate of Doctor Wille at Mariafeld. »

« I got very bad news from Vienna : to protect the household effects, I had left behind in my apartment there, Standhartner had gone so far as to sell them to a Viennese agent, reserving the right to re-purchase. To this, I responded in extreme indignation, as I saw my landlord, to whom I had to pay rent within a few days, compromised by this action. Through " Frau " Wille, I managed to obtain the money needed to meet this obligation and forwarded it at once to Baron Rackowitz. Unfortunately, I learned that Standhartner and Eduard Liszt had done a thorough job of things, having already paid the rent from the proceeds of the furniture and, thereby, cutting-off all possibility of my returning to Vienna, which both believed would be ruinous for me. But when I heard at the same time from Cornelius that Tausig, who was then in Hungary and had previously added his endorsement to one of my demand notes, now felt himself prevented by me from going-back to Vienna as he wished, I was so deeply upset that I decided on the spot to return there, no matter how great the danger might be. I notified my friends there of this but decided first to try to provide myself with enough money to be able to offer my creditors a settlement of sorts. »

« As to his male acquaintances, he was on terms of increasing friendship with the well-known critic Eduard Hanslick, who even sought the acquaintance of Brahms's family in Hamburg, sending his photo to the delighted Elise. He continued to see much of Tausig and Cornelius. Both were friends of Richard Wagner, who was then living in Vienna, and were anxious to arrange a meeting between Brahms and the composer who was responsible for the resuscitation of the music-drama. The introduction was at last effected through the medium of a third mutual acquaintance, Doctor Standhartner, who took Brahms to see Wagner on February 6, 1864. The evening was a gratifying success : apart from classical music, Brahms played his " Händel Variations ", and Wagner could not but be impressed by this magnificent work. He expressed his admiration in the following words :

“ One sees what can still be done with the old forms in the hands of one who knows how to deal with them. ” »

« Wagner liked neither Brahms the man nor Brahms the composer (though many of Brahms' greatest works were yet to come - the 4 Symphonies, the Violin Concerto, the B-flat major Piano Concerto, the clarinet quintet - they would hardly have changed Wagner's opinion) . Together with Tausig, Peter Cornelius and Weißheimer, Brahms had corrected the orchestral parts for Wagner's concerts in Vienna in 1862-1863, but this counted for little. The 2 men had met only once, in February 1864, when Doctor Standhartner brought Brahms to Wagner's house in Penzing. Musically, there was hardly a single point of contact between them. Brahms had gone to “ Das Rheingold ” and “ Die Walküre ” in Munich, in 1870, but later was known to dissuade his pupils from concerning themselves with Wagner's music. In 1875, there was to be an unpleasant “ contretemps ” between them when Brahms, who, back in the 1860's, had received as a present from Tausig the manuscript of Wagner's new Venusberg scene for the Paris “ Tannhäuser ” of 1861, refused to return it for Wagner to publish. Eventually, he did, but only in return for a copy of the de-luxe edition of “ Das Rheingold ”. In her diary, Cosima makes no effort to disguise her and Wagner's scorn for the “ crude, boorish ” man and his “ mediocre ” music. »

« The press was equally consistent in its hostility, although faced with the growing public acceptance of Wagner's music, less sure of itself than a few years earlier. Much of his free-time Wagner spent in the company of old friends, like Semper and Doctor Standhartner, and, of more recent acquaintances, among them the painter Hans Makart. »

« Wagner apparently got over his petulance, and still had hopes of inducing Cornelius to come to Munich, where he could have a post either at the Conservatory or under the King. “ But if he is really well-disposed towards me ”, Cornelius writes to his brother on 4th September 1864, “ let him interest himself actively in ' The Cid '. Everything depends on that now. But salvation will not come to me that way ; Wagner never for a moment thinks seriously of anyone but himself.” »

**Tuesday, 24 October 1865 (Vienna) :**

« Yesterday evening, Standhartner was with me : we've put a lot in order. Today, it's off with him to the dentist (it's that monster who will now decide my existence) that is to say, in Vienna. »

**Thursday, 26 October 1865 (Vienna) :**

« Yesterday, as a result of a very poor night, I was in a bad way : a tooth operation was undertaken ; reading Balzac brought balm - in the evening, an hour at the Standhartners. »

**1870**

**Sunday, 22 May 1870 :**

« Many letters and telegrams : King (Ludwig II of Bavaria) , (Hans) Richter, (Josef) Standhartner, etc. »

1871

**Monday, 21 August 1871 :**

« Letter from Doctor Standhartner (business-affairs) . »

**Friday, 3 November 1871 :**

« Richard writes letters to Doctor Standhartner, “ Herr ” Feustel in Bayreuth ; business-affairs, in short. »

1872

**Tuesday, 2 January 1872 :**

« Wagner writes to Doctor Standhartner and Kafka. »

**Monday, 11 March 1872 :**

« Richard sends the score of “ Tannhäuser ” to Doctor Standhartner, to have the first scene copied. »

**Wednesday, 24 April 1872 :**

« Letters from the Standhartners, Levi ... »

**Friday, 10 May 1872 :**

« Doctor Standhartner reports that people wish to form a Wagner Society in Prague and are inquiring through a member whether Wagner would agree to Czechs and Bohemians being represented in it in equal numbers. Wagnerian art is the only kind which unites hostile elements. »

**Tuesday, 21 May 1872 :**

« Morning rehearsal, many Bayreuth people in my box, but friends too, among them Doctor Standhartner, who has come all the way from Vienna. »

**Wednesday, 22 May 1872 :**

« Dinner at the “ Fantaisie ” with Standhartner, who, like everybody else, praised the behaviour of the children, particularly of “ Fidi ” (Siegfried Wagner) , at the ceremony. »

**Friday, 25 October 1872 :**

« Sent my father (Franz Liszt) the telegram from Doctor Standhartner describing Princess Hohenlohe's 18,000 Florins as “ a ridiculous exaggeration - one zero too many ”, to my great relief. »

**Wednesday, 6 November 1872 :**

« Telegrams from my uncle and Standhartner. »

**1874**

**Wednesday, 21 January 1874 :**

« I write to Doctor Standhartner regarding the concert in Vienna. »

**Tuesday, 28 July 1874 :**

« Telegram from our friend Standhartner, saying he is arriving today with his daughter - preparations and reception. Great joy at seeing this dear, loyal, and understanding friend again. Made music in the evening : 3rd Act of “ Siegfried ”. To my delight, Doctor Standhartner finds that Richard is looking very well. »

**Saturday, 1 August 1874 :**

« Richard relates some experiences from his life, the encounter with the King's erstwhile fiancée, Princess Sophie. Standhartner tells me how utterly the princes hate Richard. »

**Sunday, 2 August 1874 :**

« Richard very unwell, he seems to have caught cold yesterday, and singing is always a great strain on him. I, alone, accompany our friends to the railroad station ; I am glad of Standhartner's love for Richard and his delight in what he calls Richard's good fortune. Comfortingly, he finds him more cheerful than previously. But in what state do we leave our friends ? In these last 2 years, he has lost one son (Karl Schönaich) and is returning to the other (son, Gustav Schönaich) , who is wasting away ... Oh life ! We drape our wounds with rags.

Last night, I heard “ Fidi ” sobbing. I went to him. He complained that his throat was sore. In alarm, I sent for Standhartner, it turned-out to be nothing - but the shock, the alarm ! ... Richard spends the day in bed. »

**1875**

**Sunday, 3 January 1875 :**

« Very nice letter from Doctor Standhartner, asking us to stay with him and his family. »

**Saturday, 20 February 1875 :**

« In Vienna at 10 o'clock, on Sunday ; Standhartner, the Academic Wagner Society, 80 young people, and all sorts of others. Taken to Standhartner's house, cordial welcome. »

**Wednesday, 3 March 1875 :**

« Received calls in the evening, a “ soirée ” in Makart's studio in Richard's honour : Count and Countess Andrassy, Count and Countess Széchenyi, Countess Festetics, lady in waiting to the Empress, who told me in the morning that, for her, Richard's art is like the creation of the world ... Countess Wickenburg, Count Hoyos, Countess Wilczek, Prince Liechtenstein, the Standhartner family, the Liszt family, “ Herr ” and “ Frau ” von Angeli, Doctor Mosenthal, Prince Metternich, the Hellmesberger quartet, Semper (whom Richard seeing him for the first time in 8 years, does not at first recognize) , Countess Dönhoff, “ Frau ” Wolter, and many others - perhaps, 60 people in all. A pleasant occasion, everyone looking his best, face and clothes, and the general mood very cheerful. »

**Thursday, 4 March 1875 :**

« In the evening went through the 3rd Act of “ Götterdämmerung ” in Standhartner's house, with piano accompaniment. »

**Thursday, 11 March 1875 :**

« At 2 o'clock, welcomed by the good Standhartners in Vienna. »

**Friday, 12 March 1875 :**

« A letter has arrived from the King (Ludwig II) , as exalted and enthusiastic as ever. He wants the fragments to be performed after Easter. Richard wants to do the concert here without a rehearsal, our friend Standhartner is against it. »

**Monday, 3 May 1875 :**

« At 5 o'clock, left for Vienna, tolerable night journey ; arrival at Standhartners at 9. »

**Thursday, 6 May 1875 :**

« Concert at 12 o'clock - fine impression, “ Hagen's Watch ” repeated. But Richard is tired. I then visit the picture and flower exhibition with Prince Liechtenstein and Standhartner. »

**Monday, 10 May 1875 :**

« Sent-off copies of “ Götterdämmerung ” (to Mimi, the King, Standhartner) . »

**Thursday, 8 July 1875 :**

« Preparations for the children's arrival, and rehearsals, between times letters ; I to Doctor Standhartner, asking him to visit Hans (von Bülow, her first husband) and give me a report on his condition. »

**Monday, 1 November 1875 :**

« Battered arrival at 6 o'clock in the morning ; friend Standhartner at the station. »

**Thursday, 2 December 1875 :**

« A quartet “ soirée ” at Hellmesberger's. In the evening at our Standhartner friends. »

**1876**

**Saturday, 1 January 1876 :**

« Went to church, afterwards received visitors. Richard discovers that the newspapers are saying that “ Herr ” Scaria demanded 2,000 Florins for his entire stay in Bayreuth and had been turned-down by the management committee ! Richard is requesting a correction through Standhartner. »

**Thursday, 10 February 1876 :**

« Standhartner writes that “ Lohengrin ” will be possible in Vienna only on March 2. »

**Friday, 14 January 1876 :**

« Letters, a very good one from Standhartner with an account of the royalties, then a nice one (as always) from the King (Ludwig II) . »

**Wednesday, 12 April 1876 :**

« Richard receives a letter from Doctor Standhartner, saying “ Herr ” Jauner is making the release of “ Frau ” Materna conditional on the performances of “ Tristan ” and “ Walküre ” in Vienna, next winter. So, before the work has even been done here, the seeds of its dissolution are being sown ! »

**Sunday, 23 April 1876 :**



« Around midday, while our musicians are having lunch with us, various telegrams arrive ; firstly, from “ Herr ” Niemann, recommending for Sieglinde a “ Fräulein ” von Pretfeld, of whom all present say she would be (because of her figure alone) impossible ! Then, from “ Herr ” Jauner, saying he is awaiting a reply to his letter in order to come to an agreement with “ Frau ” Materna ! A veritable parade of baseness Richard refers him to his letter to Doctor Standhartner and concludes with the sentence that he hopes he will not have to prepare himself for a hostile attitude on the part of the management. »

1877

**Wednesday, 28 March 1877 :**

« God be praised ! Richard is continuing to work on “ Parsifal ”, even though it means we sometimes have to deal with repugnant business matters till late in the night. “ Herr ” Hodge asks for a postponement of the guaranteed payment, we grant it to him through the lawyer. Arrival of Richter, very vulgarly bringing the 20,000 Marks, with the request that Richard should sign a declaration of consent to the performance of the other 3 works. Richard is standing by what my father has written to Standhartner. Richter praises “ Die Walküre ” in Vienna - from my father's account, I gather that it lacks all dedication and nobility. »

**Saturday, 21 April 1877 :**

« Richard writes to friend Standhartner, setting-out the terms for the use of the “ Nibelungen ” : 10 % instead of 7 ; 20,000 Marks as an advance (not as a gift) ; in return, exclusive rights for the Austrian monarchy. »

**Wednesday, 25 April 1877 :**

« From friend Standhartner, a telegram saying that neither the Prince nor the management is raising any significant objections to Richard's proposals (10 % , 20,000 Marks advance) . »

**Wednesday, 1 August 1877 :**

« Once again in Wahnfried, friend Standhartner. »

**Friday, 3 August 1877 :**

« Friend Standhartner departs. »

**Saturday, 31 March 1877 (Bayreuth) :**

« You know that Standhartner and “ Herr ” Jauner have saddled me with a commission, concerning the complete performance at Vienna of the tetralogy, “ The Ring of the Nibelungs ”. Wagner is now not at all inclined to deal with

the Opera directors : the obvious proof, is that he declined the 20,000 Mark letter of credit brought him by Richter the day before yesterday, as a premium from “ Herr ” Jauner for the “ Nibelungs ”. When I spoke to him, however, of the supreme good-will that the Emperor so kindly displayed toward his work, he answered me immediately in tones of real emotion. »

**1878**

**Monday, 28 January 1878 :**

« Friend Standhartner reports that Hans (Richter) has made-up for his remissness and that “ Rheingold ” is a big success in Vienna - which we doubt, insofar as we have received no telegrams about it. »

**Wednesday, 5 June 1878 :**

« Memories of all our other good old friends - Standhartner, Mathilde Maier ... »

**Saturday, 14 September 1878 :**

« Friend Standhartner yesterday announced a visit, he is coming from the international exposition in Paris, and since he wrote in French, Richard says :

“ Il s'est exposé lui-même comme ami de Wagner, et, en cette qualité, il était en effet assez exposé là-bas. ”

(“ He has exposed himself as a friend of Wagner, and, in that capacity, was truly exposed there. ”)

As always, when he jokes in French, he makes use of the best and most original of expressions. »

**Sunday, 15 September 1878 :**

« Beautiful day ; after waiting in vain at the station for friend Standhartner, we drive to the Eremitage. »

**Monday, 16 September 1878 :**

« Friend Standhartner tells us about the policemen in Gastein who surround the German Emperor in masses, and if somebody has a hand in his pocket when the Emperor or Bismarck passes by, he is politely requested to take it out ! »

**Tuesday, 5 November 1878 :**

« Before reading this libretto (Spontini's “ Fernand Cortez ”) , he received and answered a letter from friend Standhartner ... He tells me that Standhartner was pleased with his clear, straightforward letter. »

**Tuesday, 12 November 1878 :**

« He comes upstairs to fetch me, sits down beside me, and suddenly laughs about Gurnemanz's herbs and roots :

“ He sounds so cross, so disgruntled. ”

Then, he became a bit impatient and said :

“ If you only knew ! ”

And soon, I do know, for when I enter the salon, I see a magnificent Persian carpet for my room lying there ! ... He had been in correspondence with Standhartner about it, and now, he sends-off a telegram of thanks, signed :

“ He and she. ” »

**1881**

**Tuesday, 4 January 1881 :**

« A nice letter from Standhartner pleases him and starts him reminiscing about Vienna ; Standhartner is proof, he says, that one can get through to the Viennese with music - how much had he done for him when he settled in Vienna ! He describes the bone structure of Standhartner's skull as frighteningly Slavonic, yet, at the same time, pleasing. »

**Saturday, 21 May 1881 :**

« At coffee-time, the Standhartners appear, father and daughter ; introductions and memories of Vienna. »

**Sunday, 22 May 1881 :**

« Richard slept well ; the Flower Greeting takes place a 8 o'clock and is very successful, the clock presented by “ Fidi ” - “ Parsifal ” delights Richard, and he is pleased with the flower costumes. The coats of arms of the Wagner Society towns genuinely surprise him, and he is pleased with the ceiling. In a mood of divine happiness, he strolls to the summer-house with me in the blue robe, and we exchange gold pens and little poems ! Our lunch table consists of : Standhartners 3 (with Gustav ! ) , Ritters (the parents) , the Count, Joukowsky, Boni, Lusch, and “ Fidi ” ; in the hall Eva, Loldi, Ferdi Jager, Julchen and Elsa ; the latter two have to slip-away unnoticed, so that the singing of the verse will float-down from the gallery. Siegfried speaks Stein's poem very well, splendidly proposing the health of eternal youth, and then, in a full-voice, Elsa movingly sings “ Nicht Gut noch Pracht ”, etc. , from above.

Over coffee, Faf from the Festival Theater appears with the program for this evening on his back. The dear good children act-out the little farces by Lope and Sachs magnificently, and Lusch speaks Wolz's linking epilogue particularly

well. To the conclusion of the Sachs play Joseph Rubinstein linked the Prelude to “ Die Meistersinger ”, and when Richard went into the salon, the children, in different costumes, sang his “ Gruß der Getreuen ” ; at the conclusion of the evening, after the meal, came the “ Kaisermarsch ”, with altered text. All splendidly done by the children, though we are not entirely successful in sustaining the mood. Before lunch, Richard was upset by the military band, which he (somewhat to my concern) had allowed to take-part, and it required Siegfried's toast to raise his spirits again. In the evening, he was irked by the dullness of our friends, he asked Standhartner to remain behind, without considering that the step-son (Gustav Schönaich) would also then remain, and the presence of this man whom he cannot bear kept him from expressing all that was in his heart, and that made him almost painfully unhappy. The successful parts are what delighted me - the fact that unbidden things intervene no longer bothers me, however much it once used to pain me : I keep remembering that “ all transient things are but an image. ” »

« His health weakened, his energy diminished - the doctors failed to ascribe his frequent chest-pains to a heart-condition - Wagner now worked more slowly. Cosima, who begins almost every entry in her diary with a sentence on how her husband had slept, still records a large number of nights disturbed by pains and discomforts of one kind or another, or by strange and often unpleasant dreams. But his will lost none of its power, and he still dominated the social evenings at “ Wahnfried ”. Old friends came - Carl Brandt, who was to control the stage machinery for “ Parsifal ” but who died before seeing his work accomplished ; the Munich painter Franz von Lenbach, who made a number of famous portraits of Wagner and his circle : Karl Ritter, from his Dresden days ; Doctor Standhartner from Vienna ; the Countess Marie von Schleinitz and her husband ; Liszt, of course, who stayed at the house for a number of days each time, and Malwida von Meysenbug. »

1882

**Monday, 6 November 1882 :**

« I have to wait a long time in St. Mark's Square for him (Wagner) , and when he arrives with the children, he tells me he had a very severe spasm (I wrote to Standhartner) . But he quickly recovers. »

Paul von Joukowsky described Wagner's death in a letter written on **Thursday February 22, 1883**, to Malwida von Meysenburg :

« It was as glorious as his life. We were all waiting for him to appear at table, for he had sent word to us to begin lunch without him. In the meantime, he had sent for the doctor on account of his usual spasms ; then, at about 2:30, he sent Betty to fetch “ Frau ” Wagner. The doctor came at 3:00, which made us all feel easier ; but, around 4 o'clock, since nobody had come-out of his room, we became worried ; then, suddenly, Georg appeared and told us simply that it was all over. He died at around 3 o'clock in the arms of his wife, without suffering, falling asleep with an expression on his face of such nobility and peace that the memory of it will never leave me. She was alone with him the whole of the first day and night, but then, the doctor managed to persuade her to go into another room. Since then, I have not seen her, and I shall never see her again ; nobody will, except for the children and Groß and his wife, since he is their legal guardian. She will live in the upper-rooms of the house, existing only for his memory

and for the children ; everything else in life has ceased to exist for her. So, write only to the children, for she will never read a letter again. Since her dearest wish, to die with him, was not fulfilled, she means at least to be dead to all others and to lead the only life fitting for her, that of a nun who will be a constant source of divine consolation to her children. That is great, and in complete accord with all else in her life ...

Certainly, Cosima's first intention was exactly as Joukovsky described it. In her desire for death, she refused all nourishment for many hours after Wagner died, then, yielding to the inevitable, cut-off her hair and laid it in Wagner's coffin. Hidden from sight in black robes, she accompanied her husband's body in the train back to Bayreuth. At "Wahnfried", it was carried to the grave at the bottom of the garden by Muncker, Peustel, Groß, Wolzogen, Seidl, Joukovsky, Wilhelmj, Porges, Levi, Richter, Standhartner, and Niemann. Daniela, Isolde, Eva, and Siegfried walked beside the coffin - Blondine, expecting her first child, was not present. Only after their friends had left did Cosima emerge from the house to join her children as the coffin was lowered into the grave. »

1883

« The hearse, drawn by 4 horses, moved-off on its mile-long journey down into the centre of the town, up past the old Margraves' Opera House and on to the Villa "Wahnfried". By the side of the carriage walked the 12 men who were to bear the body to its last resting-place - Feustel, Muncker, Adolf Groß, Wolzogen, Joukovsky, Anton Seidl, August Wilhelmj, leader of the Bayreuth Orchestra, Heinrich Porges, Hermann Levi, Hans Richter. Doctor Josef Standhartner from Vienna, and the singer Albert Niemann (the Berlin Tristan of 1876 and the first Siegmund at Bayreuth) . Crowds lined the route - men, women, even children. »

« The exertions necessary for the production of " Parsifal " had told severely on Wagner. It is said that at one rehearsal he fainted, and, on recovering, exclaimed " Once more, I have beaten Death. " Doctor Standhartner, one of his firm Viennese friends, examined him in the course of the summer, and found that a heart affection (sic) , from which the composer had long been suffering, had made dangerous progress. Wagner was not told of his exact condition, but he was warned that immediate rest and relief from care was absolutely essential. »

### Vienna : Old University building

Anton Bruckner will first enjoy working at the Old University of Vienna (« Alte Universität ») , home to the Austrian Academy of Sciences (« Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften ») , a complex attached to the Jesuit Church or University Church (« Universitätskirche ») on « Universitätsplatz » (« Doktor-Ignaz-Seipel-Platz ») in the city-centre - close to the Stuben Gate (« Stubentor ») . He will have a hard time leaving his small work-room when the construction of the new University Pavilion on the « Ringstraße » (by architect Heinrich von Ferstel) will finally be completed in 1884 (it was started in 1877) . Bruckner's beloved office was located on the 3rd floor of the « Jesuitenresidenz » , at « Bäckerstraße » Number 20. Separated by a wall, this room now houses the Jesuit archives and residence. The original conference-room also no longer exists.

### Vienna University : Bruckner's opening address

**Friday, 21 April 1876** : Beginning of the Semester at the University of Vienna. Lectures in harmony are scheduled on Mondays, from 5:00 pm to 7:00 pm.

**Wednesday, 26 April 1876** : During his opening address at the Faculty of Music of the University of Vienna, held in front of a packed auditorium, professor Anton Bruckner, aged 51, received a wild standing ovation from all the students present. It lasted for several minutes.

The occasion might well be compared to the first of Friedrich Schiller's lectures at Jena.

A noticeable absence, that of the professor of History of Music, Eduard Hanslick who teaches in the same room.

From the tribune, Bruckner speaks in an inspired way to the younger generation who embraces so enthusiastically his cause.

The « Magister » enjoys to nickname affectionately his pupils and admirers at the University : his « Gaudeamuses »

« Gentleman, just as it is the task of any branch of science to order and sift its material according to laws and rules, so the science of music, if I may call it that, as dissected its entire substance down to its very atoms and grouped its elements according to certain laws thus creating a theoretical structure which could also be termed the architecture of music. In my lectures, I shall endeavour to further understanding by precise exposition and to give life to the dry bones of theory by graphic examples bearing in mind the words of Gœthe :

“ All theory is grey but green the golden tree of life. ” »

Bruckner advocates making the topic of composition mandatory (except, of course, for women and industrialists) :

« Why should people be able to express themselves only in language and colours, and not also in music ? Composing brings profit for one's own self. »

Bruckner does not believe that women would have an interest in learning harmony and counterpoint. Even if the university program is open to everyone, he manages to interfere in his own way (a behaviour that is not surprising, considering the St. Anna « affair ») .

Bruckner was able to satisfy his insatiable curiosity for natural sciences by meeting daily his many colleagues (professors, deans and rectors) . Aware of their contribution, he was extremely grateful.

### Bruckner's university lectures

Anton Bruckner's lectures at the University of Vienna often exceeded 100 students (pilled-up in an inadequate room) and they seldom went down below 30. For the next 2 decades, the intellectual « élite » of the capital came to hear

this fat man with a rustic appearance and often disconcerting habits.

In 1876, the University still occupied for a few years the old building on « Universitätsplatz » (now, « Dr.-Ignaz-Seipel Platz ») in the centre of Vienna, not far from St. Stephen's cathedral. In 1882, new premises were inaugurated on the « Schottenring », where Bruckner held his lectures twice a week, from 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm, at Auditorium Number 8, right staircase, second floor. (Eduard Hanslick's lectures sometimes took place in the same room, or the adjoining one.)

The bland academic subjects were transfigured by Bruckner's profound knowledge, radiant personality, Upper-Austrian dialect, inspiring jokes, glorious improvisations, - always using Goethe's words as motto :

« Gray is every theory. Green alone life's golden tree. »

Many of the listeners felt the need to record their impressions in multiple articles and brochures.

Bruckner's lectures were published in 1950 by Ernst Schwanzara :

« Anton Bruckner : Vorlesungen Über Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt an der Universität Wien », Österreichischer Bundesverlag (Lectures about Harmony and Counterpoint at the Vienna University ; 31 pages) .

Other notable testimonies came from Friedrich Eckstein, August Göllerich junior, Carl Hrubý, Friedrich Klose, Karl Kobald, Max von Oberleithner, Wladimir von Pachmann, Franz Schalk, Heinrich M. Schuster, and August Stradal.

The future theosophist, Rudolf Steiner, who followed the lectures for some time, has well-summarized them in a few words :

« What he said from the tribune was not extraordinary, but the way he presented it was quite original. »

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.

In the years to come, the Bruckner cause in Vienna was to attain such strength through the loyalty of these University students that the combined enmity of critics and musicians would have to bow before it in the dust.

To one of his students who had a doctorate in philosophy and aspired to become music-critic, he presented 1 or 2 small problems of modulations.

Looking at the poor results, Bruckner told him :

« You see, it's not as simple as you think. And what is it like, then, to write a Symphony ? If, one day, you succeed to Hanslick, I hope you will be a little indulgent towards us, poor composers. »

Bruckner had no grudge against his colleague.

One day, when his class was more crowded than usual, he insisted :

« Gentlemen, please. Hanslick also teaches in this institution. Go listen to him, so that he doesn't believe that I am forbidding it. »

For Bruckner, Johann Sebastian Bach was « universal and timeless ». Beethoven and Wagner came immediately afterwards. He called Schubert, for whom he had a very clear-sighted tenderness, his « favourite god-lair ». Bruckner was impressed by his harmonic audacity, and called him, in this field, the precursor of Wagner. He considered Mozart as one of the greatest contrapuntists (this was generally ignored at the time) .

He once quoted a mozartian harmonic development which, although forbidden, led to a brilliant result. He concluded :

« It's like Leporello : we recognize him even if he puts on Don Juan's mantle. »

Bruckner never stopped proclaiming the notion of « freedom » in the act of composing. One day, he even shouted to the bewildered attendees :

« We are free, gentlemen, long live freedom ! »

This assertion could have been perceived, at the time, as provocative and revolutionary.

Like his Master Simon Sechter, Bruckner took great pains to distinguish school exercises from pure creation. In this respect, the University « milieu » allowed him a much greater freedom than the Conservatory.

On the dictum of his own teachers :

« Our ear cannot tolerate pure intonation and that, for this reason, tempered tuning was invented. »

On tonalities :

« F-sharp minor is nostalgic ; F minor, melancholic ; D minor, solemn and mysterious ; A minor, sweet ; E minor, lyric. I like so much the D minor that I wrote my last Symphony in this key. Even though Beethoven composed his last Symphony in D minor, he will certainly have nothing to say against. »

Bruckner never hesitated to comment his own scores, giving colourful explanations about the source of his inspiration.

On the Trio of the 4th Symphony :



« So I thought, here are some country buddies ... and they began to play a “ Ländler ”. »

On his last Symphony :

« I wrote my last Symphony in D minor, just like Beethoven's 9th. Beethoven would have no objection. »  
Bruckner told the audience that Ludwig Speidel once said to him what Beethoven had thought of Bruckner's works and their bad critics !

### University student Ernst Schwanzara

Ernst Schwanzara will take notes during Bruckner's Monday lectures given at the University of Vienna.

« (Music) Professors recognize Bruckner's skills and fame. They respect him and admire him to the highest-point. In return, he thanked them warmly and personally for their support, since the first day he fought to obtain a position as Master lecturer. The Faculty members are moving away from the conservative and intractable position of Eduard Hanslick. They turn instead to the spirit of modernity which inhabits his lectures and compositions. The status of these internationally renowned musicologists goes beyond mere expertise. They appreciate Bruckner for his “ avant-garde ” and the timelessness of his music : he is truly perceived as a giant. »

« Anton Bruckner. Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt an der Universität Wien : Herausgegeben von Ernst Schwanzara. » (Anton Bruckner. Lectures About Harmony and Counterpoint at the Vienna University) , edited by Erich Schwanzara, « Österreichischer Bundesverlag » , Vienna (1950) .

**Monday, 11 January 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner. The Master mentions that he is misunderstood (especially by Eduard Hanslick) like Beethoven was in his own time.

**Monday, 25 January 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 1 February 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 8 February 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 15 February 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 22 February 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton

Bruckner.

**Monday, 21 March 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 2 May 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 16 May 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner. He reports that his lectures are based on Professor Simon Secher's text-book.

**Monday, 23 May 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**Monday, 4 July 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records the lecture of Anton Bruckner.

**End of Summer Semester 1892** (5:00 pm to 7:00 pm) : University student Ernst Schwanzara records his last lecture of Anton Bruckner.

We owe the creation of the complete family tree of the « Bruckners » thanks to the exhaustive research of Ernst Schwanzara. It was published in 1933.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1876)

Anton Bruckners Schüler werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

I. Jahrgang

1. Grad : Hans Rott.

2. Grad : Vincenz Pritz, Christian Schröder.

II. Jahrgang

1. Grad : Hermann Steudner. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(6 Zöglinge.)

1. Grad : Carl Kapeller, Johann Kreuzinger, Benno Schönberger.

2. Grad : Peter Szöllösi, Carl Zobel. »

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(7 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang

1. Grad : Heinrich Benkö, Rudolf Pichler.

2. Grad : Wenzel Pelikan.

II. Jahrgang

1. Grad : Ludwig Emanuel, Johann Winter.

2. Grad : Otto Reitingen. »

Als einziger Schüler, der in diesem Schuljahr im Fach Orgel absolvierte und ein Diplom erhielt, ist Hermann Steudner verzeichnet.

Bruckner asks for a « *extraordinarius* » professorship

**Wednesday, 26 July 1876** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to the Chief-Intendant, Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstürst :

Anton Bruckner asks the Prince to intercede with Emperor Franz-Josef, so that he, Bruckner, be given an « *extraordinarius* » professorship (with a fixed annual endowment) to teach harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna.

Remembering the F minor Mass (WAB 28)

**1876** : In a lecture at the Vienna University, Anton Bruckner remembered (in thematisation of his Mass in F minor (WAB 28)) how his state of health was renewed during the creation of this work. The crucial point in this is the parallel that Bruckner experienced in looking-back on his condition then, and his current condition : he had written the Mass « as a sick man in Linz » , « at that time » , says Bruckner, it had « also been as bad for him as it is now » . « Now » refers to a time which was, at least, 9 years after that when he left Kreuzen « cured and healthy » .

### Free tickets for the first Bayreuth Festival

Anton Bruckner's favourite student Hans Rott was one of those 30 chosen young members of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society who received a free ticket for the first Bayreuth Festival and attended the world-premiere of the complete « Ring » .

### Sorrento : Hôtel Vittoria

The Wagners departed by ship for their next stop, Sorrento, where they set-up first in a cottage beside the Hôtel Vittoria, and then, in the hotel itself, for what would be the longest and most deliberately restful phase of the stay, some 33 days. There was little of art and monuments to concern them here. Of course, there were excursions to be taken : to Capri and to Pompeii. But much time was devoted to resuming lessons for the children. While evenings were often spent in joint reading (especially of Jean de Sismondi's « History of the Italian Republics ») or discussions of literature (Dante, Goethe, etc.) . There were, as well, unhappy moments, as Cosima was racked by torments over Wagner's erratic emotions and over a dream he had of her being executed. For his part, Wagner was recurrently gloomy over the mountainous deficit that the Bayreuth « Ring » had generated.

**Friday, 29 September 1876** : The Wagner family was lodging on the third floor of the Hôtel Vittoria in Sorrento, South of Italy.

Richard Wagner's personal barber and pedicurist Bernhard Schnappauf, who had served the Master as a « postillion d'Amour » during the last Festival (i.e. , dutifully delivering the composer's secret love-letters to the beautiful and cultured French admirer Judith Gautier) , also accompanied them. After he had completed his morning craftsmanship on Wagner, Schnappauf worked on the text of « Parsifal » , which was on the verge of completion.

...

Still, there was some social life and there were frequent visitors. One was a local resident, Malwida von Meysenbug, a friend of long standing to both Wagner and Cosima. Malwida was also a friend to the brilliant young philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, whose youthful intellectual admiration for Wagner, and personal devotion to him, was now waning. As it happened, and purely by coincidence, Malwida was already entertaining Nietzsche and his companion, Paul Rée, as her guests. When Malwida brought them all together socially, the viciously anti-Semitic Cosima discovered that Rée was Jewish, and promptly banned him from their company. Then, in private conversation, Richard tactlessly pressed upon

Nietzsche some of his religious ideas in connection with his plans for « Parsifal » . The result was the deepening of a rift between them that was never to be resolved and that turned Nietzsche into a bitter anti-Wagnerian.

These unhappy frictions may have prompted the Wagners' decision to leave Sorrento on November 7. They spent 2 nights back at the Hôtel Vittoria, the day in between spent in shopping, a little touring (« more delicious glimpses of folk-life ») , and a bit of theatre. On the evening of November 9, they arrived in Rome.

...

The Hôtel Vittoria was founded in Sorrento, in 1834, by the Fiorentino family - and the family's 5th generation is running the hotel today keeping alive a long tradition in the name of the Italian hospitality excellence. It is located in the town-centre and sits on a high-cliff with spectacular views over the Bay of Naples with Mount Vesuvius. Ruins of Roman Emperor Augustus' villa are said to lay beneath the property.

Easy to recognize when arriving to Sorrento from the sea, the hotel's 3 Classic-style 19th Century buildings are just above the town harbour. The property is surrounded by the lush greenery of a unique Mediterranean garden of 20,000 square-metres filled with citrus and olive groves. Over the years, in its long history, the Hôtel Vittoria has welcomed monarchs, politicians, artists and celebrities. Among others, Richard Wagner, Enrico Caruso and Oscar Wilde.

### Judith Gautier

Judith Gautier (1845-1917) was present at the first Bayreuth Festival in 1876 and she was the Master's muse during the event, although it's not clear if their love-affair was consummated or not. After the « Festspiele » , an intimate correspondence followed. Judith sent her letters to Richard Wagner's barber Bernhard Schnappauf, his « postillion d'Amour » , but after Cosima caught him burning some of the correspondence early in 1878, they had to put an end to the affair.

Wagner could not bear to have any coarse material against his skin, perhaps as the result of a medical condition, and, for many years, dressed in silk or satin underwear. During his later years, including the period during which he was working on the score of « Parsifal » , Wagner's working environment too was draped in silks and satins, in his favourite colours, and soaked in perfume. It was in these surroundings of extravagant sensuousness that the music of « Parsifal » , a work that apparently celebrates renunciation and chastity, was brought into the world. The music of « Parsifal » was to be at the furthest remove possible from that of the « Ring » , he told Cosima : the music was to have the softness and shimmer of silk, like cloud-layers that keep separating and combining again. Wagner's surviving letters include several in which he give instructions for the purchase of fabrics and perfumes. Care had to be taken that these letters did not fall into the wrong hands, since their publication would be an embarrassment. During the composition of « Parsifal » , many of these errands were performed by Judith Gautier.

It has been said that the muse of « Parsifal » was the young and beautiful Judith Gautier. She was an enthusiastic Wagnerian and attended the first Bayreuth Festival in 1876. During this Festival, there was, apparently, an emotional incident in her lodgings, when Wagner broke-down and, sobbing, was comforted by Judith. There followed a passionate

flame (at least on Wagner's side) that, although possibly the relationship was never consummated, was to continue to burn until it was extinguished by Cosima in **February 1878**.

**Saturday, 2 September 1876** : Note from Richard Wagner to Judith Gautier, written after her departure for Paris :

« “ Chère ”, I am sad ! There is another reception this evening, but I shall not be going to it ! I re-read a few pages of my life which I once dictated to Cosima ! She sacrifices herself to her father's habits - alas ! Could it have been for the last time that I held you in my arms this morning ? No !

I shall see you again.

I want to see you ! because I love you !

“ Adieu. ”

Be good to me ! »

**Thursday, 22 November 1877** : Letter from Richard Wagner to Judith Gautier :

« Something else ! I want a very beautiful and exceptional cover (for my “ chaise-longue ”) which I shall call “ Judith ” !

Listen ! try and find one of those silk fabrics called “ Lampas ” or - whatever ? Yellow satin background (the palest possible) with a floral pattern - roses ; not too large a design, it is not intended for curtains ; it is used, rather, for small pieces of furniture. If there is nothing in yellow, then very light blue.

(Foot-note : same white background, which will be easier to find.)

I shall need 6 metres !

All this for mornings well spent on “ Parsifal ”. This is an Arabian name. The old “ troubadours ” no longer understood what it meant. Parsifal ” means : “ parsi ”- think of the fire-loving Parsees - “ pure ” ; “ fal ” means “ mad ” in a higher-sense, in other words a man without erudition, but one of genius ... »

**Tuesday, 18 December 1877** : Letter from Richard Wagner to Judith Gautier :

« But now to more serious matters : first of all, the 2 chests which have not arrived. Well ! They will arrive, and I shall immerse myself in your generous soul. Cancel the pink satin entirely : there would be too much of it, and it would be good for nothing. Can I expect the 2 remnants that I mentioned in my last letter ?

The brocade can be reserved : I'm inclined to order 30 metres, but perhaps, the colours can be changed to flatter my taste even better ; in other words : the fawn striped material would be silver-grey, and the blue my pink, very pale

and delicate ... For the rest do not think ill of me! I am old enough to indulge in childish pursuits !

I have 3 years of “ Parsifal ” ahead of me, and nothing must tear me away from the peaceful tranquillity of creative seclusion ... »

**Wednesday, 6 February 1878** : Letter from Richard Wagner to Judith Gautier :

« The little bottle of rose-water was completely ruined by cold water ; and, in my clumsiness, I dropped the larger bottle as I was trying to arrange it with the alcohol : it broke, and its contents went all over the carpet ; what really surprised me was how little effect the smell had, since I would have expected it to give me 1,000 headaches ! Send me some more of it.

And don't forget the Rimmel Bengali rose-powders.

But, above all, be so kind as to let me know immediately and, in a word, if you have found the lilac satin (Ophelia !) since my decision to buy it depends upon your answer. Dearly beloved ! I have finished the 1st Act ; you shall have a sample of it as soon as I have dealt with a whole host of other matters which I have neglected of late (...)

Cosima continues as ever before filled with feelings of admiration and gratitude towards you on account of the Japanese dress and all the other things you have chosen for her. Would to God that our traditional quarrels on the subject of poor “ Parsifal ” might be over and done with ! Believe me, they are not worth the effort ... »

Attached to a page of Cosima Wagner's Diary for 1877 is a water-colour drawing with the caption :

Japanese « négligé » given to me by Richard, Christmas 1877.

Diary entry for **Monday, 24 December 1877** :

« All this has led to a long correspondence between him and Judith, during which it had unfortunately become clear that even the best of French people cannot overcome certain limitations ! For instance, Judith cannot believe that it is impossible to translate “ Parsifal ” into French ! But, of course, they do not know the other thing ! »

It seems that, during **January 1878**, Cosima caught Richard burning some of the long correspondence between him and Judith and the affair was brought to an end.

« Dear soul, I have asked Cosima to take charge of these errands from now on, or rather to make the final arrangements with regard to the various errands with which I have been troubling you for so long. I believe, at the same time, that I do well to entrust these last remaining problems to her (as a woman) , since there is no longer any surprise in store !

As for the rest, I am so overwhelmed with work at the moment (work which is not in the least agreeable) that I cannot find time any longer to continue working on “ Parsifal ”.

Take pity on me ! It will soon be over, and I shall rediscover those wonderful moments when I can enjoy talking to you about myself !

But do not worry about me : the things that annoy me will soon be over and done with !

Be considerate towards Cosima : write to her properly and at length. I shall be told everything. Do not stop loving me ! You will see me often [?] , and, after all, we shall see each other again some day !

Yours, Richard. »

Cosima, who probably knew of her husband's secret correspondence with Judith, wrote the following in her Diaries on **Tuesday, 27 September 1881** :

« Yesterday, I desisted from responding to Richard's remarks about Judith's character, which he finds embarrassing ; instead, I kept bringing the conversation back to the children. He is sad today about that, weeps, and says that if anything were to come between us, it would be all over with him ; I seek to explain to him in all mildness the feeling which makes me so intensely aware of this strange woman in our house that, yesterday, I had to leave the room for a moment. »

With a « twinge » of concern, she wrote on **Thursday, 29 September 1881** :

« When I come downstairs, I discover Richard at the piano with our friend Judith in rich, rather revealing finery :

“ I was taken by surprise ”, he tells me. (...)

In the evening he plays whist, the beautiful Judith sits down beside him, and then, declares that she wishes to play with him, and the group. (...)

At lunch, Judith and her friend “ Herr ” Benediktus-Israel, Richard's remark about the smooth, somewhat oily voice of the Israelite.

Judith and Benedictus left the following day. Neither Cosima nor Wagner were at the door to say goodbye. As for their negative opinion of Benedictus, it was articulated in one word, « Israel » , which is understandable since Wagner, as was the case with the great bulk of the German population, was a rabid foe of Jews. When Judith wrote to thank them for their hospitality, she questioned their absence at their departure. In Cosima's reply, she explained that it had been due to Wagner's « severe cough » .

Rather than striking at the heart of the problem, Wagner's penchant for Judith, she concluded with a fabricated courtesy :

« We now join together and press you to our massive Wahnfried heart, one and all, like God Almighty. »



In **July 1882**, Judith returned to Bayreuth to attend the opening of « Parsifal » and witness Wagner's apotheosis. At the banquet the day after the dress-rehearsal, on **Tuesday, 25 July 1882**, Wagner was seen « talking vivaciously to a young woman who answered him in melodious French, punctuated with peals of laughter. In contrast to the evening-dress of the other women, Judith wore a linen blouse “ à la matelote ”, with a brilliant red cravat around her neck » . The first 2 performances (on **Wednesday, 26 and Friday, 28 July**) were reserved for the patrons ; the general public was invited to the last 14. Judith, one of the elect, not only witnessed the acclamation of « Parsifal » , but was invited by Wagner to sit in his box.

Speculation arises as to whether or not Judith succumbed to the Master's passion for her. Based on his effusive letters expressing his love for her, certain critics opt for the positive, others, the negative. What cannot be ignored is that Judith, like an unplucked rose, was superbly desirable. Wagner's « rôle » in her life not only was extraordinarily flattering to her but came at a time when she yearned to be lifted-out of her painfully constructed universe - his passion being instrumental in restoring her to health. Wagner's attraction to and love for Judith, which manifested itself during her early visits to Tribschen, reached its « apogée » in her lodgings during the « Parsifal » period at the Bayreuth Festival of 1876, when Wagner « strained beyond endurance had fallen sobbing on the breast of the beautiful young Judith » . As soon as he « fairly settled himself in the mood he needed for “ Parsifal ”, he had no further illusions about Judith or use for her. » Clearly, she had for a time been his « anima » figure - his soul image, his dream and inspirational power.

### Vienna : « Heinrichhof »

**End of Summer or Fall 1876 - 15 November 1877** : Anton Bruckner will stay less than 1 year on the top-floor of the « Heinrichhof » , a huge new-style luxury apartment building directly opposite the Opera House on the « Ringstraße » (street location : « Opernring » Number 1-5 ; « Operngasse » Number 3 ; « Elisabethstraße » Number 2-6 ; « Kärntner-Straße » Number 42) .

...

An example of a purely speculative group on the « Ring » is the « Heinrichhof » , one of the first buildings on the new boulevard, erected between 1861 and 1863 from the designs of Baron von Hansen. This building is one of the largest residential blocks of houses-in-flats in Vienna, and is divided into 3 groups, each with its central court and rooms around. The ground storey is devoted to shops and « cafés » , the building being in one of the busiest parts of Vienna, and nearly opposite to the « Hofoper » .

...

This grandiose building in Vienna's 1st District was commissioned by the brick industrialist Heinrich von Drasche-Wartinberg and built between 1861 and 1863. The Danish architect, Theophil von Hansen, drew many buildings of the « Ring » . The fresco between the windows of the upper-floors is by Carl Rahl. Because it was standing right in front of the « Hofoper » , prominent opera-singers, including Leo Slezak, lived at the « Heinrichhof » . On the ground-floor,

there was a renowned « café » (« Café Heinrichhof ») . The city's first traffic lights were installed at this intersection. During the Second World War, some Nazi departments were housed here. The « Heinrichhof » was largely destroyed on March 12, 1945, during U.S. bombings. After long discussions on a possible reconstruction, the site was completely flattened in the 1950's.

The bombardment of March 12, 1945, also caused serious damage to other important buildings in the centre of Vienna such as the Vienna Museum of Art History, the « Burgtheater » and the « Albertina » . The Opera House and the nearby « Philippof » were also burning.

...

From « Europe After 8:15 » :

When the all clear sounded on March 12, 1945, at 2:30 pm, Hella Kinn stepped-out of her half-destroyed office building into another city. Bombs had sheared-off a corner of the Art museum and the statue in front had lost its head. Trees lay smashed and broken. When she looked down the other side of the « Ring » , she screamed. The Opera was on fire.

« For a moment, I lost it. “ I don't want to see it. ”, I shouted, and hid my face in my hands. Nevertheless, I ran in the direction of the flames, as if drawn by magic. As I ran, I heard myself say over and over “ the Opera is on fire ”. I didn't get very far. At Gøethe's statue, the “ Ring ” was closed. I tried to get into the inner-city by climbing-up the ramp to the “ Albertina ” but rubble blocked my way. »

Wherever she looked, buildings were on fire - the « Philliphof » across from the « Albertina » and the « Heinrichhof » across from the Opera, and, of course, the Opera itself.

« The fire swelled and grew and expanded until it engulfed heaven and earth. »

She closed her eyes again and remembered the first time her parents had brought her to Vienna from their home in Transylvania to see and hear « The Flying Dutchman » . Then and there, she had determined that she would live in this magic city for the rest of her life. « Fidelio » , « Don Giovanni » , « Meistersinger » .

The memories crowded her mind, « but when I thought of them, it seemed to me as if they too were shrouded in flames. Had I ever thought I would stand here and see this destruction ? Then, the great-hall collapsed with a terrible thunder. A true believer who sees the temple of his god burn cannot have felt any different than I did at that moment. »

She was not alone in feeling that loss of the Opera was the deepest wound war had inflicted on the city. Schöner called it « the blackest day for our beloved city and for me and our family » .

The cuckoo sang at 12:15 but nobody paid much attention. Vienna had not been subject to a major air-attack since February 21, and, indeed, the 2 hours or so he had spent in a cellar had not been very different from other air-raids. But when he called his father after the all clear, he learned that the Opera and the « Heinrichhof » (where the family owned a « café ») were on fire, and that another of their restaurants, the « Casa Piccolo », had been badly damaged.

He rushed downtown - on foot since no street-cars were running. The cupola of the Art museum was only a skeleton, and he thought it a miracle that the heavy façades had remained standing. The « Heinrichhof café » was beyond salvage. The « Casa Piccola » had been shattered, but the kitchen and the pantry had been left intact. When he first passed the Opera, it was still standing with black smoke billowing through the roof. Later, as darkness fell, he saw fire lunging-out from the stage and up onto the first floor where fire-fighters were silhouetted against the flames. It all appeared « so unreal and operatic » .

For Ernst Andreas, destruction of the Opera was the worst blow of a day that saw cultural landmarks fall like 9 pins - Opera, Art museum, the Imperial stables, the Spanish riding-school, the Academy of Fine-Arts, the stock-exchange on the « Ring » . A bomb had torn the balcony off the « Hofburg » where Hitler had harangued the multitudes in 1938. The « Burgtheater » and « Volkstheater » had been damaged, though not badly.

Nor was injury limited to the city's icons. Adele Hufnagel, a dental assistant in a city clinic, recorded the Opera's fall in her diary, but worried more about the ruined streets and houses in Ottakring and Hernals, working-class districts beyond the Gürtel.

« They carpet-bombed our neighbourhoods. “ Jörgerstraße ” is destroyed from the Gürtel to the public bath. Today is the anniversary of the “ Anschluß ” and that's why they attacked us so hard. »

A matter-of-fact resignation marked the recorded comments of most citizens. Stephanie Bamer, a young lawyer, noted that the Opera had burned, that the vestry of St. Stephen's had been destroyed.

« Many dead. The inner-city is on fire. »

Alfons von Regius wrote that the destruction was « such a great pity » .

...

On April 27, 1945, standing parts of the « Heinrichhof » were in flames, most probably due to arson.

Although a request for reconstruction was filed in July 1949, a notice of termination was filed to the family-owner on August 12, 1949.

A fierce dispute was raging inside the family : conservation of the « Heinrichhof » or erection of a new commercial

building.

On July 3, 1954, a demolition permit was issued.

In 1955, the « Opernringhof » was built by architects Carl Appel, Georg Lippert and Alfred Obiditsch.

...

Art des Bauwerks : Gebäude.

Jahr von 1861.

Jahr bis 1945.

Andere Bezeichnung : Opernringhof

Benannt nach Heinrich Drasche.

Architekt : Theophil Hansen.

Der Heinrichhof (eigentlich Heinrichhof) war ein Wiener Ringstraßengebäude, das im Jahr 1945 bei alliierten Bombenangriffen teilweise zerstört und nach längeren Diskussionen um einen möglichen Wiederaufbau in den 1950er Jahren abgerissen wurde.

Der Heinrichhof wurde vom Wiener Ziegelindustriellen Heinrich von Drasche-Wartinberg als Nobel-Zinshaus in Auftrag gegeben und 1861 bis 1863 errichtet. Als Architekt fungierte Theophil von Hansen, ein Däne, der noch einige andere bedeutende Bauwerke im Bereich der Ringstraße errichtete - die Börse, das Parlament, das Palais Ephrussi, das Palais Epstein und das Musikvereinsgebäude. Die Fresken zwischen den Fenstern der oberen Stockwerke wurden von Carl Rahl gemalt. Der Heinrichhof stand direkt gegenüber der Wiener Staatsoper. Im Erdgeschoß war das damals bekannte Café Heinrichhof untergebracht.

Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges waren hier einige NS-Dienststellen untergebracht. Bei dem amerikanischen Bombenangriff vom 12. März 1945, der auch an anderen bedeutenden Gebäuden in diesem Stadtbereich wie dem Kunsthistorischen Museum, dem Burgtheater und der Albertina starke Schäden anrichtete, wurden größere Teile des Heinrichshofs zerstört ; die Staatsoper und der benachbarte Philippof brannten ab. Am 27. April 1945 brannten Teile des Gebäudes aus vermuteter Brandstiftung ab. Größere Teile, etwa der Bereich Elisabethstraße Nummer 2 und Teile der Front zur Kärntner-Straße (mit rund 20 Mietern) blieben aber (auf Grund der sehr soliden Bausubstanz) weitgehend intakt. Obwohl noch im Juli 1949 ein Wiederaufbau des zerstörten Teils des Heinrichshofs angestrebt wurde, erging mit Datum 12. August 1949 ein Abbruchbescheid an die Eigentümer, und innerhalb der Eigentümerfamilie brachen Differenzen bezüglich eines Erhaltes oder Abrisses des Gebäudes aus. Aus denkmalpflegerischer Sicht erschien

ein Erhalt des Gebäudes, das als « schönstes Zinshaus von Wien » galt, wünschenswert, allerdings sprachen die exzellente Lage und die bessere kommerzielle Verwertbarkeit für einen Neubau. Am 3. Juli 1954 erging eine Abbruchbewilligung.

Im Jahr 1955 wurde an derselben Stelle nach Plänen der Architekten Carl Appel, Georg Lippert und Alfred Obiditsch der Opernhof gebaut.

...

Heinrichhof auf mehreren, dem Industriellen Heinrich Drasche gehörenden Bauparzellen, die er vom Stadterweiterungsfonds erworben hatte, ließ dieser 1861-1862 nach Plänen von Theophil Hansen drei Mietshäuser mit durchgehender Architektur erbauen. Der Heinrichhof war der erste von Hansen auf den Stadterweiterungsgründen errichtete Wohnbau. Er war seinem Charakter nach ein Zinshaus, dessen Außenscheinung aber palastartigen Anspruch erhob, und als solches trat er auch architektonisch mit Palastbauten in Konkurrenz. Der mächtige, nach allen Seiten freistehende Komplex mit den überhöhten Ecken schloß an eine alte, im Schloßbau entwickelte Hoheitsform, den « Kastelltypus mit vier Ecktürmen » an.

Das mittlere Haus bildete an zwei Seiten (Opernring und Elisabethstraße) einen Risalit und war ein Stockwerk höher. Mit dem flimmernden Oberflächencharakter steigert Hansen beim Heinrichhof die Möglichkeiten des romantischen Historismus, bündigt sie aber zugleich durch die Dominanz der Großform und schuf damit ein Werk, das deutlich an der Stilwende steht, die vom romantischen zum strengen Historismus wechselt.

Mit diesem Gebäude schuf Hansen einen für die Entwicklung Wiens bedeutenden Wohnblocktyp, der in der Ringstraßenzone Nachahmung fand :

In den Bauten vom Ingenieur- und Gewerbeverein in der Eschenbachgasse.

In den Ringhäusern gegenüber der Universität (Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring Nummer 10-12) .

In den meisten der Arkadenhäuser im Rathausviertel.

Hansen selbst hat diesen Typus mit den überhöhten Eckrisaliten in seinem Bau der Akademie der bildenden Künste wiederholt, ebenso an der Börse und beim Gruppenbau Schottenring Nummer 20-26 (erbaut von Hansen und Heinrich Förster) . Die Fresken zwischen den Fenstern des obersten Stockwerks malten Carl Rahl und August Eisenmenger.

Im Heinrichhof wohnten prominente Sänger der Staatsoper, darunter Leo Slezak.

Beim Großangriff am 12. März 1945, in dessen Folge auch die Oper und der Philipphof ausbrannten, wurde der Heinrichhof von drei Bomben getroffen und brannte zum größeren Teil aus. Mit Datum 12. August 1949 erging an die Eigentümer (das Gebäude befand sich im Eigentum der Familie Drasche-Wartinberg) ein Bescheid zum Abbruch der

beschädigten Gebäudeteile, mit Ausnahme der gassenseitigen Hauptmauern und jener Bauteile, welche zu deren Stützung für notwendig erachtet wurden. Der Teilabbruchauftrag kam man nicht nach ; es wurden aber auch keine baulichen Maßnahmen ergriffen, sodaß der weitere Verfall der Ruine durch Witterungseinflüsse rasch fortschritt. Der Teilabbruchbescheid von 1949 wurde in eine mit 7. Dezember 1951 datierte Aufforderung zum Totalabbruch abgeändert. Mit dem Abbruch wurde 1952 begonnen. Das gesamte Areal war Ende 1954 geräumt.

Der Neubau erhielt den Namen Opernringhof.

...

Der Heinrichhof entstand auf 6 Parzellen des Stadterweiterungsgrundes, die der Wiener Ziegelfabrikant Heinrich von Drasche frühzeitig erworben hatte und 1860 Theophil Hansen mit der Bebauung betraute. Drasches Ziegelwerke in Inzersdorf lieferten stark gefragte und für den Ringstraßenbau dringend benötigte Produkte - ihr Besitzer zählte bald zu den vermögendsten Privatpersonen Wiens.

Es war Hansens erstes Projekt an der Ringstraße. Seine Aufgabe war es, ein einheitliches Zinshaus zu bauen. Nicht ganz einfach - auf dem Bauplatz direkt gegenüber der Oper !

1861-1862 errichtete Hansen drei Häuser mit durchgehender Architektur, wobei das mittlere Haus an zwei Stellen einen Risalit bildete und ein Stockwerk höher war. Er wählte das Renaissance-Vorbild und wies damit auch die Richtung, die die Architektur der Ringstraße nehmen sollte.

Die ursprünglich aufgesetzte Balustrade mit der Aufschrift « Heinrich Drasche 1860 » wurde auf Wunsch von August Sicard von Sicardsburg und Eduard van der Nüll (den Erbauern der Oper) durch ein zusätzliches Stockwerk ersetzt und die Pavillons der Eckrisalite hochstrebender gestaltet, um der Oper ein geeignetes Gegenüber zu setzen.

An seiner Stelle steht heute der Opernringhof, der von den Architekten Carl Appel, Georg Lippert und Alfred Obiditsch in den Jahren 1955-1956 errichtet wurde.

### Café « Heinrichhof »

The Café « Heinrichhof » (set in the « Heinrichhof » building) was located at « Opernring » Number 3-5. It was the meeting-place for Operetta authors. In 1935, the « café » was remodeled by Carl Witzmann and Robert Kotas. It was completely destroyed in March 12, 1945, during the American bombardment on the inner-city.

...

In the afternoon you will find Bianca on the « Karntnerstraße » with her black-haired little maid. At 5 o'clock, she goes for « kaffeetsch'rl » to « Herr » Reidl's « Café de l'Europe », at the « Stefanplatz ». With her are always 2 or 3 « Beau Brummels » chatting incessantly about music and art, wooing her suavely with magnificent technique,

drinking coffee intermittently, and lavishly tipping the « *kellner* » .

These « *kaffeehäuser* » are the leading public institutions of Vienna. They take the place of private teas, culture clubs, dramatic readings and sewing circles in other countries.

All Vienna society turns out in the afternoon to partake of « *mélange* » , « *kaffee mit schlagobers* » , « *kapuziner* » , « *schwarzen* » , « *weckerln* » and « *kaisersemmeln* » . But no hard drinks, no vulgar pretzels and wursts. Only Americans order beer and cognac at the coffee-houses, and generally, after once sampling them, they follow the bibulous lead of the Viennese. Each « *kaffeehaus* » has its own « *côterie* » , its own « *habitués* » . Thus, at the « *Café de l'Europe* » , one finds the worldly set, the young bloods with artistic leanings. The « *Café de l'Opéra* » , on the « *Opernring* » , is patronized by the advocates and legal « *attachés* » . At the « *Café Scheidl* » , on the « *Wallfischgasse* » , foregather the governmental « *côterie* » , the army officers and « *Burgmeisters* » . The merchants discuss their affairs at the « *Café Schwarzenberg* » , on the « *Kartnerring* » . At the « *Café Heinrichhof* » , on the « *Opernring* » , one finds the leading actors and musicians immersed in the small talk of their craft.

Thus, it goes. In all the leading « *cafés* » (the *Habsburg*, *Landtmann*, *Mokesch*, *Gartenbau*, *Siller*, *Prückl*) , the tables are filled, and the coffee drinking, the « *baunzerln* » eating and the gossiping go on till opera time.

### The windows of the « *Heinrichhof* »

A friend of Bruckner recalls :

« What helped him, obviously, were not the usual cold- and hot-water treatments (which Sigmund Freud mocked at the beginning of his career) , but a kind of pathological self-control. He fell into a « *furious rage* » by counting the windows of a large building, again and again, until he decided to stop this strange ritual like if he had made a great discovery - Eureka ! He then went his way, satisfied, but, all of a sudden, obeying to the same compulsion, he turned around and began to observe or count again. »

(In hydro-therapy, the patient was either squirted with jets of cold water or wrapped in cold, wet sheets. And in the rest cure, patients lay in bed in a dark room for a month or more. They were fed bland foods and sometimes treated with small doses of morphine or chloroform that dulled their senses. In his early years as a physician, Sigmund Freud used some of these methods with his patients.)

Later, in Vienna, often in hours of deep melancholy and tribulation, as a result of his crushing defeats as a composer, the urge of counting flashed again and again ...

A student reported :

« Once, I was walking with Bruckner beside the great building called the “ *Heinrichhof* ”, opposite to the Opera House. He stopped and, suddenly, began to count the windows. At first, Bruckner was able to control himself, but began

anew, becoming more and more agitated, and he asked me to join him in this exercise until all the windows of the main-façade were counted. Then, he went to the other side and began the same arduous task. When we were passing in front of other large buildings, I witnessed the same thing. Bruckner was never able to explain such a behaviour. »

(August Göllerich - Max Auer, 1922.)

...

Als im Frühjahr 1867 sein Lebensgang immer mehr in eine Sackgasse geraten war, der berufliche Erfolg ausblieb und Versuche, eine Partnerschaft aufzubauen nicht minder erfolglos waren, Versuche, die ihn der Lächerlichkeit preisgaben, erkrankte der Komponist Anton Bruckner an einer schweren Depression, die ihn in die Kuranstalt Bad Kreuzen führt.

An einen Freund schreibt er über den Grund dieser Einweisung :

« (...) es war gänzliche Verdunkelung und Verlassenheit (...) ich befand mich in einem schrecklichen Zustand (...) ich bin verloren. » Was ihm half, waren offensichtlich nicht die üblichen Kalt- und Warmwasserkuren (worüber sich ja noch Freud zu Beginn seiner Tätigkeit mokierte) , sondern eine Art pathologische Selbsthilfe. Er verfiel in eine « Zählwut » , « indem er die Fenster eines großen Gebäudes immer wieder abzählte, bis er sich mit einem plötzlichen Entschluß und dem Ausdruck, als habe er eine große Entdeckung gemacht - Heureka ! - davon trennte. Er setzte dann seinen Weg befriedigt fort, um aber plötzlich einem Zwang gehorchend, wieder umzudrehen und die Betrachtung oder Zählung nochmals zu beginnen » .

Später in Wien, oft in Stunden tiefster Melancholie und Trübsal ob seiner vernichtenden Niederlagen als Komponist, flammte der Zählzwang immer wieder auf.

Ein Schüler berichtet folgendes :

« Einst ging ich in Wien mit Bruckner an dem Riesengebäude " Heinrichhof ", der Oper gegenüber, vorbei. Bruckner blieb stehen und begann plötzlich die Fenster zu zählen. Natürlich verrechnete er sich, begann von neuem, wurde immer erregter, und um ihm zu helfen, begann ich mitzuzählen, bis glücklich alle Fenster der Hauptfassade gezählt waren. Nun ging er aber auf die andere Seite des Hauses und begann dort wieder die beschwerliche Arbeit des Zählens. Auch bei anderen großen Häusern, an denen wir vorüber gingen, erlebte ich öfter diese Szene. Um die Ursache dieser Zählungen befragt, konnte Bruckner keinen Grund angeben. »

(August Göllerich - Max Auer, 1922.)

Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1876-1877

Wednesday, 20 September 1876 :



Am Wiener Konservatorium unterrichtet Anton Bruckner folgende Schüler :

Heinrich Benkö (Kontrapunkt) , Moriz Eckstein (Harmonielehre) , Robert Fischhof (Kontrapunkt) , Paul Lorenz (Harmonielehre) , Hans Rott (Orgel) , Heinrich Salzmann (Harmonielehre) , Benno Schönberger (Kontrapunkt) , Christian Schröder (Orgel) , Johann Schwegler (Kontrapunkt) , Friedrich Spigl (Harmonielehre) , Julius Bernhard Stern (Harmonielehre) , Franz Stiebitz (Harmonielehre) und Franz Weber (Harmonielehre) .

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper :

(Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.)

I. Ordentliche Lehrer.

(...)

4. Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Anna Gyurkovich, Mathilde von Kralik (« aus Linz, 18 Jahre - Komposition II. ») , Johann Kreuzinger, Rudolf Krzyzanowski (« aus Eger in Böhmen, 17 1/2 Jahre ») , Carl Lillich (« 14 1/2 Jahre ») , Gustav Mahler, Anton Meißner (« 14 Jahre ») , Ludwig Oblát (« aus Dödis, 15 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») , Guido Peters (« aus Graz, 10 1/2 Jahre ») , Franz Schalk (« 13 Jahre ») , Franz Schaumann (« aus Stockerau, 24 Jahre » (recte : « 14 Jahre » ? vergleiche Schuljahr 1877-1878)) , Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 11 1/2 Jahre ») , Friedrich Spigl (« 16 1/2 Jahre ») , Julius Bernhard Stern (« 18 1/2 Jahre ») , Alfred Stroß (« 18 Jahre - Komposition I. , Chg. ») , Hugo Wolf (Seite 29 : im Schuljahr 1876-1877 « wegen Disciplinar-Vergehen » abgegangen) , Fräulein Marianne Zips (« 18 1/2 Jahre ») und Franz Zottmann (« aus Hainburg, 18 Jahre ») .

Als Orgelschüler sind Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Hans Rott, Christian Schröder (« aus Tolna, 27 Jahre ») , Franz Weber (« aus Raab, 19 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Chg. ») und (Brüder ??) Wilhelm Weber (« 17 Jahre (in Wien geboren) - Orgel V. I. - halbbefreit ») überliefert.

...

Von den 5 Orgelschülern gehören 3 zur Ausbildungsschule.

Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 1 Stiffling war und 2 halb und 2 nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren, daß Harmonielehre als Hauptfach

(ohne Angabe des Lehrers) von 8 Schülern (davon 2 Stifflinge) und Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach von 1 Schüler gehört wurde - bei den 134 Harmonielehreschülern und 30 Kontrapunktschülern (jeweils im Nebenfach) ist keine Untergliederung angegeben.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 1. Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 1.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2. Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, 1 Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelschulen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 29.

Monatlich erteilte systemierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 18.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400. »

### The « Graz School » of experimental psychology

Alexius Meinong (17 July 1853, Lemberg (L'viv, Ukraine) - 27 November 1920, Graz) was born to a Catholic noble family. He studied at the Academic « Gymnasium » in Vienna, and later, the University of Vienna where he studied history and philosophy as a pupil of Franz Brentano from 1875 to 1878.

Life-time friendships begun during Meinong's Viennese academic period - i.e. , musicologist Guido Adler, philosophers and pupils Christian von Ehrenfels, Alois Höfler, Adalbert Meingast, and Anton Ölzelt junior.

Professor Meinong managed the Chair of Philosophy at the University of Graz, where he taught from 1878 until his death in 1920. In 1894, he founded the Graz psychological institute, and also founded the « Graz School » of experimental psychology and object theory, the first laboratory for experimental psychology in Austria. He was the first to carry-out systematic experiments in « Gestalt » psychology.

Among his pupils : Stephan Witasek, Vittorio Benussi, R. Ameseder, Konrad Zindler, Wilhelm Maria Frankl, Eduard Martinak, Ernst Mally and F. Weber.

Meinong supervised the promotion of Ehrenfels (founder of « Gestalt » psychology) , as well as the habilitation of Höfler and Ölzelt junior.

### Anton Ölzelt junior

**Wednesday, 4 October 1876** (Emperor Franz-Josef's Name-Day) : Anton Ölzelt junior (1854-1925) picks-up Ernst Böck (2 listeners attending Anton Bruckner's Monday University lectures) to hear the afternoon organ recital at Klosterneuburg abbey church. (Böck was commissioned by Father Coloman Krieger.) Bruckner improvises on the « Siegfried » theme and the « Kaiserhymne » . On his way home, Ölzelt who was impressed by the virtuosity of Bruckner offers him one of his apartments at the « Hôtel de France » located on « Heßgasse » Number 7. Thus, Bruckner as a chance to leave his small apartment at the « Heinrichhof » .

Of all the Faculty of Philosophy students who come from abroad, only Ernst Böck is inscribed at Anton Bruckner's lectures.

University student Anton Ölzelt junior was inscribed at the 1879-1880 academic year (his 4th and 5th Semesters) but not with Anton Bruckner.

« Frau » Lisa Morscher, who is related to Ölzelt, is not mentioned by Theophil Antonicek.

**February 1877** : Letter from Anton Ölzelt junior (Leipzig) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

After his return from Leipzig in 3 weeks, Ölzelt will take care of his housing-affairs. He is confident that Bruckner will receive an inexpensive apartment at the « Hôtel de France » located on « Heßgasse » Number 7.

**Wednesday, 7 February 1877** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Anton Ölzelt junior (1854-1925) :

Since October 4th, 1876, Bruckner's veneration for Ölzelt is irrefutable. Based on what he understood from the last February letter, he does not have to look for another apartment for the time being, nor think of an interim solution (like temporarily moving at the Rothschild House) where space may be lacking for the existing furniture.

**Sunday, 10 June 1877** : Anton Bruckner stays in Klosterneuburg abbey, where he thankfully recalled his exchanges with Anton Ölzelt junior (1854-1925) (see : October 4, 1876 ; and February 7, 1877) .

**Monday, 11 June 1877** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Anton Ölzelt junior (1854-1925) :

Congratulations on Ölzelt's Name-Day (13 June) . Yesterday in Klosterneuburg, Bruckner had a good thought for his benefactor. He invites Ölzelt for next Sunday, at 11:00 am. Bruckner will then conduct his Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) and more, at the Vienna Court Chapel.

**Sunday, 17 June 1877** : Anton Bruckner conducts his Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) , the Motet « Locus iste » (**WAB 23**) and the « Ave Maria » (**WAB 6**) at the Vienna Court Chapel. Anton Ölzelt junior (1854-1925) was invited by Anton Bruckner for a visit.

...

The Professor of philosophy and private tutor Anton Ölzelt junior Ritter von Newin was born on 13 January 1854 in Vienna and died on 15 February 1925 in Vienna's 1st District, at « Schottengasse » Number 10. He was buried in the family mausoleum in the town of Mauer. He was the son of the famous Austrian architect Anton Ölzelt senior.

He studied Philosophy at the University of Vienna where he met Alexius Meinong, Christian von Ehrenfels, Alois Höfler, Adalbert Meingast and musicologist Guido Adler.

He became a student of Meinong at the University of Graz (Professor Meinong presided the Chair of Philosophy there and founded the « Graz School » of experimental psychology and object theory) .

Ölzelt junior owned a beautiful Villa in the Lower-Austrian village of Mauer (literally : « wall ») , on « Kirchengasse » Number 4 (Consignment Number 183) . In 1859, it was already a hunting-house with a garden.

A Jasper mine was located in Mauer during the Neolithic. The first official mention of the village dates from 1210. Wine production began during the Middle-Ages (some of the most famous wine-makers of Vienna and Austria are based there today). The Society of Jesus controlled the village from 1609 to 1773. In Biedermeier times, Mauer was a favourite summer relaxation location for the Viennese. The first mayor took office in 1850, and the village was promoted to the status of market-town in 1902. After Adolf Hitler annexed Austria (« Anschluß ») in 1938, Vienna was expanded greatly, and Mauer became a part of the big city (23rd District, Liesing).

In 1886, Ölzelt junior donated the Villa to the local church. It was converted into a community centre for the poor. He was appointed honorary citizen on 19 November 1886. On 7 December 1911, the private garden besides the house was bequeathed to the town. It was remodeled into a public park and was inaugurated on 2 September 1932. On 23 February 1937, the park was officially named : « Dr.-Anton-Ölzelt-Park ».

In 1913, the large house was transformed into a cinema. Because of its growing popularity, a gallery was added in 1923, which increased the seating to 373.

### Park-Kino Mauer

Das Haus Kirchengasse 4 (heute Geßgasse, Ecke Ölzeltgasse, Ölzeltpark) gab es bereits 1859 ; es wird in einer Kaufurkunde des Gemeinderats und Ehrenbürgers von Mauer, Doktor Anton Ölzelt Ritter von Newin erwähnt. 1911 ging der Besitz in das Eigentum der (damals noch selbständigen und nicht zu Wien gehörenden) Gemeinde Mauer über. Bevor 1913 das Gebäude als Kino adaptiert wurde, war es ein Jagd- und Gärtnerhaus.

Die Eröffnung des Kinos erfolgte 1913. Das Etablissement erfreute sich immer größerer Beliebtheit, 1923 wurde eine Galerie errichtet, das Platzangebot damit auf 373 Sitze erhöht.

1931 spielte man den letzten Stummfilm : « Wer wird denn weinen, wenn man auseinandergeht » mit Paul Hörbiger. In den 30er-Jahren diente das Kino auch als Veranstaltungsort für Vorträge der ortsansässigen Musikschule, Singschule und Klavierschule. Das Kinobuffet hatte auch tagsüber geöffnet und war besonders bei den Schülern der umliegenden Schulen beliebt.

Am 15. Juni 1940 brach während der Vorstellung von « Feuerteufel » (sic !) im Operateurraum des Park - Kinos ein Brand aus. Im Nu standen 2.800 Meter Film in Flammen (damals waren die Filme aus Celluloid, ein hochbrennbares Material). Die eiserne Brandschutz - Klappen vor den Projektionslöchern zum Zuschauerraum schloßen sich allerdings sofort, sodaß mit Ausnahme des Aufleuchtens einer Stichflamme vom Publikum kaum etwas bemerkt wurde. Die Kinobesucher konnten sich in aller Ruhe entfernen. Der Kinooperateur mußte sich allerdings mit einem Sprung vom Balkon in den Garten retten.

Ab 1945 war Mauer russische Besatzungszone, es wurden viele russische Originalfilme gespielt, vor allem Jugend-, Märchen-, und Tierfilme. In einem Programmheft ist vermerkt : « Der Saal ist geheizt ! » Damals offensichtlich keine Selbstverständlichkeit.

In den 50er-Jahren gab es « Hausfrauennachmittage » mit Maxi Böhm, Carl Hruschka, Fritz Heller, Heinz Conrads und vielen anderen Künstlern sowie den Sängerknaben vom Wienerwald. Diese Veranstaltungen waren die Vorläufer der heutigen Quiz-Shows. Die Moderatoren unterhielten die Zuschauer mit Gesang, zusätzlich gab es Preise zu gewinnen, wie zum Beispiel ein Paket Omo oder Persil, Anker und Knorrprodukte, Doktor König Backpulver und einiges mehr (in der damaligen schlechten Versorgungslage der Nachkriegszeit durchaus notwendige und nützliche Dinge) . Die Moderatoren waren renommierte Künstler die in Dreh- und Aufnahmepausen aus den nahe gelegenen Rosenhügel - Filmstudios hierher kamen.

In dieser Zeit herrschte noch strenges Jugendverbot, Eintritt in das Kino gab es erst ab 18 Jahren.

Die Filmserie « Don Camillo und Peppone » war so erfolgreich, daß jede Vorstellung ausverkauft war - es mußten sogar Stühle vom angrenzenden Park Café ausgeborgt werden.

Für Stammgäste gab es immer die gleichen Sitzplätze. Je nachdem wer früher kam, wurde die 2. Karte umgebogen (Reservierungsvermerk) , damit ein Pärchen beisammensitzen konnte.

Am Montag, dem 10. Jänner 1966 brach um circa 5 Uhr in der Früh im Kino ein Brand aus (das Feuer glöste angeblich schon während der letzten Vorstellung am Sonntag Abend) - es wurde total vernichtet.

Der Brand wurde von einem überhitzten Kamin ausgelöst, an dem ein Balken der Dachkonstruktion knapp vorbeiführte und sich daran entzündete. 15 Löschfahrzeuge der Feuerwehr waren ausgerückt und konnten noch die wertvollen Filmprojektoren retten. Während der Löscharbeiten brach die Saaldecke ein. Das Kino sollte zwar wieder aufgebaut werden, es kam aber nicht mehr dazu, da zu diesem Zeitpunkt das langsame Sterben der kleinen Kinos durch die immer größere Verbreitung der Fernseher bereits einsetzte.

An diesem Montagmorgen sollte das Kino mit Kohlen beliefert werden, der Kohlehändler wurde aber an der Kreuzung Langegasse-Geßlgasse von einem Wachmann aufgehalten und meinte : « die brauchen keine Kohlen mehr, das Kino ist abgebrannt » .

So ging nach 53 Jahren die Ära des Park Kinos zu Ende.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (End of June 1877)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

Franz Weber. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelschule des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

II. Jahrgang

Hans Rott, Christian Schröder. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Schule für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(13 Zöglinge.)

Moriz Eckstein, Paul Lorenz, Bela Mandl, Heinrich Salzmann, Friedrich Spigl, Franz Stiebitz, Julius Bernhard Stern, Franz Weber. »

« Schule für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(6 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang

Robert Fischhof, Benno Schönberger, Johann Schwegler.

II. Jahrgang

Benkö Heinrich.

Als Schüler, die in diesem Schuljahr im Fach Orgel absolvierten, sind Hans Rott und Christian Schröder verzeichnet. Beiden wurde das Diplom ausgehändigt. Rott wurde mit der Gesellschaftsmedaille ausgezeichnet.

Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1877-1878

Friday, 21 September 1877 :

Der Lehrplan (stand spätestens am 16. Juli 1877 fest (b)) lautet für Anton Bruckners Fächer :

« 6. Vorbildungsschule für Orgel.

Ein Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden für 4 Schüler.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner.

Vorkenntnisse : Fertigkeit im Klavierspiele, entsprechend dem absolvirten 2. Jahrgange der Vorbildungsschule für Klavier ; Kenntniß der allgemeinen Musiklehre.

Alter : 13 Jahre.

Jährliches Schulgeld 100 Florins.

Lehrstoff : Übung im Manual- und Pedalspiele nach Christian Heinrich Rincks Practische Orgelschule.

7. Ausbildungsschule für Orgel. 2 Jahrgänge mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden für 4 Schüler.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner.

Alter : 14 Jahre.

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins.

Lehrstoff für beide Jahrgänge : Höhere Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonaten, Konzerte ; Übung im Generalbaßspiele.  
»

...

« 2. Schule für Harmonielehre.

Ein Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 6 Stunden.

Herr Professor Franz Krenn, Herr Professor Anton Bruckner : Parallelclassen.

Vorkenntnisse : Allgemeine Musiklehre ; Klavierspiel entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe des 2. Jahrganges der Schulen für Klavier als Nebenfach. (B. 3)

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins (jedoch war für Gesang- und Instrumentalschüler Musiktheorie unentgeltlich) .



Lehrstoff : Intervalle und deren Umkehrungen, Accordlehre, Modulation. Harmonisierung gegebener Melodien, Erfindung im reinen 4stimmigen Satze (Choral) , Ausbildung der Melodie, freie Figuration. »

...

« 4. Schule für Kontrapunkt.

2 Jahrgänge.

1. Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 4 Stunden.

Herr Professor Franz Krenn, Herr Professor Anton Bruckner : Parallelclassen.

2. Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner.

Vorkenntnisse : Harmonielehre, entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe der Harmonielehre (C. 2) ; Klavierspiel, entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe des 3. Jahrganges der Schule für Klavier als Nebenfach. (B. 3)

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins.

Lehrstoff :

Im 1. Jahrgange : einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunkt der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

Im 2. Jahrgange : drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt, Fuge mit mehreren Subjecten, Canon. »

...

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper :

(Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.)

1) Ordentliche Lehrer.

(...)

5) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

...

Am Wiener Konservatorium unterrichtet Anton Bruckner folgende Schüler in Theorie :

Heinrich Eisner (« aus Ustron, 19 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Paul Janko (« Jankó Paul von, aus Totis, 21 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Carl Kehlendorfer (« 16 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Adolf Kmoch (« 14 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Ferdinand Löwe (« 14 Jahre ») (Kontrapunkt) ; Paul Lorenz (« aus Hradschin, 17 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Bela Mandl (« aus Zenta, 19 Jahre ») ; Heinrich Salzmann (« aus Temesvar, 22 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Josef Schalk (« 20 Jahre ») ; Richard Schultz (« 14 Jahre ») ; Franz Weber (« 20 Jahre ») (Harmonielehre) ; Hanns Winter (« aus Ebensee, 20 Jahre ») (Kontrapunkt) ; Josef Zschel (« 15 Jahre ») .

Als Orgelschüler sind Berthold Fröhlich (« aus Brünn, 25 Jahre ») ; Rudolf Krzyzanowski (« aus Eger, 19 Jahre ») ; Emil Langsfeld (« aus Pest, 16 Jahre ; Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre ») ; Fortunato Luzzatto (« aus Triest, 21 Jahre ; Orgel V. I. , Komposition II. ») ; Robert Schleicher (« aus Ritzingen, 23 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt ») ; Franz Weber (« aus Raab, 20 Jahre ; Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt ») überliefert.

...

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Mathilde von Kralik (« aus Linz, 19 Jahre ») ; Johann Kreuzinger (« aus Jägerndorf, 20 Jahre ») ; Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 15 Jahre ») ; Carl Lillich (« 16 Jahre ») ; Ferdinand Löwe (« 14 Jahre ») ; Rudolf (Raoul) Mader (« aus Preßburg, 21 Jahre ; Harmonielehre, Klavier III. , General der Musik ») ; Gustav Mahler (« aus Iglau, 17 Jahre ») ; Anton Meißner (« 15 Jahre ») ; Ludwig Oblat (« aus Totis, 16 Jahre ») ; Rosa Papier (« aus Baden, 19 Jahre ») ; Guido Peters (« aus Graz, 11 Jahre ») ; Hans Rott (« 19 Jahre ; Komposition ») ; Franz Schalk (« 14 Jahre ») ; Franz Schaumann (« aus Stockerau, 15 Jahre ») ; Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 12 Jahre ») ; Friedrich Spigl (« 18 Jahre ») ; Julius Bernhard Stern (« 20 Jahre ; Komposition ») ; Alfred Stroß (« 19 Jahre ; Komposition ») ; Franz Zottmann (« aus Hainburg, 19 Jahre ») .

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehören 3 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 1 halb und 5 nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 8 Schüler (davon 1 Stiffling) hörten Harmonielehre als Hauptfach und 7 Kontrapunkt (davon 1 halb, 1 ganz befreit) . Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 114 und Kontrapunkt von 27 Schülern besucht.

...

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 1 Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 1.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, 1 Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelschulen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 21.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 20.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400. »

...

August Göllerich junior (war weder am Wiener Konservatorium noch privat Anton Bruckners Schüler) besucht als einer der ersten Bruckner in seiner neuen Wohnung.

### Death of Johann Herbeck

Anton 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 3rd Symphony in the second Subscription Winter 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 3rd Symphony. 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.

Everything seemed to be falling apart for Bruckner !

### Vienna : Steam-rolling « at Gause »

**Sunday, 28 October 1877** : Anton Bruckner acted promptly. He rushed to the well-know Viennese restaurant « Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” » , located at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District, to meet the parliamentary of the « Reichstag » , August Göllerich « senior » . In his haste and clumsiness, the robust Upper-Austrian accidentally threw the man to the ground !

...

August Göllerich 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 ») Göllerich 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 Göllerich 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.

After the disastrous premiere of the 3rd Symphony, August Göllerich junior will dismiss any attempts made by Eduard Hanslick, Max Kalbeck, and Doctor Theodor Billroth to approach Bruckner's private Circle.

### **WAB 103 : The disastrous concert evening**

The rehearsals of the 3rd Symphony 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 - Thursday, 13 December 1877** : The performance of the 3rd Symphony is advertised in the Viennese Press and the « Linzer Volksblatt » .

...

**Sunday, 16 December 1877** : Vienna, « Musikverein GroÙer-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 Conservatory. It is also the 107th anniversary of birth of Ludwig van Beethoven.

The soloists are Jacob Maurice Grün (Concert-Master) and the Austrian Opera singer, « coloratura » soprano Clementine Edle von Schuch-Proska (born Procházka) .

Music-critics Johann Sigmund Hahn, Theodor Helm, Eduard Hanslick, Eduard Schelle, Franz Gehring, Josef Königstein, Ludwig Speidel, Eduard Kremser, Hans Wörz and Doctor Hans Kleser were present.

Also presumably in the hall : Gustav Schönaich, Johannes Brahms, August Göllerich junior and Hans Rott.

The Viennese audience essentially bought a ticket to be part of this special event. Most were suspicious about the fact

that Richard Wagner himself approved the 3rd Symphony and that Bruckner's admiration for the « Master » was « unlimited » and even exaggerated.

## 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 performed on 11 December.

Carl Heinrich Graun : Aria.

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

## *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 original (« unplayable ») 1873 score was later owned by Gustav Mahler. His widow Alma ensured she took it with her when fleeing the Nazi invasion of France, in 1940, for the United States. It will be published only in 1977 by Leopold Nowak.

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. 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 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. A dozen or so of individuals who stayed until the end were still laughing and heckling, shouting : « da capo » and « bis » .

A handful of dedicated hardcore supporters and faithful students of the Conservatory (around 25 in total) standing in the back of the « parterre » , including Josef Schalk, Eduard Kremser, the 17 year old Gustav Mahler and his fellow-student Rudolf Krzyżanowski rushed towards the « Master » , with tears and broken heart, unsuccessfully trying to cheer him up with some consoling words.

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

Bruckner shouted to them :

« Leave me alone, I want to get-out of here. The Viennese public don't want anything of mine. »

Moreover, General-Secretary « Herr » Professor Leopold Alexander Zellner prevented them from handing-over a laurel wreath to their « Master » !!!

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

At the same moment, the music-publisher Theodor Rättig (one of the few who stayed until the end) 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. Rättig was even willing to risk publishing the score in his catalogue, at his own expense (3,000 « Gulden ») . According to the biographer August Göllerich « junior » , Bruckner will receive (in 1885) a sum of 150 Guilders as royalties.

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

Most generous was the « Wiener Zeitung » , which only called the 3rd « 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 9th 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. »

To honour his Mentor, Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski prepared a piano reduction for 4 hands of the Symphony (supervised by his piano professor, Julius Epstein) . 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 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. »

Up to 1878, the various stories recorded may be assigned. Alma Mahler relates that when Mahler took Bruckner his reduction of the Symphony's first movement, « Bruckner was childishly pleased and said with a roguish smile : " Now, I shan't need the Schalks any more ! " »

The short-score finds a publisher in Rättig and, in appreciation of his efforts (as an arranger) , Bruckner presented to Mahler nothing less than the autograph of the 3rd Symphony's second version. Seeing him at lunch-time gnawing a roll with cheese rind, Mahler buys Bruckner a beer to wash it down. Mahler calls Bruckner his « father-in-learning » , overlooking his repeated disparagements of Jewishness. It is the price he has to pay for having a « Mentor » .

This edition of the Symphony, « one, of the first piano-duet arrangements of Bruckner's Symphonies » , was published in 1878 by Theodor Rättig (score, parts, piano excerpts for 4 hands, extract by Gustav Mahler and (4th movement) Rudolf Krzyżanowski) . It was Mahler's first publication.

But 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 Krzyżanowski - final clarification is required) .

Bruckner was so traumatised by the concert that he stopped composing for almost a year. He will make several

revisions of the 3rd, 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 3rd Symphony before popular pressure. The Schalks were desperate and jealous and, at Bruckner's behest (encouraged by 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 3rd 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 3rd Symphony. Bruckner may have discussed other works (including the 4th and 5th Symphonies, which he finished revising in 1878) with the young Mahler. Echoes of his music certainly found their way (along with much Wagner and some Brahms) into the one completed Symphony by Mahler's friend, Hans Rott. A work that, in turn, had extensive influence on the later Mahler. But it is safest to assume that the 3rd Symphony was the most likely source for such Brucknerian elements as are to be found in Mahler's Cantata.

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 3rd Symphony.

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

The 3rd Symphony in its more familiar 1889 version will be part of the 4th Subscription Sunday Concert by the « Philharmoniker » (conducted by Hans Richter) on **Sunday, December 21st, 1890**. Although this new « premiere » will greeted with « storms of applause » , the memory of the « débâcle » remained with Bruckner.

### Leopold Hofmeyer

Leopold Hofmeyer, who was to play an important role in Bruckner's life. Born in Steyr, in 1855, he had grown-up in the house of an instrument-maker. He regarded Bruckner, the composer and teacher, as the ultimate authority in all matters pertaining to music and he repeatedly sought his advice. Hofmeyer's most urgent need, at the time, was for a training in musical theory, as he was thinking of becoming a professional musician. At Bruckner's mention of the writings of Simon Sechter, he started-out by studying them on his own. Bruckner insisted on the importance of solid foundations, which would involve work with a « proficient instructor » ; he also counted on additional help from Arminger.

Putting aside any idea of continuing his idealistic strivings on a professional level, Leopold Hofmeyer elected to take-up a post as a civil servant in the record section of Steyr's municipal office. Yet, music remained important for him and

he regularly took part in amateur chamber music concerts and in diverse performances put on by Steyr's musical Societies. (It is most unfortunate that his compositions and / or sketches were destroyed after this death, on 17 March 1900.)

Hofmeyer soon won Bruckner's unqualified trust in musical matters ; occasionally, the composer even referred to him as his « secretary » . He was involved in the creation of the 8th Symphony from its conception. Nor was the intimate relationship exclusively confined to music. Social events and Bruckner's passion for home-made simple food were also involved, as can be seen from a reminiscence of Hofmeyer's daughter, Anna :

« As my father knew about Bruckner's partiality for stuffed veal breast (once, he made a tour of all the pubs in Steyr, inquiring of each waitress whether they had stuffed veal breast on the menu) , he repeatedly invited Bruckner to lunch. Mother, who was an excellent cook, then made his favourite dish. " Fleckerlspeis " (a gratin of small pasta squares and left-overs from the Sunday roast) was another favourite, so he was often invited to supper. »

### Moving to the « Hôtel de France »

**Thursday, 15 November 1877** : Celebration of the death of Johann Herbeck in the Great-Hall of the « Musikverein » .

On the programme : a Prelude for organ by Leopold Alexander Zellner ; a poem by Josef Lewinsky ; and Mozart's « Requiem » conducted by Josef Hellmesberger senior.

The soloists : Mrs. Marie Wilt (soprano) , « Hofoper » singer Miss Ernestine Gindele (Alto) , Gustav Walter (tenor) , Hans von Rokitansky (bass) , accompanied by the Vienna « Singverein » .

Hugo Wolf, Adalbert von Goldschmidt, Felix Mottl and Gustav Schönaich are in the audience.

Anton Bruckner gives up his cramped rooms at the « Heinrichhof » (« Opernring » Number 3) and moves on « Heßgasse » Number 7. Bruckner lived there until the summer of 1895. During this period, he composed some of his most famous pieces of music.

The « Hôtel de France » is an elegant 5 Star hotel in the very centre of Vienna on the famous « Ringstraße » , within walking distance of St. Stephen's Cathedral, the Hofburg, the Spanish Riding School, the « Hofoper » , the business and banking district.

This « Gründerzeitstil » building was designed on the « Schottenring » in 1872 by 2 architects, Franz Fröhlich and Anton Ölzelt senior (1817-1875) . The following year, a World Exhibition took place in Vienna. Therefore, the hotel which was part of a larger real estate complex was named « de France » , to promote international flair which was considered very elegant and chic at that time.

The owner was initially the « Wiener Lombard- und Escompte-Bank » , founded in 1873, which opened its first branch

on the ground-floor of the hotel.

During the Second World War, the « Hôtel de France » became an army-hospital. After the end of the War, the allied-forces occupied Vienna and divided it into 4 zones. The « Hôtel de France », which was situated in the French sector, was their head-quarter until October 1955.

### Inspiration and food

The security, Anton Bruckner bought at a high-price ; he lectured twice a week at the University, taught 16 hours a week at the Conservatory, and gave 12 private lessons a week. Since « week-ends » were unknown in Germany and Austria, his work amounted to 5 hours a day. It is an enormous load, even for a teacher whose imagination is not so full of ideas as Anton Bruckner's soaring musical mind must have been. All his lamentations about poor salaries, lack of recognition, and jealousy on the part of his colleagues do not move me so much as the idea of those 30 hours of teaching spent every week by an artist whose mental and physical powers should have been saved for creative work. Nothing interferes with a musician's creative abilities more than concern with music other than his own. He does not need to sit at a desk or at a piano to work ; his ideas may take shape while he is taking a walk or enjoying a bit of recreation or pursuing a hobby.

Bruckner once said, when he was asked how a certain beautiful melody had come to him :

« It came by itself while I was eating my favourite dish. »

There is no doubt about it, the composer's worst foe is giving music lessons.

### Bruckner's workload

In the « Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1877 », entries illustrate the extent of Anton Bruckner's physical and mental work-load. He notes no less than 28 lessons University, Conservatory, and private students. Added to this, were the services in the « Hofkapelle », totaling about 40 working hours per week. Reports of his nervousness and impatience when teaching are, therefore, not surprising.

Private and professional matters, everyday joys and financial difficulties, triumphs and aggravations, everything is side by side. For example, there are notes on attendance at balls (with the names of dancing partners) immediately adjacent to entries about pupils' debts. Migraine attacks, which seem to have been very frequent at this time, are noted alongside household bills.

### Bruckner's health

Anton Bruckner bears the faithful image of the bold Upper-Austrian of peasant origin. Strong on his legs, which are well-anchored to the ground, his health is rather satisfactory. Modest and shy, he is not used to complaining. Physical activity does not really interest him (although he enjoyed swimming) . He is logical, methodical, and foresightful. He is

totally involved in his work but demonstrates morbid insecurity when it comes to his sentimental life. He perfectly sublimates this failure in the act of composing.

In spite of this apparent physical resistance, he sometimes decompensated, both physically and morally, which resulted in frequent chills and several depressive periods. Food and beer represented a precious refuge when it was time to deal with the daily frustrations.

He ate and drank more than necessary, causing overweight and metabolic disorders.

While his public reputation gained from day to day in prestige, his health, unfortunately, deteriorated seriously.

In fact, Bruckner felt the first symptoms of a poor health condition, which was never to leave :

Fatigue, ailments, sore throat, colds and, above all, an aggravation of his depressive tendencies from which he had never been completely free.

Main health problems that he will encounter during his life :

Frequent chills related to flu, sore throats, laryngitis, and panaris.

Obesity due to an overly rich diet and an alcoholic tendency.

Metabolic disorders : colitis, gastralgias.

Neurotic periods.

Depressive periods.

Migraines.

Edema of the lower limbs, pulmonary edema, pneumonia, pleurisy.

### Bruckner's hearing impairment

Anton Bruckner had a nevus at the earlobe sitting under the zygomatic arch : an expression of the hearing impairment. As probably all great composers, Bruckner has achieved the extraordinarily artistic height by over-coming his deafness.

### Bruckner's migraines

**Monday, 5 March 1877** : The first performance of Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » , in Vienna, took place in the presence of Emperor Franz-Josef, but with many deleted passages which made the Opera difficult to understand.

**Sunday, 11 March 1877** : Anton Bruckner attended the third performance of « Die Walküre » . He marked the event in his pocket calendar :

« Sunday 11 March, migraine during the whole day and during “ Walküre ”. »

(« Sonntag 11. März, Migräne ganzer Tag und “ Walküre ”. »)

**Monday, 12 March 1877** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Monday 12th, first painful migraine at the end of the day at the University. »

« 1. (Migräne-) Nachweh Montag 12. Schluß Universität. »

**Tuesday, 13 March 1877** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Tuesday morning, second painful migraine at the Conservatory. »

« Tuesday evening, third migraine after hours “ at Gause ”. »

(« 2. Migräne- Nachweh Dienstag Vormittag Konservatorium. » - « 3. Nachweh Dienstag Abends “ Gause ”. »)

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 1st District.

**Friday, 29 June 1877** : Pocket calendar entry of Anton Bruckner (beginning of a migraine attack) :

« June 29th, migraine in the evening : first warning - full back-pain already and moving.

(« Migräne Abends den 29. Juni : I. Vorboten - rückwärts schon voll und bei Bewegung Schmerz. » - « 29. Juni - erstes Fühlen. »)

**21-22-23 October 1879 (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday)** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Tuesday, 21st : headache (migraine) until the evening. Wednesday, 22nd : first in the evening then at night. Headache lasts until the 23rd in the morning. »

(« Dienstag den 21. Kopfschmerzen (Migräne) bis Abends. Mittwoch 22. Abends und Nachts I. Nachkopfschmerz (dauert

bis zum Morgen des 23.) . »)

**Saturday, 21 February 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner (in April 1880) :

« Migraine in the morning ... »

**Wednesday, 28 April 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Migraine from morning of April 28th to morning of the 29th. »

(« Migräne Morgens 28. April bis Morgens 29. »)

**23-24 July 1880 (Friday, Saturday)** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Migraine, Friday evening July 23 to Saturday evening. »

(« Migräne Freitag Abends 23. Juli bis Samstag Abends. »)

**Monday, 26 July 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

July 26 (date underlined) , weather observation, painful migraine 8 times during the day. (Rudolf Pichler)

(Wetterbeobachtung, Migräne-Nachweh und « 8. Mal 26. Juli. » (Rudolf Pichler) , Datum unterstrichen.)

**Thursday, 30 September 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Migraine from Thursday morning September 30th to Friday morning 10:00 am. »

« Migräne 30. September (Donnerstag) Morgens bis Freitag 10 Uhr Morgens. »

**Friday, 1 October 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Migraine until Friday 10:00 am in the morning. Another one at 3 o'clock in the afternoon until the evening. »

« (Migräne ...) bis Freitag 10 Uhr Morgens. Nachweh l. um 3 Uhr Nachmittag bis Abends. »

**From Saturday, 2 to Monday, 4 October 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Second painful migraine starting late Friday night until the next morning. And so on until Monday morning. »

« II. (Migräne-Nachweh von Freitag) Nachts bis Morgens - so fort bis Morgens 4. Oktober. »)

### Young men and « Eros matutinus »

According to Stefan Zweig, earlier European societies, where religion (i.e., Christianity) had a central role, condemned sexual impulses as work of the devil. The late-19th Century had abandoned the devil as an explanation of sexuality; hence, it lacked a language able to describe and condemn sexual impulses. Sexuality was left unmentioned and unmentionable, though it continued to exist in a parallel world that could not be described, mostly prostitution. The fashion at the time contributed to this peculiar oppression by denying the female body and constraining it within corsets.

We should not forget what the awakening of « Eros matutinus » meant for a young man of Gustav Mahler's generation. A good 20 years his junior, Stefan Zweig left a vivid and (in the circumstances) extremely outspoken account of this in his reminiscences. In Hugo Wolf, Hans Rott and Anton Krisper, Mahler now had no fewer than 3 deterrent examples of the dangers of venereal disease among his own immediate circle of friends. Fear of such diseases was so great that uninhibited contact with the opposite-sex was impossible outside marriage. Sex with a prostitute was accompanied by the constant fear of infection. As Zweig points-out, there was a notice on the door of every 6th or 7th house in Vienna that read « Specialist for Skin and Venereal Diseases ». Those infected had to undergo painful courses of treatment with little prospect of recovery. For weeks on end, their entire body was rubbed with mercury, with the inevitable side-effect that their hair and teeth fell-out, and yet, not even this could guarantee a complete cure: the insidious disease could break-out again at any time and lead to a « softening of the brain », as was the case with Rott and Krisper and probably also with Wolf. It was, by no means, unusual for young men diagnosed with syphilis to take their own lives. Zweig reports that he could not recall a single comrade of his youth who, at one time or another, did not come to him « with pale and troubled mien, one because he was ill or feared illness, another because he was being black-mailed because of an abortion, a third because he lacked the money to be cured without the knowledge of his family, the 4th because he did not know how to pay hush money to a waitress who claimed to have had a child by him, the 5th because his wallet had been stolen in a brothel and he did not dare go to the police ». Arthur Schnitzler says much the same in his early autobiography, while the « problem » is even more clearly spelt-out in his diaries. (He, too, had a friend Richard Tausenau - whose health was being undermined by syphilis.)

It is easy to imagine what all this must have meant for a young man like Mahler, even if he did not share Schnitzler's erotomania. Unlike Schnitzler, who repeatedly indulged his priapic desires in countless fleeting affairs with waitresses, seamstresses, ladies of more or less ill repute and married women and who was evidently extremely fortunate in never becoming infected, Mahler equally evidently pursued a very different course. Even if Alma was later to give the impression that it was she who roused him to manhood (or, perhaps, this was the impression that Mahler himself wanted her to give), this was not in fact the case. Conversely, there is no doubt that, as a young man, he was exceptionally reserved in the matter of sex. The reasons for this must be sought not only in his fear of infection but also in his feelings of world-weariness, in a scepticism unusual in one so young and in a seriousness of purpose that extended beyond mere morality and embraced his whole philosophy in life. Richard Wagner's character of Parsifal



preached not only respect for animals but also sexual abstinence, sex being regarded as sinful. And like Parsifal, Mahler will have felt obliged to keep his distance from many a seductive Flower-maiden, to say nothing of women like Kundry, a corrupter of morals whom Parsifal rejected just as surely as Mahler would have done - only in the case of Anna von Mildenburg did Mahler fail to emulate Parsifal.

### Mahler : « Art, love, religion »

Gustav Mahler had exclaimed in 1879 to Joseph Steiner that « art, love, religion » were all that was most sacred to him. Art and religious feeling inevitably fed upon his youthful love-life, which was intimately bound-up with his earliest significant compositions. Here, the mediation between private and public realms demonstrated revealing tensions and contradictions that require judicious interpretation. Were his works, in the language soon to be developed by Sigmund Freud, « sublimations » of unfulfilled sexual desire or cryptically polite allusions to secret passion ? Life and art merged here in a very particular way ; the life is essentially no more easy to « read » from surviving letters, gossip and anecdotes than the art. Was Mahler really as inexperienced in sexual matters as he would claim, at the age of 40, in the course of his affair with Alma Schindler ? The modern consensus is that he cannot have been. Biographers like Egon Gartenberg and de Henry-Louis de La Grange take their cue from Stefan Zweig, who makes it clear that public prudery in Vienna, at least for young men, was matched by private licence in the company of the prostitutes or lower-class girls who seemed to smile obligingly from any number of back-street windows in that city of easy pleasures.

By his 30's, Mahler had acquired a reputation as something of a womanizer, although some stories reinforce the suspicion that he might have been rather the reverse, and that intense, unconsciously homo-erotic relationships with close male-friends like Anton Krisper were complemented by equally intense idealizing friendships with women. Mahler may have been prone to forming « elective affinities » that tended towards yet failed quite to reach direct sexual expression. He also had a pronounced puritanical streak.

Alma Mahler relates the story of his having lectured a singer in Laibach on the subject of her « loose morals » :

« Whereupon she swung herself on to the piano and slapping her thighs informed him that the purity of his own morals aroused her utter-contempt. »

It is not improbable that Mahler might, had he visited prostitutes in the company of Hugo Wolf or one of his other student acquaintances, have behaved like Arthur Schnitzler's friend Adolf, « who after bestowing his favours on such a lady would follow it up by reproaching her, with unctuous lectures, for her profligate way of life » .

It is both difficult and dangerous to come to any dogmatic conclusion about Mahler's youthful sexual experiences. Their traces are comprehensively covered by the public manner of the gallantly idealistic, easily hurt Romantic Lover that we encounter in letters to, about and from the women in his life - as in the poetry and music that attended all the relevant hopes and disappointments. In 1879-1880, it had been Josephine, daughter of I. Poisl, the post-Master in Iglau. Mahler appears to have started writing about her to Anton Krisper in September 1879 (« A new name is now inscribed in my heart alongside yours ... ») , but, by Easter the following year, he was writing directly to his «

passionately beloved » Josephine :

« Just at a time when I am closer than ever to the goal of my desires when that which we (oh, would I could say - “ we ” both) so ardently longed for, would soon be fulfilled. »

In contrast to Hugo Wolf, Gustav Mahler, and many of his self-educated students, Anton Bruckner had no interest in European literature and philosophy. Heated debates about Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche left him cold. Some of his students drew the conclusion that he « had hardly any intellectual needs » - a totally misleading and incorrect claim which was hopelessly confused with a « lack of intelligence » .

### Hugo Wolf's « fatal wound »

Hugo Wolf's musical gift and his charm earned him attention and patronage as soon as he was introduced to Vienna society as a very young man.

Wolf was already known in other cultured circles, notably that of the composer and pianist Adalbert von Goldschmidt (which included music-critics Gustav Schönaich and Hans Paumgartner, and conductor Felix Mottl) . They adopted the young Wolf, took him to concerts and Operas, lent him books, music and money. But this fostering may also have proved fatal ...

According to Alma Mahler (her « Memoirs » being not always a reliable source) , Wolf had been infected during a visit to the brothel (a customary Viennese initiation) when he was 17. One of his rich bourgeois friends, pianist Adalbert von Goldschmidt, aged 29, gave him as a gift his « honorarium » for an evening :

« Hugo Wolf as a very young man was taken by Goldschmidt into the so-called “ Lehmgrube ” (brothel) , where Goldschmidt played dance-music for which he was often “ awarded ” with a young woman without charge. He presented this “ honorarium ” once to his friend Wolf, and Wolf took away with him “ the wound that will never heal ”. »

Since Friedrich Eckstein gave the same information in 1937 (before Alma Mahler's book was published) , dating the incident as 1877, there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of Alma Mahler's account. Eckstein further volunteered the information that Wolf was treated that year both by the well-known Vienna neuro-psychiatrist Doctor Josef Breuer (whose children were taking piano lessons from Wolf at this time) and by Breuer's friend and collaborator, Sigmund Freud.

From then on, Wolf often went into depression and was unable to compose.

Some Wolf's musicologists trace the agonized tone of his first important works, the songs of 1877-1878, to his infection. Ernest Newman felt that the « supreme Master of form in music » was not Beethoven or Wagner, but Hugo Wolf. Perhaps, this admiration is why Newman's 1906 biography of Wolf tells a story of progressive paralysis and

brain-disease, without mentioning the word that he knew applied to Wolf's condition : syphilis. Information on the progress of his disease is scarce, for, by social custom, syphilis was a taboo. They did not speak or write about it, partly also out of consideration for the composer.

As members of the Gabillon and Breuer families later recalled, Wolf began to avoid their dinner tables and their company - eating without cutlery (only with his hands) such food as could be conveyed directly to the mouth - bread, cheese, fruits. He also refused to travel in the same railway carriage as his hosts. Such conduct then seemed merely eccentric or boorish ; Breuer later came to believe that it was founded on medical advice (potential risks of infection) and consideration for others.

Even before the outbreak of the mental disease, Wolf was known to change mood rather often : after a bout of depression, when he would not write a single note for days, he suddenly became hyper-active, also in composing, lacking self-criticism, ungrateful towards friends, aggressive (he would kill birds if their singing « disturbed his peace ») , all due to, as he would claim, his demonic nature. His pre-psychotic behaviour was compared with the course of disease of Robert Schumann, the ingenious Romantic poet of the piano.

Schumann and Wolf may well have been suspicious about the nature of the primary infection - the medical knowledge of contemporary physicians was good enough to indicate to their patients the possible serious consequences of their sexual adventures. Hence, it may well have been more than the « typical » anxiety of the period that both Schumann and Wolf expressed their fear of becoming mad. In addition, they were very well-aware of the fates of their famous « co-patients » . Ironically, in a megalomaniac delusion, Wolf expressed his ambitions to cure Friedrich Nietzsche and was convinced that he was the director of his asylum, in Vienna. Schumann and Wolf must have had in mind the horrible vision of ending in an asylum ; they were by all accounts well-aware of the shortness of their remaining productive time. By all means, this alone, would have justified an intense concentration and condensation of their respective productive periods.

The less obvious role of their illness lies in the potential catalytic effect of the disease with respect to creativity. This is, by far, the more difficult question to answer. Several authors have speculated about the nature of the very wide mood swings and have proposed the diagnosis of bi-polar affective disorder in both composers to explain the marked mood swings and also fitting with periods of feverish creativity.

Aggressive behaviour was present by Schumann and Wolf, as well as focal seizures. Generalized seizures were also reported during their final days, along with pneumonia as the terminal illness. Already some time before marked « cachexia » was noted, incontinence was documented. Dysarthria was a very important and marked symptom in both composers, and pupillary abnormalities were observed by medical doctors before the onset of general paresis in Wolf's case and in Schumann's record from Eendenich sanatorium.

Both composer's writing ability deteriorated. Wolf's hand-writing became unintelligible from 1899 on. A late-document of his signature, from 1899, shows significantly disabled hand-writing. Robert Schumann, in contrast, could write quite well until 1 year before he died. His last letter to Clara shows clear hand-writing with only minor semantic errors.

Regarding the creative output, both composers did not manage to compose new « œuvres » .

Syphilis alone is definitely not a sufficient diagnosis to explain all of the remarkable extremes in creative output in Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann and Hugo Wolf. Whatever Schubert died of, it did not affect his genius. In clear contrast, in both Schumann and Wolf, neuro-syphilis was the due cause of the final termination in artistic output. Hence, we can only speculate about the possible link between neuro-syphilis and creativity through the severe organic disturbance of the neuronal networks including the limbic brain with its direct links to motivation. Likewise, a disease-mediated disinhibition of the frontal sub-cortical circuits might interfere with creativity.

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Syphilis was perceived to be a consequence of immoral, improper, or promiscuous sexuality, the diagnosis resulting in severe social stigmatization. This fact most probably has led to many historical medical analyses being incomplete or misleading. The diagnosis of syphilis in these geniuses is still today not unanimously accepted by experts in the field of musical and medical history. Naturally, syphilis in Robert Schumann and Hugo Wolf cannot be confirmed retrospectively using modern diagnostic tools. Today, however, in large part made possible by the publication of Robert Schumann's medical records and the striking similarities with Hugo Wolf's case, we postulate that the diagnosis of syphilis in both composers can be made with reasonable certainty. Characteristically, in both Robert Schumann and Hugo Wolf euphoric surges of creative energy, associated with emotional highs, produced clusters of productivity resulting in quite phenomenal series of song composition. At the same time, Schumann and Wolf shared a lifelong fear of « becoming mad » .

...

The exact origin of syphilis is disputed. Syphilis was definitely present in the Americas before European contact, and it may have been carried from the Americas to Europe by the returning crewmen from Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Americas ; or it may have existed in Europe previously, but went unrecognized until shortly after Columbus returned. These are referred to as the Columbian and pre-Columbian hypotheses, respectively.

The Columbian hypothesis is best supported by the available evidence. The first written records of an outbreak of syphilis in Europe occurred in 1494 or 1495, in Naples, Italy, during a French invasion (Italian War of 1494-1498) . As it was claimed to have been spread by French troops, it was initially known as the « French disease » by the people of Naples. In 1530, the pastoral name « syphilis » (the name of a character) was first used by the Italian physician and poet Girolamo Fracastoro as the title of his Latin poem in dactylic hexameter describing the ravages of the disease in Italy. It was also known historically as the « Great Pox » .

The earliest known depiction of an individual with syphilis is Albrecht Dürer's « Syphilitic Man » , a wood-cut believed to represent a « Landsknecht » , a Northern European mercenary. The myth of the « femme fatale » (« poison women ») of the 19th Century is believed to be partly derived from the devastation of syphilis, with Classic examples in literature including John Keats' « La Belle Dame sans Merci » .

The artist Jan van der Straet painted a scene of a wealthy man receiving treatment for syphilis with the tropical wood « guaiacum » sometime around 1580. The title of the work is « Preparation and Use of Guayaco for Treating Syphilis ». That the artist chose to include this image in a series of works celebrating the New World indicates how important a treatment, however ineffective, for syphilis was to the European « élite » at that time. The richly coloured and detailed work depicts 4 servants preparing the concoction while a physician looks on, hiding something behind his back while the hapless patient drinks.

In the pre-antibiotic era, syphilis was an extremely common disease. During the 18th and the 19th Centuries, many artists became victims of the disease-menace, among them poets, painters, composers and philosophers. Many famous historical figures, including Franz Schubert, Arthur Schopenhauer, Édouard Manet, Charles Baudelaire, and Guy de Maupassant are believed to have had the disease. Gustave Flaubert found it universal among 19th Century Egyptian prostitutes. Friedrich Nietzsche was long believed to have gone mad as a result of tertiary syphilis, but that diagnosis has recently come into question.

In our days, neuro-syphilis is observed in 5 to 10 % of untreated patients and may occur at any stage of the disease. Psychiatric symptomatology is the most common clinical manifestation but radiologic differential diagnosis is not easy. In neuro-syphilis medium and small vessels are usually involved and in cases of invasion of the central nervous system, the most frequently involved arteries are the middle cerebral and branches of the basilar artery. Neuro-syphilis has been the cause of the 7 syphilitic Classical composers' loss of cognitive functioning and change in personality, dysarthria and tremor, loss of vibratory sense, impotence, paralysis, blindness and deafness. However, in spite of the severe neurological and psychological disorders, the creativity and the continued efforts for finishing their musical compositions never stopped. Even, towards the end of their lives, some of them into insane asylums or paralyzed or blind or deaf, they found a lucid interval to show their music genius and said their farewell with works reflecting their feelings and fears before death.

Mercury poisoning was another source of severe side-effects that tortured the syphilis sufferers. The only recommended remedy of the era was mercury, either orally, in vapour baths or topically, and, no later than 1910, Paul Erlich's chemo-therapeutic (« Salvarsan ») , was the first effective therapy against syphilis before penicillin was introduced. Headaches, nausea, loss of hair and teeth are attributed to the intoxication of a heavy metal such as mercury, and it seems probable that some drugs and medications might have affected the productivity and the creativity of the artists.

All the late works of the suffering from syphilis composers were created under the menace of definite loss of sense or during painful and uncomforted circumstances allow a unique view on music physiology. Syphilis has been a great stigmatization in the times of the great Classical composers of the 19th Century, and this stigma included the whole family. All the composers tried to hide the disease while in life, while the latter tried to keep the shameful secret, aftermath destructing sources (letters to close friends, personal diaries) , medical documents, and, in cases of autopsy, changing the findings, therefore, resulting to a general and indefinite diagnosis - i.e. , dementia or inventing imaginative illnesses such as the typhus of Franz Schubert, greatly disputed by historians. Syphilis was often the presumed etiology of progressive cognitive dysfunction in a young person.

Depression, anxiety, bi-polar disorders, despair intense maniac phases were common and during the latter, visual and auditory hallucinations, visions and paranoid ideas tortured the composers and influenced their musical scores. Tinnitus, hearing loss and « sounds » confused the harmony and punctuality of the compositions, although these experiences were often transformed to intense creations enriched with powerful sentiments. All these Classical composers gained the immortality they deserved by their divine music, still capable to inspire modern audiences.

Neuro-Syphilis has 4 different forms : asymptomatic, meningo-vascular, tabes dorsalis, and general paresis. In rare instances, active neuro-syphilis can mimic Alzheimer's disease.

Symptoms of neuro-syphilis include, but are not limited to the following :

Abnormal gait.

Blindness.

Confusion, disorientation.

Sudden personality changes.

Changes in mental stability.

Dementia.

Depression.

Headache.

Fecal and urinary incontinence.

Irritability.

Memory problems.

Mood disturbances.

Numbness in the toes, feet, or legs.

Poor concentration.

Psychosis.

Seizures.

Neck stiffness.

Tremors.

Visual disturbances. There may be the sign of Argyll Robertson pupils, which are bilateral small pupils that constrict when the patient focuses on a near object but do not constrict when exposed to bright light.

Muscle weakness.

Upon further diagnostic work-up, the following signs may be present :

Abnormal reflexes.

Muscle atrophy.

Muscle contractions.

### Adalbert von Goldschmidt

The Austrian composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt was born on 5 May 1848 in Vienna, and died on 21 December 1906 in Vienna - at the sanatorium located on « Raschgasse » Number 6, in the 13th District. He is buried at the Döblinger Cemetery.

His grand-nephew was the conductor Nicholas Goldschmidt.

Adalbert Goldschmidt lived on « Wohllebengasse » Number 17, in the 4th District. His « salon », located at « Opernring » Number 6 in the 1st District, was an important centre for Viennese musical life. Goldschmidt introduced the young Hugo Wolf to his circle, after his release from the Vienna Conservatory in 1877.

Initially, Goldschmidt, like his father, worked as a clerk for the Rothschild banking house in Vienna, but he abandoned his position to study composition with Friedrich Adolf Wolf. Possible (?) music studies at the Vienna Conservatory. Influenced by Richard Wagner, he combined the forms of the Oratorio and the Opera in his compositions. He first drew wide acclaim for his Cantata « Die sieben Todsünden » (The 7 Deadly Sins) dedicated to Franz Liszt (composed from 1873 to 1875, on texts by Robert Hamerling drafted by the composer) which was created in Berlin in 1876. The Vienna premiere was less successful ; the work earned Eduard Hanslick's disapproval as being imitative of Wagner. It was also performed in Paris. In 1880, Goldschmidt transcribed parts of the Cantata for his « Fantasie » piano piece.

Goldschmidt also created a trilogy of Operas which were written in a more personal style :

« Helianthus » (composed in 1883-1884 on texts by the composer) was premiered successfully in Leipzig in 1884.

« Gaea » , a satiric Operetta composed from 1888 to 1892.

« Die Fromme Helene » (based on a libretto by Wilhelm Busch) composed in 1897.

Thereafter, Goldschmidt wrote a dramatic tone-poem, a Symphonic-poem, around 100 songs, chamber music and solo piano works.

### Doctor Albert Neisser

The German physician, dermatologist, microbiologist and venereologist Albert (Ludwig Sigismund) Neisser was born on 22 January 1855 in the Silesian town of Schweidnitz (now, Świdnica in Poland) ; and died on 30 July 1916 in Breslau (now, Wrocław in Poland) . The son of a well-known Jewish physician, Doctor Moritz Neisser. Friend of Gustav Mahler, he discovered the causative agent (pathogen) of gonorrhoea, a strain of bacteria that was named in his honour (« *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* ») .

After he completed the elementary school in Münsterberg, Neisser inscribed in the St. Maria Magdalena School in Breslau. In this school, he was a contemporary of another great name in the history of medicine, Paul Ehrlich. He obtained the « Abitur » in 1872.

Neisser began to study medicine at the University of Breslau, but later moved to Erlangen, completing his studies in 1877. Initially, Neisser wanted to be an internist, but did not find a suitable place. However, he found work as an assistant of the dermatologist Oskar Simon (1845-1892) , concentrating on sexually transmitted diseases and leprosy. During the following 2 years, he studied and obtained experimental evidence about the pathogen for gonorrhoea, « *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* » .

Neisser was also the co-discoverer of the causative agent of leprosy. In 1879, the Norwegian physician Gerhard Armauer Hansen gave to young Neisser (who had visited him in Norway to examine some 100 leprosy patients) some tissue samples of his patients. Neisser successfully stained the bacteria and announced his findings in 1880, claiming to have discovered the pathogenesis of leprosy. There was some conflict between Neisser and Hansen, because Hansen had failed to culture the organism and demonstrate unequivocally its link to leprosy, although he had observed the bacterium since 1872.

In 1882, Neisser was appointed professor « extraordinarius » by the University at the age of 29, and worked as a dermatologist in the University hospital of Breslau. Later, he was promoted to the director of the hospital. In the following year, he married Toni Neisser, « née » Kauffmann.

In 1898, Albert Neisser published clinical trials on serum therapy in patients with syphilis. He injected cell-free serum from patients with syphilis into patients who were admitted for other medical conditions. Most of these patients were



prostitutes, who were neither informed about the experiment nor asked for their consent. When some of them contracted syphilis, Neisser argued that the women did not contract syphilis as a result of his serum injections but contracted the disease because they worked as prostitutes.

In 1905 and 1906, Neisser travelled to Java, in order to study the possible transmission of syphilis from apes to humans. He later cooperated with August Paul von Wassermann (1866-1925) to develop the famous diagnostic test for detecting « *Treponema pallidum* » infections, and also, in the testing of the first chemo-therapeutic agent for syphilis, « Salvarsan », which was discovered by his former school fellow Paul Ehrlich in 1910. In 1907, Neisser was promoted to professor « ordinarius » of dermatology and sexually-transmitted diseases at Breslau.

As a scientific leader, Neisser was also very active. In the field of public health, he promoted vigorously preventive and educational measures to the public, and the better sanitary control of prostitutes, in order to combat venereal diseases. He was one of the founder of the « Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten » (German Society for the Fight Against Venereal Diseases) in 1902, and of the « Deutsche Dermatologische Gesellschaft » (German Dermatological Society) in 1888. Neisser died of septicemia on 30 July 1916, at the age of 61 years, in Breslau.

Neisser and his wife Toni were art-lovers and patrons. The Villa Neisser was richly endowed with art-treasures and cultural centre of the city of Wrocław. For friends of the couple included the architect Hans Poelzig, the sculptor Theodor von Gosen, the composer Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauß, the writer and Nobel Prize laureate Gerhart Hauptmann and the painter Eugen Spiro. In the villa were numerous works of art, by artist Fritz and Erich Erlen, among them the portraits of the couple Toni and Albert Neisser and famous guests of the villa. The collection also included paintings by Giovanni Segantini (« Lunch time in the Alps »), Arnold Böcklin (triptych « Venus Genetrix »), Oswald Achenbach, Hans Thoma, Frijts Thaulow, Eugen Spiro, and artworks by Constantin Meunier, Franz Stuck, Ignatius Taschner and Theodor von Goshen.

**Albert Neisser tried to save prostitutes from sexually transmitted diseases, but started a scandal instead**

Today, we take for granted the rules that govern medical experimentation. Yet, men of medicine from days gone by were governed by their own consciences rather than legal standards. So, sadly, the past is rife with atrocities, as in the case of Albert Neisser, would-be saviour of prostitutes turned purveyor of misery. The 19th Century physician totally devoted to sexually transmitted diseases and public health initiatives sure had a funny way of showing it.

Albert (Ludwig Sigismund) Neisser was born in Schweidnitz, Germany in 1855. His father, Moritz, was a beloved local physician and young Albert grew-up sharing his father's passion for helping others, perhaps, because his mother died when he was an infant. Albert entered medical school graduating in 1877. Afterwards, he found a job under the well-known physician Oskar Simon at a dermatological clinic in Breslau. It was while studying skin complications of gonorrhoea, leprosy and syphilis that Neisser's lifelong interest in sexually transmitted diseases was formed.

Neisser was an outstanding doctor from the start. In 1879, he made the discovery for which he would become famous - the bacterium responsible for gonorrhoea. For his efforts, the 21 year old received the dubious distinction of having

the bug named after him and so « *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* » was born.

Not content to rest on his laurels, Neisser turned his attention to leprosy, travelling to Norway and Spain in the early 1880's to study with some of the first bacteriologists of the time. One of them was Gerhard Hendrik Armauer Hansen, the eminent Norwegian physician. Leprosy (aka : Hansen's Disease) might just as easily have been named for Neisser, since he was the first to provide conclusive proof that the bacillus first identified by Hansen in 1873 and known as « *Mycobacterium leprae* » was, indeed, responsible for causing the devastating illness. Neisser published his findings in 1880, bickered with Hansen about credit for the discovery, and then, moved back home.

Back in Germany, Neisser's reputation had grown and, within a few years, he was awarded an assistant professorship at Breslau University. He was soon in charge of its dermatology clinic, eventually becoming director of the entire hospital. After a brief dalliance with research on lupus, Neisser turned his attention to syphilis - the sinister sexually transmitted disease responsible for so much insanity, disfigurement and death during the 19th Century.

Since the beginning of recorded medical history, syphilis was a plague affecting people world-wide, virtually exploding throughout Europe during the 15th Century, with no real effective treatment until the age of antibiotics. The suffering caused by this now relatively benign sexually transmitted disease can be hard to imagine, but it was arguably public health enemy Number One in 19th Century Europe ; medical historians estimate the mortality rate was between 20 and 40 % .

Perhaps, Neisser's interest in the disease was personal (his old friend turned foe Hansen suffered from syphilis his whole life) or, perhaps, it developed out of a desire to cleanse the world of its biggest bacteriological enemy ; either way, Neisser took the battle against the bug to heart. In fact, his efforts soon took on an obsessive and, eventually, even savage quality.

In 1903, Neisser witnessed a demonstration by biologist Elie Metchnikoff and bacteriologist Pierre Paul Émile Roux in which they infected apes with syphilis. So impressed was he that Neisser planned a trip to the remote Indonesian island of Java to study the origins of the disease and to pick-up a few apes so that he could continue to experiment. In Java, he also conducted research into the sexually transmitted diseases spread among humans, thanks to a population of randy Dutch sailors stationed there.

Though Neisser didn't identify « *Spirochæta pallida* » , the bacillus responsible for the disease (zoologist Fritz Schaudinn and dermatologist Erich Hoffmann claimed that distinction in 1905) , he did help create the first serological test to diagnose it alongside his countryman and bacteriological colleague August Paul von Wassermann in 1906. Neisser was also involved in the development of the first effective drug to treat it, « Salvarsan » , which hit the market in 1910. If this was all he had done, Neisser surely would have been remembered only for being one of the first bacteriologists of his day. However, this was not to be.

By the turn of the Century, Neisser had established himself as a supporter of public health initiatives. He opposed jailing prostitutes and promoted educating them and the public about sexually transmitted diseases, and even

suggested regulating the sex-trade. While many of his contemporaries were surely not as forward-thinking, Neisser's real trouble began in 1898, when, in his blind search for a syphilis cure, he began inoculating prostitutes, some of whom were minors, by injecting them with an infected serum without their knowledge.

Inspired in part by the explosion of interest in the work of Louis Pasteur and ape-infector Roux who developed the rabies vaccine in 1885, as well as German bacteriologist Emil Von Behring's successful inoculations against tetanus and diphtheria, Neisser theorized that the process should work equally well with syphilis. It didn't and many of his subjects came down with the disease.

It isn't known exactly how many patients were « inoculated » by Neisser. 4 victims went to trial and caused quite a scandal, though Neisser's colleagues mostly agreed with his practices. In 1910, he was publicly censured and forced to pay a huge fine, all of which eventually led to the adoption of moral and ethical research guide-lines in Prussia - among the first such directives to be implemented by the European medical community. From that point on, it was clearly stated that informed consent had to be obtained from patients prior to any experimentation or treatment, and that children and incompetent people were unable to give such consent.

Neisser died in 1916 and will mostly be remembered for the great contributions he made to the field of bacteriology. However, his methods also serve as a cautionary tale that should not be forgotten : informed consent is required of all study participants or patients in treatment ; the price of repeating the mistakes of the past is far too high.

### Perils of the Viennese skin-trade

There was, of course, a darker and exploitative side to the city's climate of sexual licence. Perhaps, because Vienna was a « Residenzstadt » (i.e. , where the ruling dynasty held its court) with many opportunities for domestic employment, it was usually awash with young females who were prepared to supplement their meagre earnings with quasi-professional prostitution. Around 1500, as certainly appears to be the case from contemporary wood-cuts, the public baths doubled as brothels, mostly situated in the so-called « Stubenviertel » , centred on the Wollzeile and Lugeck in the Inner-City (« Inner-Stadt ») , a red-light District by any other name. The « Stuben » , which had existed since Babenberg times, offered an attractive package of mixed-sex bathing and banqueting, with fornication thrown in. This thriving sex-trade was brought to an abrupt end by the advent of syphilis, which was probably imported into Central Europe by the Habsburgs' Spanish troops. University students soon had a tag alluding to the twin health hazards of city life : « Vienna ventosa vel venenosa » (In Vienna, either the wind or the pox is always raging) . However, closure of the baths actually meant that people were less clean than previously, and, therefore, less hygienic, as disgusted Turkish commentators were wont to remark. Nor did it put an end to prostitution.

From the late-14th Century, when brothels first appear in official records, and until the reign of Maximilian I (died in 1519) , the authorities had seemed to take an ambivalent, but generally pragmatic view of the skin-trade. Indeed, the city fathers taxed the pleasure houses and re-invested the proceeds - in one case to build a convent for nuns !

Medieval ordinances fixed a fee for the services provided in an attempt to avoid exploitation by brothel owners, and

even stipulated that :

« If a girl has a man by her for a night, she must give the house-owner I Kreuzer as “ sleeping money ” and no more. What the man gives her for herself she may keep. »

Maximilian closed-down the brothels inside the city-walls, and we next hear of such only in the 18th Century, when today's ultra-respectable Spittelberg quarter was populated with « Spittelberg nymphs » . Emperor Josef II was famously thrown-out of a Spittelberg brothel, whose owner failed to recognize him and objected to the way he handled the goods. The city's medieval prostitutes were theoretically all « foreigners » , since prostitution was officially forbidden to native Viennese girls, a prohibition which may, indeed, have given rise to the tradition of « enthusiastic amateurs » referred to by so many visitors.

The otherwise popular Maria Theresia aroused almost universal opposition when she attacked loose morals by instituting a « chastity commission » that sought to root-out and punish sexual infidelity among the married. Apart from the general inconvenience it caused, it was perceived as an unwarranted intrusion in the natural order of things, almost as unwelcome as Josef II's attempt to institute reusable coffins. Casanova, who was visiting Vienna when the chastity commission was at its most zealous, records his indignation at having his style cramped in this way.

That the medieval prostitutes were guaranteed a semi-official status is also demonstrated by the fact that they had their own entry in the bi-annual running races (on Ascension Day and St. Catherine's Day) instituted by Albrecht III in 1382. The race route from St. Marx to the River Wien passed through several vineyards and along what is still known as the « Rennweg » in the 3rd District. The race for « the public whores » was known as the « Scharlachrennen » , as the prize was a piece of scarlet cloth (for a « scarlet » lady ?) . The odium attached to the whores therefore seems to have been limited, and, indeed, a burgher could take one of them to be his wife without loss of social status ; the only condition imposed was that he must not have been acquainted with her in her former profession (presumably to guard against entrapment, but surely a quite unenforceable rule) . In the Middle-Ages, there was even a municipally funded home (also set-up by Albrecht III) for ladies who had been persuaded to retire from the profession. It was on the site of what is now the Franciscan Cloister on « Franziskanerplatz » , and burghers could, if they wished, select a willing bride from one of the inmates. This sensible practice spared the whores a raddled old age, and many modestly well-to-do widowers a lonely one.

The tradition of tolerance and pragmatism in dealing with prostitution continues in the present, where a region of the city along the « Gürtel » (« Ring » Road) has been set aside for legal, or, at any rate, tolerated, prostitution in the evening hours. Health checks are obligatory for the sex-workers, and the trade, while less blatant than that of the girls who sit in windows along the Amsterdam canals, is pursued with the same judicious mixture of discretion and openness that traditionally characterizes the dealings between authority and the individual in Austria.

The confining of sexual commerce to certain areas, and its disengagement from main-stream social life, represents a major change from the situation prevailing in the Vienna described by Stefan Zweig in his posthumous 1943 autobiography, « The World of Yesterday » . Just as Arthur Schnitzler's dramas revealed a pressure-cooker environment of

stifling convention and a politically dead-locked society that found an outlet in illicit sex, so Zweig attributes the libertinism of Vienna in his youth to social pressures that made « prostitution ... the foundation of the erotic life outside marriage » .

This was often a sordid matter, notwithstanding the cult of the « süßes Mädel » (sweet little girl) to be found in the impressionistic stories of Viennese life by Peter Altenberg, the un-official bard of turn-of-the-Century Vienna. More candid was Schnitzler's deconstruction of erotic relationships that only seemed to intensify the participants' sense of anomie, aporia and accidie. While Schnitzler concentrates on the self-disgust of the sexploiting classes, Zweig is blunt about the reality of these one-sided affairs for the under-privileged partners :

« Before the emancipation of women and their active participation in public life, it was only the girls of the very poorest proletarian background who were sufficiently unresisting on the one hand, and had enough freedom on the other, for such passing relationships without serious thoughts of marriage. Badly dressed, tired after a 12 hour day of poorly paid work, unkempt (a bathroom in those days was still only the privilege of the rich) ... these poor creatures were so much below the standing of their lovers that these, in turn, were mostly ashamed of being seen openly with them. But convention, always cautious, had invented its own measures for this painful situation, the so-called “chambres séparées”, where one could dine unseen with a girl ; the rest was accomplished in the dark-side streets in the little hotels which were equipped for these purposes exclusively. »

...

Before World War I, Vienna was a swinging and (in contrast to, say, Linz) downright depraved city with great sexual permissiveness. This permissiveness was tied to one's social status : it was practiced by aristocrats and artists, but also by the lower-classes. Whether farm hands and farm girls in the country, or unmarried workers and maids in the city, morals were loose.

One social group in Vienna was exempt from this sexual permissiveness, or, to be more exact, the wives of this social group : the middle-class and all those who aspired to be part of the middle-class. Bourgeois moral conventions, closely tied to the Catholic code, demanded from girls and women strict abstinence outside of marriage. In this regard, social pressure was so strong that young women had a chance of marrying well only if they were virgins, and « fallen girls » or women who had even given birth out of wedlock had forfeited their opportunities in life. Therefore, middle-class girls had to be protected from sex at all cost.

Young men, on the other hand, were allowed to, and even had to gain experiences in that area in order to « sow their wild oats » , as it was called, to free themselves of the vice of allegedly nerve-wracking masturbation, and to prepare for marriage. Yet, because they did not have the chance to have a romantic and physical relationship with girls of their own class, they were permitted (despite the public display of prudishness) to go clandestinely to prostitutes, basically as a necessity of health and « hygiene » . In 1912, a scholarly Viennese periodical asked young doctors about the first women they had ever slept with : only 4 % named a young woman who was a potential spouse, 17 % a maid or a waitress, and 75 % a prostitute. Prostitution was accordingly widespread.

Stefan Zweig reports that before 1914, Vienna's side-walks had been « so cluttered with working girls that it was more difficult to avoid them than to find them. ... At that time, women's goods were openly offered at any price and hour of the day, and a man really didn't have to invest more time and energy in buying himself a woman for a quarter of an hour, an hour, or a night, than in getting himself a pack of cigarettes or a newspaper » .

According to Zweig, prostitution was supposed to « channel the nuisance of extra-marital sex » :

« In a sense, it represented the dark cellar-vault over which the magnificent building of bourgeois society rose with an unblemished, clean and shining façade. »

Syphilis was rampant and the fear of infection ever present. No social class was exempt from the disease. Hans Makart, the « painter prince » died of syphilis. So did the last Emperor's father, Archduke Otto. Statistically, 1 or even 2 out of 10 men were infected.

Zweig wrote :

« In addition to the fear of infection, there was the horror of the uncomfortable and humiliating cures of the time. For weeks and weeks, mercury was rubbed into the syphilitic's body, which, in turn, made your teeth fall-out and led to other health damages ; the unfortunate victim of bad luck, thus, felt not only spiritually but also physically contaminated. »

The fact that most bourgeois men around 1900 had their first sexual encounters with prostitutes and sex was accompanied by the fear of infection, fundamentally influenced their image of woman and contributed to the general contempt for them.

There are no reliable data on prostitution in Vienna around 1900. All that is known is the minuscule percentage of those « controlled » by the vice-squad, who were at least 18 years of age and checked twice a week : in 1908, there were 1,516 of them in Vienna, a figure that remained approximately constant and was more than twice as high as it is today. According to official statistics on 1912, 29 pregnancies and 249 infections with syphilis were diagnosed during these check-ups. In other words, every year, approximately 1 out of 6 prostitutes was infected and no longer allowed to practice her trade. This typically meant that she disappeared in the huge army of the « clandestine ones » .

The number of « clandestine ones » was several times the number of those who were examined. The police checked neither the expensive and notorious VIP call-girls, who appeared at the race-courses and in the theaters with their customers, nor the occasional hooker in the flop-houses. Girls under 18 and the numerous prostitutes who were already infected and ill were arrested now and, then, during a raid, but once they were released after being briefly held in custody, they continued to solicit.

Prostitution in Vienna in the 19th Century

## Historical background

Over the Middle-Ages, there existed an uneasy association between those selling sex (usually women) on the one side, and Church and State on the other. While the practice was frowned on, it thrived, and was tolerated. The Habsburg Rudolph I of Habsburg (1273-1291) made it an offence to insult these « gelüstigen Frauen » in 1276. After all, they paid their taxes (2 Pfennigs a week) . On the other hand, on Sundays and during Lent, they were obliged to stay away from the towns.

The first recorded mention of the existence of brothels (« Freudenhäusern ») in Vienna can be found in a charter of Duke Albrecht III (1365-1379) . Some councilors wanted to set-up a charitable foundation for prostitutes who renounced their sinful life. However, very soon, councilors were actually establishing brothels and even supported a nunnery from the taxes.

...

Hügel, a medical doctor in Vienna, wrote a policy paper on the regulation of prostitution in 1865. Starting with a general look on the history of prostitution (from the temples of Venus and Adonis in antique Greece) , he finds the ever changing legislation from prohibition to acceptance quite inefficient. Ever since trying to regulate prostitution, different ways have been applied in Vienna : material (women's shelter) , moral (a penance shelter) or by police and clergy (commission) . 1395 was the year of the first license for a women's house (« Frauenhaus ») in the town of Vienna, next to « Josefsplatz » . A weekly payment to the city-council was kept apart for medical treatment and a spare week before Easter. Later on, the paid holidays of the women's house were extended to 3 weeks. Meanwhile, a penance shelter in a monastery existed for women quitting their work in the women's house. It was destroyed during the siege of the Turks, later on.

In the 15th Century, sex-workers were so-called « free daughters » (« freie Töchter ») or « common women » (« allgemeine Weiber ») . They had to wear a small yellow scarf on the shoulder to be recognized. They accompanied soldiers and were offered to high-ranking guests of the city-council then. Sexual services were part of the common hospitality. Evidence exists in the book-keeping of that time. Even if « free daughters » participated in public celebrations, some citizens of Vienna wanted the City Council to pass a law against marriage of « free daughters » . It was rejected because the way back into a bourgeois life should be kept open to « free daughters » and marriage was a matter regularized by the church anyhow.

In the middle of the 16th Century, again, 2 women's houses (« Frauenhäuser ») were established, one in the suburb and the other in the city-centre in « Tiefer Graben » . It was a common-house for « free daughters » to live and work in with the permission of the authorities. At that times, all moral issues were regulated by the church - i.e. , adultery, violence against women or gambling. With the reformation of Martin Luther and the scission of the church into Roman-Catholic and Protestant, the power of the church declined. In 1528, the responsibility for prosecution of these crimes was transferred to the vice-squad (« Sittenpolizer ») . Hügel points-out that a coherent way of legalization is the only way to safe-guard public health. Under the reign of Habsburgs Queen Maria-Theresia, a

commission was set-up to counter-act against immorality. It opened the way for denunciation and corruption because all immoral acts (i.e. , kissing of unmarried persons) were prosecuted. Even forced marriage was reported in order to keep sexual morality standards.

In 1850, a ministerial order installed the responsibility of police for registration and health checks of prostitutes in Vienna. Hügel, in the end, complains about the ambiguous situation between sufferance and punishment.

It is evident that prostitution existed in all major towns. Most probably, it was the same for Austria as well up to Medieval Ages even if we do not have evidence for it. For sure, the religious tradition was formative for the evolution of the existing laws and policies. Recapitulating an important point in the reception of prostitutes in society was the differentiation between decent, bourgeois (and married) women on the one side, and sex-workers on the other.

...

The last time prostitution was completely forbidden in Austria was under Maria Theresa of Austria (1740-1780) who shipped prostitutes along with other « anti-social » people down the Danube to Timișoara in the Banat region of Romania.

However, since this did little to reduce prostitution, Austrian laws changed to consider prostitution as a necessary evil that had to be tolerated but regulated by the State. In 1850, Doctor Nusser of the Vienna police suggested that prostitutes be required to register with the police, receive medical examinations twice a week, and obtain special health certificates. In 1873, Anton Ritter von Le Monnier, head of the Vienna police, reformed Vienna's prostitution law, and health certificates have been obligatory since that time. Prostitutes who complied with the requirements of registration and examinations were no longer prosecuted by the police. A newspaper article of October 27, 1874, reported that 6,424 prostitutes had received health certificates and were under observation by police and health authorities. According to police estimates, at least 12,000 more women lived on the proceeds of « free love » without being registered. Most of these were factory-workers who received so little pay that they needed the additional income. Of the registered prostitutes, 5,312 were unmarried, 902 widows, and 210 married. The youngest was 15 and the oldest 47 years old.

...

Vienna, the Habsburg capital and a Catholic stronghold, has a long history of measures against prostitution which, apart from serving as a model for other regions of the Empire, were also strongly shaped by the Imperial Court and the clerical « élite » . The first systematic (though unsuccessful) attempts to eradicate prostitution date-back to the late-18th Century and the rule of Empress Maria Theresia. In 1752, the Empress established what would become known as Chastity Committee (« Keuschheitskommission » , also « Keuschheitsgericht » and « Zuchtgericht ») , an institution that was dedicated exclusively to issues of prostitution, extra-marital sex, objectionable behaviour and homosexuality among the citizens of Vienna. At that time, particularly tough measures were introduced that dealt with prostitutes in tandem with other undesired groups such as tramps, vagabonds and women living in common-law marriage. The story



of the expulsion of all the prostitutes apprehended in Vienna (some estimates spoke of as many as 3,000 women) and their deportation down the Danube to Temesvár, in the Banat region in the Balkans, between 1744 and 1768, is legendary and often cited in literature on the history of prostitution in Central Europe. The result of such harsh measures was opposite from the desired : prostitution continued to thrive. While her son, Emperor Josef II, abolished the Chastity Committee along with a number of other historic public punishments for prostitutes such as public shaming, wearing of chains and the cutting of hair, the majority of the earlier laws forbidding prostitution remained in force and, until the middle of the 19th Century, prostitution remained in the jurisdiction of the criminal law.

Josef Schrank, the author of « Die Prostitution in Wien in historischer, administrativer und hygienischer Beziehung » (Prostitution in Vienna from Historical, Administrative and Hygienic Perspective, 1886) noted an unprecedented spread of prostitution during the 1848 Revolution and particularly drastic measures against it that were introduced in the years of the follow-up reaction from the 1850's to the 1870's. The ministerial decree of 30 December 1850, for example, requested the police not only to take prostitution into consideration, but also to tackle public health concerns that were connected to it. In 1873, the first comprehensive regulatory legislation was introduced and, consequently, prostitution became the prerogative of the moral police (« Sittenpolizei ») . From that time onward, prostitutes were legally requested to register and undergo regular medical examinations. Practically until 1911, when the first attempts to reform the regulatory system were introduced, the general tendency had been to maintain strict control over registered prostitutes operating in brothels and other tolerated establishments and ruthless elimination of illicit sex-trade via police actions, detention and expulsion. It took another 10 years until the prohibition of brothels was finally passed in 1921.

### Societal reaction and legislation against prostitution

Prostitution traditionally thrived in the city-centre, along the outer-ring « Gürtel » , the banks of the Vienna canal and the Danube, in the « Prater » as well as in the suburbs. New areas of sex-trade developed in the late-19th Century in more upper-class spaces and in the immediate proximity of the bourgeois residential districts. Of particular alarm was the « Prater » promenade, a place of Sunday « flâneurie » for the respectable society analogous to the « Ringstraße » in the inner-city, as well as the section of the « Gürtel » linking middle-class inner-suburb « Mariahilf » (« Mariahilfer Gürtel ») with a particularly notorious section of « Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus » District, the so-called « Schmelz » . A military exercise ground used only occasionally, « Schmelz » became an area of criminal gangs of « Fünfhaus » , « Sechshaus » and « Neulerchenfeld » and prostitution networks they ran. The addresses in the Old Town were « Schottensteig » , « Tiefer Graben » , « Riemergasse » and « Postgasse » as brothel locations, whereas « Rotenturmstraße » , « Kartnerstraße » and the side-lanes were most frequently used for street-walking. Outside the inner-city, particularly dense, were the areas of « Spittelberg » , « Getreidemarkt » , « Mariahilferstraße » , « Alserstraße » , « Währingerstraße » and other areas in the districts of « Leopoldstadt » , « Wieden » , « Mariahilf » , « Neubau » and « Alsergrund » , which were frequented by the « better » class, whereas « Volkssprater » , the « Gürtel » and the inner-sections of the « Hietzing » and « Währing » districts were a domain of cheap prostitutes in the early-20th Century. Other areas in the suburbs, in particular « Favoriten » , « Simmering » and « Laaerberg » (the so-called « Fünfkreuzertanzlocale » : 5 Kreuzer dancing-halls) existed, too, but it is clear that most of the locations were very central and that the policy of the removal of prostitution from central districts was unsuccessful. In

1904, 430 women were convicted of « covert » prostitution in Vienna, whereas some estimates spoke of as many as 30,000 covert prostitutes.

Also, due to the proximity of the Imperial Court and traditional presence of the aristocracy, Vienna had socially much more diverse prostitution networks that were not limited to the poor and the under-class. The local dialect offered a number of terms to distinguish between different groups involved in the sex-trade in distinct locations, from the exclusive « Kokotte » (« cocotte ») to the lowest « niedere Dime » (lowly whore) . While « cocottes » (also known as « Lorettes » and « Demimondäne ») operated in prestigious theatres, bars, balls and the races, « Besseren » (the better ones) were to be found in coffee-houses, transient hotels and only rarely on the street. One of the most exclusive open-air locations was the public park « Volksgarten » . By contrast, the majority of the rest worked on the street and catered for socially distinct groups of men from the middle-class and the working-class. The latter were further distinguished by additional names such as « Prodahure » (« Prater » whore) , « blade Nelli » (fat Nelli) , « Asphaltswalbe » (asphalt swallow) , « Randsteinswalbe » (curb-stone swallow) , « Benzingretl » (petrol Gretel) , and finally « Nafke » (from Yiddish, defining both a prostitute and a woman card-player) in Jewish and « Kurva » in Slavic neighbourhoods. Pimps were usually referred to as « Strizzi » (from Czech « stryc » : uncle) , but also « Peitscherlbub » (whip-boy) . Another commonly used term was « Deckl » (cover) meaning an identity-card of a prostitute.

Between 1900 and 1911, there existed another, less stigmatized form of prostitution, the so-called « Discreten » (discrete prostitutes, also called « Geheimen » (secret) and « Winkeldirnen » (corner whores)) , among them also many dancers and waitresses, who practised the sex-trade largely invisible in the public space. They did not have permission to roam the streets, were not required to register for an identity health-card but were obliged to undergo regular medical checks. Sex could be bought « discretely » in select dance establishments (dance schools as well as dance-pubs) , transient hotels and flop-houses (so-called « Absteige » and « Stundenhotels ») , shops that functioned as fronts (especially, the first ground-floor tenants the recently constructed tenement houses) ; baths, art-studios and theatres, and finally on the street. It was common for flower girls (« Blumenmädchen ») who were equally subject of great works of « fin-de-siècle » literature and of ridicule, to be involved in some aspect of sex-trade, as well. Many of Vienna's famous suburban wine-taverns (« Heurigen ») were also prostitution locations.

Within the « discretetes » , Josef Schrank distinguished between « gallant ladies » (« gallante Frauen ») , women in manual work, female factory employees and domestic servants as those who were involved in the sex-trade in addition to their regular employment - usually to compensate for meagre earnings in their main professions. Domestic labour, especially domestic servants constituted a significant number of the urban labour force in late-19th Century Vienna, and a large number of migrant female labour force (especially, many Jewish and Czech women) was employed at home, either as domestic servants or in the city's large garment industry. The fact that a large proportion of prostitutes came from domestic service specifically is repeatedly stressed in literature. At the same time, given that it is difficult to trace their activity in the available sources, there is little evidence about their topographical distribution on the map of turn-of-the-Century metropolis.

In Vienna, there was also a significant overlap of sex-trade territories with ghetto areas and other places notorious for

poor migrant residence at the turn of the Century. The District of « Leopoldstadt » in Vienna, traditionally a place of concentrated Jewish residence and poverty, were notorious for the proliferation of both prostitution and petty criminality. Similarly, « Neulerchenfeld » and its surroundings, traditionally a place of extremely mixed residence, poverty and cheap bars, where prostitution thrived especially along « Lerchenfelderstraße » and « Thaliastraße ». Yet, it is significant that major areas in the inner-city that were traditionally associated with prostitution in the Medieval and Early Modern period remained remarkably enduring. Even after the major restructuring of Vienna that brought to existence the circular street « Ringstraße » and significantly altered residential patterns in the city, most of the inner-city locations for the sex-trade were still there in the early-20th Century. The scandal evolving the 1906 « Regine Riehl trial » revealed that « respectable » bourgeois areas such as « Alsergrund » were also locations of highly-secretive and, at the same time, prospering brothels, which were protected by connections within the police and the political « élite ». It also revealed the dark underworld lurking behind respectable façades that involved severe maltreatment of prostitutes by the « Madames », as well as a number of issues pertinent to nationalism and the « Jewish Question » in the Imperial capital city.

...

Prostitution was a visible part of life in « fin-de-siècle » Vienna's city-centre, from the ancient « Graben » to the edges of the newly-installed « Ringstraße ». Historian Karin J. Jušek has analyzed the tremendous social debate over prostitution during this period. Socialists, Catholic action groups, feminists, and medical experts argued for greater purity and/or venereal disease prophylaxis in Vienna, attacking both prostitutes and their « clientèle » as agents of racial and moral degeneration via syphilitic infection. During this time, the city side-walks were divided into sexual commerce zones, « marked-off by the police with an invisible line where prostitutes might carry-on their trade ». These « line girls » formed the least expensive and most obvious legion of prostitutes, and registered with the police at the rate of roughly 2,000 a year. Beginning in 1873, Vienna struggled under a system of semi-regulated prostitution that strove to sanitize (through compulsory health inspections of any woman on the street) the lowest ranks of venal sex-workers and turned a blind eye to less accessible brothels and clubs. The spectrum of syphilis prompted civil hygiene administrators to demand municipal registration and observation of prostitutes, yet Vienna, capital of Catholicism in central Europe, never officially legalized the sale of sex. Caught between these mandates were the bourgeois city fathers, who allowed the charade to limp along as best it could. For critics of the system, the hypocrisy of prostitution was merely a synecdoche for Viennese Liberalism.

The most dangerous aspect of venal sex according to the medical experts participating in « fin-de-siècle » prostitution debates was the risk of syphilitic infection. During this period, syphilis was understood as a multi-stage disease that began with sores on the genitals or swollen lymph nodes near the groin. These primary symptoms would quickly dissipate, but the micro-organisms that caused the disease, identified in 1905 by Berlin micro-biologists Fritz Schaudinn and Erich Hoffmann, remained in the blood-stream, and could invade the spinal cord and lining of the brain within a year. If the body's immune system did not conquer the *T. pallidum* organism, the patient could begin showing signs of neuro-syphilis speech problems, inability to raise the eye-lids, mania, dementia, and paralysis-sometimes a full-decade after the original infection. In 1906, German pathologist August Paul von Wassermann developed a blood-test for syphilis that could identify the disease at all stages. Syphilis research, treatment development, and moral sermonizing

were major discourses within the Viennese medical community. For the year 1901, the index of the prestigious « Wiener medizinische Wochenschrift », the Empire's oldest medical journal, listed syphilis as the most frequent subject for articles and book reviews. Recommended treatments ranged from simple courses of mercury massaged into the body and scalp to complex contraptions that blew hot air on the genitals of comfortably seated, still-clothed patients. In 1909, Berlin physician Paul Ehrlich announced that the chemical preparation « Salvarsan » blocked the development of primary and secondary syphilis, if used immediately after infection. In the face of this incurable disease, hygiene became the watch-word of concerned doctors, who increasingly advised the State in their roles as « Obersanitätsrath », « Sanitätsberichter », and even « Sectionschef und Sanitätsreferent » of the Imperial Ministry of Interior. The overarching message of the medical community « vis-à-vis » syphilis is reflected in a succinct aphorism from « Obersanitätsrath » Doctor Rudolf von Jaksch :

« The future of medicine lies in prophylaxis. The best prophylaxis is purity. »

Purity was also the maxim favoured by Catholic women's associations in late-Imperial Vienna. The women's movement in Vienna demanded the abolition of prostitution but was divided in its approach to the problem. The « Christlicher Wiener Frauenbund » (Christian League of Viennese Women), an anti-Semitic and anti-emancipation political league, campaigned for abolition in combination with the promotion of chastity and religious feeling. The anti-clerical « Allgemeine Österreichischen Frauenvereins » (Austrian Women's Association), a much smaller organization primarily dedicated to enlarging women's educational opportunities, favoured abolition on the grounds that prostitution represented an institutionalized method of class and gender exploitation. The « Allgemeine Österreichischen Frauenvereins » argued that only love could make a sexual relationship moral. Both groups formulated their opposition to hygiene regulation in ways modeled on Josephine Butler's campaign against the British Contagious Diseases Acts. Wrongful detention of women suspected of prostitution was decried, as was the hypocrisy of hygienic surveillance of prostitutes but not their clients. In addition, both groups argued that feminine sexuality should be returned to its « natural » sphere of marriage and motherhood. Beginning in 1907, the « Österreichischer Bund für Mutterschutz » (Austrian League for the Protection of Mothers) offered a more radical interpretation of sexuality for women. Free-union, supported by the « Deutscher Bund für Mutterschutz » president Helene Stöcker, was vigorously debated by the « Wiener Bund für Mutterschutz ». Stöcker called for a « neue Ethik » (new morality) that recognized human sexuality as natural and life affirming. Prostitution, defined by the « Bund für Mutterschutz » as any sexual relationship (including marriage) entered into for financial gain, was described as the inevitable result of moral corruption and inequality between the sexes. The « Österreichischer Bund für Mutterschutz », like its German counterpart, supported equal rights and State support for mothers regardless of their marital status. In the working-class District of « Ottakring », the « Bund für Mutterschutz » opened a charitable home to care for unmarried pregnant women before and after the birth of their children in 1908. Many of the « Bund für Mutterschutz's » members went-on to participate in the Viennese sex-reform movement.

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Vienna as an intellectual centre had historically strong traditions of misogyny, which manifested itself clearly in the ideas of the 2 leading figures of the « fin-de-siècle » : Sigmund Freud and Otto Weininger. The latter went as far as

to claim that « great men » (presumably like himself !) have always « preferred women of the prostitute type » . Strongly influenced by the work of Italian criminologist and psychiatrist Cesare Lombroso on the now discredited theory of the hereditary nature of criminality and, by consequence, also of prostitution, Weininger distinguished between the 2 « types » of women, the mother and the prostitute, removing however at the same time the historically positive connotation of the mother. For Weininger, any woman who enjoyed sex for its own sake rather than for reproduction was essentially a prostitute. Such ideas were very persuasive in « fin-de-siècle » Vienna, and the increasing presence of women in the public sphere seems to only have strengthened them. At the same time, the spread of prostitution in Vienna as a consequence of urbanization resulted in an entirely new genre, or cult, of prostitute (« Dirnenkult ») at the turn of the Century that derided the supposed asexuality of « normal » middle-class women. Added the profound discord of the degree of sexual experience expected from men and women before marriage in a bourgeois society, and Freud's and others' belief in men's much stronger sexual desires and needs, the social and ideological pre-conditions for the blossoming of prostitution were, thus, there in place even in the early-20th Century.

In Vienna, attempts at introducing regulatory norms and legislation against prostitution were for decades strongly opposed by the clerical « élite » that saw it as a policy « legalizing the whores » . As a consequence of urbanization, also the turn-over of prostitutes between different establishments and cities within the Monarchy and beyond was comparatively high. In this situation, prostitutes remained one of the most heterogeneous and elusive urban groups. Prostitution was very actively discussed ; at the same time, regulationism clearly predominated as a policy within the government circles. The police regulation of 6 February 1873, for example, clearly delineated under which conditions prostitution would be tolerated in comparison with the earlier 1850 decree : definitions of tolerated sex-trade, registration mechanisms, health certificates as well as the jurisdiction of the moral police were specified there. Only prostitutes in possession of health-cards who would undergo regular (every third day) examinations would be hitherto tolerated. Those found to carry venereal diseases would be dispossessed of their health-cards and stationed in one of Vienna's 3 hospitals - or expelled from the city. The so-called « Vagabond law » (« Vagabundengesetz ») of 1885 introduced tougher punishments of illegal prostitution, up to forced labour in specifically designed establishments. Specific areas of the central 1st District were set to be controlled by detectives of the moral police operating in plain clothes.

A further 1894 police decree forbade prostitutes to entice their clients through the shop-doors in the side-streets, which had a simple consequence of bringing prostitution onto the street. Further restrictions included prohibition of the practising of the sex-trade in several Districts at the same time (1896) ; the establishment of further forced labour institutions for those convicted of covert prostitution (1898) ; police surveillance and medical inspection of all women suspected of working also as prostitutes including dancers and waitresses and official recognition (and regulation thereof) of tolerated brothels (1900) ; setting limits to the number of women to be inspected per police-doctor and the establishment of the Central Office for Tackling of the Trafficking of Women (« Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels ») and the so-called « Office of the agents of the moral police » (« Büro für sittenpolizeiliche Agenten » , 1905-1907) within it ; and setting limits to the minimal age to 18 and curbing the jurisdictions of the moral police (1911) .

Whereas the number of controlled prostitutes significantly increased before and especially during WWI, it is also clear

that clandestine prostitution proliferated due to a complex set of economic and social issues accentuated by the War. By the last years of WWI and influenced by the developments in Germany, a new consciousness of « social dangers » associated with prostitution especially in terms of the spread of infectious and venereal diseases in the army developed in Austria-Hungary. This resulted in a renewed vigour in attempting to eliminate prostitution in the immediate aftermath of the War. The health-cards were replaced by special identity-cards in 1920 and brothels finally prohibited in 1921. At the same time, however, women were obliged by the conditions of the post-War social contract to give place to the returning veterans in the job-market, which resulted in the unprecedented spread of female unemployment in Central Europe and elsewhere. As a consequence, many more women than before became involved in part-time sex-trade. A 1923 Austrian governmental report states, for example, that more than 51 % of covert prostitutes in Vienna were unemployed.

Attempts to understand prostitution from the social perspective and to deal with it in a more complex and comprehensive manner were in Vienna largely limited to the feminist movement. In 1892, Social-Democratic feminist writer and journalist Adelheid Popp founded the newspaper « Arbeiterinnenzeitung » (Female Worker) that argued for the right of women to work as well as their free-choice in family, lifestyle and their role in the public sphere. A year later, in 1893, feminist social reformers Auguste Fickert and Rosa Mayreder founded the « Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein » (Austrian women's association) , which published its own pro-reform bi-weekly « Dokumente der Frauen » between 1899 and 1902 that positioned itself strongly against the prevailing misogyny. Like many in their generation, Mayreder and other Viennese feminists were propagating full-emancipation of women which the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 seemed to be promising. Strongly opposing prostitution, they however refused to condemn it on moral grounds and advocated, instead, for the reformulation of sexual and family relations to conform to new modern standards as well as for the full sexual education for both boys and girls, which they somewhat naively believed would make prostitution obsolete.

### Government and public morals

The most important governmental instrument for the protection of public morals was the vice-squad. Its founder in Austria is thought to have been Ferdinand, who governed the German succession States from 1521 and who succeeded Charles V as the Emperor Ferdinand in 1556. His policy was aimed at the protection of the family and his first step in that direction was to impose stiff fines on all married men caught in brothels (« Frauenhäuser ») . In 1542, this was followed by a police decree that made prostitution and procuration criminal offences. Ferdinand also ordered the church to protect morals. The believers should be imbued with the necessity of so doing. His successors, however, paid less attention to public morals until Maria Theresa (1740-1780) took-up the struggle against indecency again. She went much further than Ferdinand. Her measures in the area of indecency contrast sharply with the enlightened policies that characterize the other domains of her policy. During her reign, police attention was directed first and foremost at loose women. They were the ones to be punished now. Her determined struggle against indecency reached its peak with the appointment of a Committee for Public Decency. Large-scale treachery and denunciation were the result. Prostitutes were now even employed as « agents provocateurs » in order to expose indecent citizens and lead them into the arms of the police. Conceivably, the committee was abolished during the reign of Josef II (1780-1790) , Maria Theresa's son, who had little ambition when it came to upgrading his subjects' morals.

When his advisers spoke-out in favour of placing the brothels under State control, he seems to have said :

« If one wished to implement a brothel system, one would have to bring the entire city under one roof. »

Grave concern about public morals does not show-up until the second half of the 19th Century. Children born-out of wedlock, a decrease in the number of marriages, and an increase in the number of concubines did cause a certain degree of concern, but the government paid far more attention to the problem of prostitution.

From 1850 on, a number of Viennese medical doctors advocated some kind of legislation with regard to prostitution instead of just prohibiting it, following the example of their colleagues in other countries. « Polizeiwundarzt » Doctor Nusser who raised the matter argued that prostitution was a very old phenomenon that could apparently not be eradicated. This unpleasant fact should, therefore, be faced and proper measures should be taken. The ban on prostitution should be replaced by legislation and control. The close link between prostitution and syphilis was emphasized. In order to restrict the terrible consequences of prostitution, it was deemed necessary to subject prostitutes to regular medical examinations. Doctor Nusser stated with remarkable frankness that he was in favour of legislation for 2 reasons, namely to limit the horrible consequences of contamination with syphilis and also to help doctors get work and appropriate pay. Nusser's proposal divided his colleagues into 3 groups. One agreed with him, the second found his proposals insufficient and argued in favour of « Kasernierung » (the obligatory housing of prostitutes in brothels) , and the third, a minority, was opposed to any form of legislation for a variety of reasons. They found that acceptance of prostitution was not in keeping with the dignity of the State and they doubted the effects of legislation in principle. The spokesman for this group, Doctor Massari, argued that the problem of venereal diseases and the problem of prostitution should be distinguished. The spread of venereal diseases was caused by loose men and women from all layers of society and legislation that did not address these groups would not, in his opinion, be very effective. He proposed sanitary measures instead, such as the extension of the university-clinic, obligatory hospitalization for contaminated people, penalties for men who knowingly spread the diseases (only women could be prosecuted for this) , and tighter controls within the army. Massari and his followers did not have a great deal of influence, but they addressed problems that their opponents did not wish to face from the very start of the discussion.

Legislation would take another 23 years. It was only because of the expected stream of foreign visitors to the World Exhibition in 1873 that a type of pass law was introduced. The police first opposed any form of legislation. They had their own way of keeping moral law and order, separate from all discussion in medical circles. The female sex, which, in the bigger cities, more or less surrendered to the extra-marital satisfaction of the libido, was seen as the main problem. A very detailed policy statement from the police, dating from 1851, states that the following women are a threat to public morals :

1) « The normal prostitutes » , who earn their living from prostitution.

2) « The occasional prostitutes » , recruited from the ranks of seamstresses, dress-makers, dancers and other theatre performers and further from factory-girls, servants etc. « The occasional prostitutes » usually turn into category One, « ordinary prostitutes » .

### 3) « Mistresses. »

### 4) « Concubines. »

Of interest are the police criteria with respect to the occasional prostitutes : they are women who were seduced by presents or invitations to satisfy the sexual needs of men without prospects or intention of marriage, but they did not associate with just any man, nor would they necessarily make prostitution their profession. In other words, every woman engaged in an extra-marital relationship was a whore or, in any case, an occasional prostitute. In contrast to all the learned gentlemen who were convinced of the slight sexual needs of respectable women, the police knew better. Occasional prostitutes were also those women who agreed to sexual relationships without accepting presents or money, but merely for the satisfaction of their immoral instincts. These women could be found in all layers of society : debauched daughters, unfaithful wives, and lecherous widows. Some even went so far as to seek-out men and pay them ! It is clear that the police had an insight into the hidden lives of the citizens that no other government body could match, and a know-how encompassing just about everything humanly possible. It was a good thing that many loose and sinful daughters, wives, and widows managed to stay-out of the hands of the police, otherwise, the enormous apparatus would have been in need of even further extension.

When medical examinations were finally introduced, the government was very careful not to legislate « the evil practice » . Prostitution was still banned, but a prostitute under medical control was not punished. Housing prostitutes who practised their profession at home remained illegal. As a consequence, the prostitutes had to pay exorbitant rents. Also, other forms of exploitation and black-mail were made possible due to contradictions in the law, and, of course, the prostitutes were the victims of this.

### Prostitution in Vienna : a case for the morality police

Sexual diseases and sexual promiscuity (a breeding ground for syphilis) had to be dealt with by the 19th Century equivalent of the vice-squad : the Morality Police.

After the middle of the 19th Century, it was longer the penal system but the Morality Police who were responsible for prostitution. The apparently sharp increase in prostitution, which was a danger to marriage and the family, was to be supervised, but not only on moral grounds. In addition, sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis had to be brought under control. Even restricting the number of prostitutes in Vienna was a difficult undertaking. These women were, in fact, supposed to register officially and, thus, undergo regular health checks, but, at the same time, informal or « tolerated » prostitution flourished. The field of prostitution, thus, included « waged whores » and « casual strumpets » , « concubines » and « mistresses » . Most prostitutes came from the lower-middle-class and the lower-class. Many of them were professional women who took-up prostitution to supplement a small income or to bridge phases of unemployment. Their social predicament encouraged individual and informal street-walking. The Morality Police tried to counter this by setting-up « no-go areas » , for example near schools and churches, from which prostitutes were excluded. Customers of prostitutes were exempt from police supervision. The sexual desires of men, in this respect, were only discussed in public to the extent that they were expected to confine their supposedly stronger sexual drive to



inter-course within marriage so as not to expose themselves to the risk of syphilis. But they had no reason to fear legal consequences. There was also a more relaxed approach to the position of « high-class prostitutes », who (thanks to the social standing of their clients) enjoyed immunity from persecution by the police.

### Student Alfred Stroß wins a First Prize

**Wednesday, 27 June 1877 :**

Composition competition at the Vienna Conservatory (class of Franz Krenn) . Alfred Stroß wins a First Prize with a piano « impromptu » . Mathilde (Aloisia) von Kralik wins a 2nd Prize with the Scherzo of a Piano Quintet.

Members of the Jury :

Josef Hellmesberger senior, Heinrich Billing Edler von Gemmern, Johann Gänsbacher, Wilhelm Gericke, Johann Ruffinatscha, Hanns Schmitt, Doctor Josef Standhartner.

### Anton Meißner meets Bruckner

**End of June 1877 (or Wednesday, 19 September 1877 ? - official day of the entrance examination for the Vienna Conservatory) :**

Anton Meißner (1855-1932) meets Anton Bruckner for the first time.

Biographers August Göllerich junior and Max Auer described Meißner as « a devoutly Catholic young man » whom Bruckner had taken to because he stood-out against the prevailing « free-thinking and liberalism » . Meißner was to become Bruckner's secretary and assistant in his final years, writing letters on his behalf, even to his brother Ignaz, and helping to prepare manuscript pages for the Finale of the 9th by ruling bar lines and adding instrument names.

« Bruckner-Jahrbuch » (1987-1988) edited by Othmar Wessely :

Erich Wolfgang Partsch. « Anton Meißner, der letzte “ Sekretär ” Bruckners. »

Heinrich Salzer. « Erinnerungen an Anton Meißner. »

### Hotel reservations in St. Florian

**Friday, 24 August 1877 :** Letter from Johann Herbeck (Vienna) to Anton Bruckner (Linz) :

Herbeck tells Bruckner to make hotel reservations for 2 rooms in St. Florian for next **Sunday (26 August 1877)** . He will pick-up Bruckner in Linz at the « Zum Roter Krebs » inn.

Greetings from « Frau » Herbeck and Max.

### Moving and playing organ

**Thursday, 15 November 1877** : Organ recital by Anton Bruckner in the « Augustinerkirche » in Vienna.

The same day, he left his small flat at the « Heinrichhof » (Number 3 « Opernring ») and moved not far, next to the « Ringtheater » and near the « Votivkirche », in a 2 room apartment on the 4th floor of the « Hôtel de France » (Number 7 « Heßgasse ») under the management of Anton Ölzelt junior.

A commemorative plaque (created by Robert Ullmann in 1924) was offered by the « Wiener Schubertbund » (Schubert Choral Association of Vienna) ; it adorns the façade of the building.

Today, the « Hôtel de France » offers a « Bruckner Suite » .

### Vienna : A gift for the Votive Church

Anton Bruckner was placed in an embarrassing position when, in replacement of the ill Eduard Hanslick, he was mandated to grade the brand new organ which was delivered by the world renowned builder E. F. Walcker & Cie. from Ludwigsburg (Germany) at the Votive Church (« Votivkirche ») as a gift to Emperor Franz-Josef. Bruckner was personally questioned by His Majesty, who wanted to know the opinion of his « Hofburgkapelle » musician. Bruckner was fully-aware of the weaknesses of the instrument, but did not dare to tell the truth to the Imperial benefactor. He stuttered something about the technical specifications, dimensions, etc.

At that same moment, the director of the Conservatory, Josef Hellmesberger senior, who was also a member of this Commission, helped Bruckner to get-out of trouble by repeating the famous paraphrase from Richard Wagner (« One should not look a gift-horse in the mouth ») :

Hellmesberger turned to the Emperor and said apologetically :  
« Majestät, einer geschenkten Orgel schaut man nicht in die Gorgel ! »

(« Your Majesty, one should not look a gift-organ in the wind-pipe. »)

Franz Joseph smiled. He had understood without being offended.

### Mahler's eyesight

**1878** : First photo of Gustav Mahler, aged 18, wearing glasses.

Mahler almost certainly used these for reading and not for general vision. They are strong and, if Mahler had required

them for general vision, he would have had extreme difficulty seeing, and there is no evidence of that.

His right eye was about 50 % weaker than his left eye and had a moderate astigmatism (his left eye had none) .  
The relevant measurements (in diopters) are as follows :

| Spherical | Cylindrical | Axis |
|-----------|-------------|------|
|-----------|-------------|------|

|             |               |     |
|-------------|---------------|-----|
| Right eye : | + 6.50 - 2.00 | 100 |
|-------------|---------------|-----|

|            |        |  |
|------------|--------|--|
| Left eye : | + 4.00 |  |
|------------|--------|--|

Spherical : Measurement of the strength of the lens.

+ : Far-sightedness.

Cylindrical : Degree of astigmatism.

Axis : Direction of astigmatism.

### Bruckner, Liszt and ... crazy Hortense

August Stradal, who was a pupil of both Anton Bruckner and Franz Liszt, reports an anecdote passed on to him by Bruckner :

« I met Liszt in St. Michael's Square and he invited me to accompany him to Bösendorfer's. We'd taken only a few steps along the " Herrengasse " when a women threw herself at Liszt and cried-out in a loud voice :

“ My dearest Franz, when are we finally going to get married ? ”

Liszt was highly-agitated and, seizing me by the arm, said :

“ Bruckner, let's be on our way, it's a poor mad woman. ” »

The woman in question was Hortense Voigt, a by no means unknown figure in Vienna. She wrote letters to her idol that began :

« My passionately loved “ fiancé ”, my sweet and affectionate Franz. »

She was clearly disturbed, and yet, Bruckner seems to have believed her.

Bruckner exclaimed to Stradal :

« Goodness me, your Master must have been a “ Don Juan ”. »

Anecdotes like this one found a responsive audience and afforded further proof of the Latin proverb :

« Semper aliquid hæret »

(If enough mud is flung at a victim, some of it will stick.)

### Hortense Voigt

One can only be grateful to Hortense Voigt for not leaving any memoirs that might constitute « the other side » of « her » case. This name is unlikely to stir many memories, even among Liszt aficionados. Yet, for years, « Fräulein » Voigt went around calling herself Liszt's « fiancée », and became such a nuisance to him that the police were called-in. The facts of the matter may be summarized briefly. Voigt pursued Liszt to Hungary in **February 1874**, proclaiming her love for him. She lay siege to the house of Imre Széchenyi in Horpács for 4 days, hoping to catch a glimpse of her idol. Széchenyi was forced to get a restraining order from the authorities, barring her from the neighbourhood. She then went to Budapest, where she approached both a Catholic priest and a Protestant pastor to discuss her wedding with Liszt, unfortunately delayed « by intrigues of the blackest hue ». In a letter to Baron Augustz, Liszt spoke of « the intrusions of the “ fiancée ”, who qualifies for the mad-house ». Augustz alerted the Budapest police, who picked-up « Fräulein » Voigt for questioning. The commissioner of police, Elek Thaisz, sent an account to Augustz on **February 18** :

« My most esteemed friend :

Miss Hortense Voigt was here at 12 noon. I gently reminded her of the inappropriateness of her behaviour toward Liszt, to which her tears started showering like rain and she was able to excuse herself only by saying, “ Liszt will have to hold himself responsible for it. ” (“ Das wird sich Liszt selbst verantworten müßen. ”) After repeated attempts to convince her that nobody should be expected to tolerate intrusions similar to those of hers, and that everybody is entitled to police protection in such cases. I cautioned her very seriously that she should leave Liszt alone in the fixture or I should be compelled to use the most severe police measures against her.

Your sincere and devoted friend,

Elek Thaisz

Budapest, February 18, 1874. »

The warning does not appear to have had much cheer on Hortense. 3 years later, we find her writing to Liszt and signing herself « The loving bride » - a spectacular advance on her earlier modest claim to be merely his « fiancée ». Doctor Eduard von Liszt had something to say about Hortense Voigt in his book « Franz Liszt : Abstammung, Familie,

Begebenheiten » (1937 ; page 78) . The letter he quotes from her there has her addressing Liszt as « Mein heißgeliebter Bräutigam, mein Süßer, herziger Franz ! » (« My ardently loved bridegroom, my darling, lovely Franz ! »)

The only reason to recall the hysterical ravings of Hortense Voigt at this stage in the Janina saga is to point-out that Liszt attracted such emotional cripples all his life, and Olga Janina was but one of them. If she had not written her novels, and had simply faded into the sunset like Hortense and a dozen others of her ilk, it is unlikely that biographers would find it necessary to devote more than a couple of lines to her tenured soul.

...

**Tuesday, 4 February 1873** : Letter from Franz Liszt (Budapest) to Olga von Mayendorff, Schillingsfurst :

« ... As for local events, which are scarcely diverting, I inform you that “ Mademoiselle ” Hortense Voigt (of Weimar) has been staying in Budapest for about 2 weeks. She had taken care to send me ardent telegrams which I never read any longer and only open by mistake when the address is in another hand - a subterfuge to which “ Mademoiselle ” Hortense often has recourse, but without success. »

**Saturday, 31 January 1874** : Letter from Franz Liszt (Horpács) to Olga von Mayendorff, Schillingsfurst :

Napoléon I said to Larevellière-Lépeaux, the leader of the “ Theo-Philanthropists ” :

“ You want something sublime, Sir ; well, recite ‘ Our Father ’ . ”

I follow this advice very humbly and recite every morning and evening :

“ Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. ”

This prayer renders unnecessary much argumentation and redundancy.

Herewith, the letter from “ Madame ” Betty Schott (wife, or very close relation of Schott the patrician publisher, almost the peer of Breitkopf and Härtel ; and the Schotts even have the glory of having published, thanks to the subscription of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia, of King William III of Prussia, etc. , Beethoven’s Mass in D and the 9th Symphony !)

Take 30 shares of the “ Wagner Frauen Verein ” at 10 gros per share, half of which I will ask you to register in my name. I have no Prussian currency on hand, but I’ll send it to you immediately after my arrival in Pest. Also write “ Madame ” Betty Schott a few polite lines devoid of obsequiousness.

Weimar and its charms were poetically represented at Horpács today at the castle mass at half-past 8.

“ Mademoiselle ” Hortense Voigt (from the Aker Wand) appeared, very much unheralded. I took her immediately to the sacristy to entrust her to the care of the ecclesiastic, while excusing myself for not being able, in such circumstances of major absurdity, to attend mass. The said “ demoiselle ” won’t give-up the idea that she has the vocation of bringing about my matrimonial happiness in spite of myself !

I forget who it was who defined happiness as :

“ A blow which has more or less healed. ”

Alas ! Mine must forego these correctives.

Thank you for Taillandier’s and Nisard’s speeches. I read them with great interest, recalling Father Gratry.

Your

Franz Liszt »

**Sunday, 8 February 1874.** : Letter from Franz Liszt (Horpács) to Olga von Mayendorff, Schillingsfurst :

« Your comments on “ Mademoiselle ” Voigt are, as usual, most judicious. It could indeed be that behind her formal role, carried to the point of scandal, of being my imaginary and hostile wife, she may be discharging other and less exalted functions. Fortunately, I am entirely blameless in this whole too laughable and odious affair. I shall avoid calling-in the police as long as possible ; but, in Budapest, it will probably be necessary to have recourse to do this ... I learned yesterday in a letter from Budapest that having been evicted at my request from the Hotel Fohner, she brazenly camped at the Hotel Hungaria ; that she called on the Catholic priest and on the Protestant pastor, and that she parades everywhere as my wife, whose wedding, in a church or before the mayor, has unfortunately been hitherto delayed by intrigues of the blackest hue. »

**Sunday, 8 February 1874.** :

(...) On Ash Wednesday, February 18, I’ll be back in Pest.

The “ charms ” of Weimar, in the person of Mademoiselle Hortense Voigt, spent 4 or 5 days at Horpács, and menace me in Pest. As a consolation, please send me the “ Revue bleue ” which you forgot.

Apponyi asks me to convey to you his excuses for not having sent you the jubilee medallion, which is not yet on sale. He won't be the one who is late - and I am too early, alas, for the jubilee.

No less yours,

(unsigned)

P.S. : I re-open this letter, having just received yours. You are not going to be scolded for having exceeded my little instructions concerning the “ Damen Wagner Verein ” ; but neither would I want to encourage you in this too costly and inconvenient method.

Forgive me for having forgotten that you still had a few Thalers of mine ; why do you balk at making use of the 5 Thalers which I mentioned to you for this “ Verein ” ? Please do me the favour of asking at Seitz’s for the exact price of the “ History of Music ” by Ambros, published by Leuckart (Leipzig) , and of sending me Seitz’s bill, without yet buying the work. 3 volumes have, I believe, appeared ; imagine : the Vienna book-seller asked “ Madame ” Széchenyi 19 Florins for the first 2 volumes ! I pointed-out to her that this was either an error or a swindle.

Thank you for Veuillot’s letter. I shall note this statement, which applies to situations other than his :

“ On the roads which faith opens-up for us accidents, misfortunes, and pain are neither pain, nor misfortunes, nor accidents. One’s inner-feelings alter the meaning of words and the nature of things. ”

I am swamped by my epistolary task, which grows daily. If things go on like this, and I receive 50 to 60 letters a week, not counting manuscripts, I don’t know what will become of me.

Your comments on “ Mademoiselle ” Voigt are, as usual, most judicious. It could indeed be that behind her formal role, carried to the point of scandal, of being my imaginary and hostile wife, she may be discharging other and less exalted functions. Fortunately, I am entirely blameless in this whole too laughable and odious affair. I shall avoid calling in the police as long as possible ; but, in Pest, it will probably be necessary to have recourse to this ; and already at Horpács, Széchenyi had to do so in order to restrain “ Mademoiselle ” Voigt from prowling around his house more than 4 days.

I learned yesterday in a letter from Pest that having been evicted at my request from the Hotel Frohner, she brazenly camped at the Hotel Hungaria ; that she called on the Catholic priest and on the Protestant pastor, and that she parades everywhere as my wife, whose wedding, in church or before the mayor, has unfortunately been hitherto delayed by intrigues of the blackest hue.

Did you see that Gablenz has died ? I knew him in Como (in 1838) as a lieutenant, and have always had for him feelings of sincere affection and high-esteem. The manner of his suicide was most noble and military. »

**Friday, 26 December 1879** (Villa d’Este) :

« The parallel drawn by Lo between her letters and those of “ Mademoiselle ” Voigt is most amusing. The poor girl would tremble with pleasure at it, and would see in this the decisive confirmation of her fixed idea that only she is destined to make me completely happy. (...)

Yours ever,

Franz Liszt »

**Monday, 9 April 1883 (Weimar) :**

« “ Madame ” Voigt let me know yesterday that the apartment (on “ Marienstraße ”), about which you have already inquired, is available beginning May 15. I enclose herewith the letter which I suggested that “ Madame ” Voigt write to you. Please answer it without delay. The price seems to me exorbitant. Perhaps, one should have recourse to bargaining, which is something almost improper, but sometimes of practical value.

Yesterday, on her birthday “ Madame ” Sach deigned to receive at noon some 30 members of the Court. There was no official dinner. That evening, “ Madame ” Sach attended the performance of “ La jeune Fille de Perth ” (by Bizet), a “ Carmen ” that has only just blossomed, innocent of all guilt. Once and for all, I lack the taste needed to enjoy this kind of Opera, even “ Carmen ”. I feel obtuse and often out of place.

With regard to Count Beust (who is again very sick) asking when you are coming back, I replied that I was expecting you here only in June. I'll arrange my stay in Weimar and elsewhere so as to conform as much as I can to Lo's dictates.

From May 2 to 9, I'll be in Leipzig for “ Die Tonkünstler Versammlung ”, of which you'll receive the program, which is this time very rich. “ Monsieur ” Sach will put in an appearance in his role of sponsor of this institution, which is surviving successfully after 24 years despite many obstacles. It is not difficult to commemorate the illustrious dead with Mozart's “ Requiem ” and the Oratorios of Händel, Bach, and Mendelssohn, etc. , but except for the theatre, living composers can only wait, and ... die. Now, the particular function of the “ Tonkünstler Versammlungen ” is precisely to stress for the living their right to live.

Please return the issues of “ La Nouvelle Revue ” with “ Madame ” Sand's letters, to “ Monsieur ” Saissy, “ Directeur de ' La Gazette de Hongrie ' ”, Ferencz-József Rakpart, 10, Budapest (“ Hongrie ”) .

With all my heart, your very humble

Franz Liszt

I tell people about Clément's fine appearance, with his Russian fur-cap, and bearing the standard of the Artists' International Club in Rome at the celebration in honour of Raphael. »

**Tuesday, 17 April 1883 :**

« Gustchen pulled-off a small “ coup d'état ”. She simply decided to inform “ Monsieur ” de Hadeln that you are



reserving quarters at the Castel Helldorf, either on the ground-floor or the second floor (?) from July 1. You are subject to the short-term inconvenience of taking rooms at the Hotel Erbprinz, or “ Russie ”.

Rosenoff, not being here, was not able to transmit your message to “ Madame ” Voigt ; but Gustchen boldly took it on herself to go-off and find her in order to cancel the apartment which you had thought of renting. All things considered, in spite of the nuisance of several weeks at the hotel, it seems to me that you will be better off at the Castel Helldorf than elsewhere. Gustchen asked me to influence you in agreeing to this and is sending you details of her imperious negotiation.

With all my heart, your very humble and “ expectant ”

Franz Liszt

Herewith, 2 programs of the very successful concerts which lacked only your approbation and presence. »

### Liszt plays Bruckner at the piano

**Between Monday, 1 and Sunday, 7 April 1878** : Franz Liszt plays at the piano the 5th Symphony of Anton Bruckner (WAB 105) and expresses his congratulations to Prince Constantin zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst.

Hugo Wolf and Felix Mottl unsuccessfully try to meet Franz Liszt.

### Rotterdam : Bruckner's organ concert

**1878** : Anton Ölzelt junior reads an article about an organ recital (with free improvisations) given by Anton Bruckner which took place in Rotterdam at the beginning of September 1871 (after the London concerts) . « Frau » Lisa Morscher, who is related to Ölzelt, also heard about this recital.

### Vienna : Forensic Medicine

**1878** : First publication of Eduard von Hofmann's « Text-book for Forensic Medicine » . For a long period of time, this was the standard reference-book for forensic medicine and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

Removal of forensic medicine specimens from the pathology association collection and transferred to its own, independent collection.

Forensic medicine and hygiene separated : Post-mortems ordered by the Court and health authorities were linked to the Director of the Institute for Forensic Medicine from 1875 and, from this time on, forensic medicine was no longer part of pathological anatomy.

## Vienna : 200 Years of Chairs of Forensic Medicine

The Department of Forensic Medicine in Vienna is one of the oldest forensic medicine establishments around the world. This field of study arose from the so-called State pharmacology (« Staatsarzneykunde ») of the former director of the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») , Johann Peter Frank. The German Emperor Franz II (1792-1806) , also Emperor Franz I of Austria (1804-1835) , set-up a dedicated chair for State pharmacology on 21 July 1804, to which Doctor Ferdinand Eberhard Vietz was appointed by Imperial decree as chair-person of Chair of Forensic Medicine on 24 February 1805. Vietz was tasked with holding both medical and legal lectures, turning forensic medicine into a separate examination subject at the medical and legal faculty.

As early as 1532, the « scrupulous procedure for the judgment of capital crimes » (« Constitutio Criminalis Carolina ») of Karl V required the involvement of doctors when judging medical issues in legal practice.

In 1768, the Theresiana (« Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana ») was established for all Austrian hereditary territories. Post-mortems were introduced on 30 March 1770. The doctor conducting the post-mortem had to be vetted by the medical faculty.

Following the establishment of the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») in the Alsergrund District (9th) in 1784, the responsibility for official post-mortem examinations was conferred to the 2 youngest hospital surgeons. Together with the city-surgeon, they made-up a commission whereby the city-surgeon carried-out the actual procedure.

In 1808, a decree was passed which stipulated that the Professor of Forensic Pharmacology should assume overall responsibility for post-mortems at which students could also be present. From 1812, all forensic post-mortems from the city and surrounding areas were carried-out at the Vienna General Hospital.

The second chair, Josef Bernt, set-up a practical teaching institute for forensic medicine with a mortuary and post-mortem amphitheatre.

The construction of the amphitheatre formed the basis for the future Vienna Institute of Forensic Medicine. In 1815, Bernt was sworn in as « Beschaumeister » by the city-council, equivalent to the modern-day expert witness. Bernt remained in this position until 1842.

His successors were Jakob Kolletschka (1843-1847) and Johann Dlahy (1848-1875) .

Together with Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky, Dlahy moved into the newly-built, 2 story church-yard building, known colloquially as « Indagandis Hof » , in 1862. The areas of work were in the North-wing of the first floor along with a chemical laboratory and a museum, while on the first floor there was the forensic post-mortem room, the forensic burial chamber and a commission-room.

His successor was Eduard Ritter von Hofmann, who held the position of chair from 1875 until his death in 1897. It was also, at this time, that a separation was made between forensic medicine and hygiene. Hofmann combined forensic and medical post-mortems to form the area of forensic medicine. During his time in this position, the building of the Institute of Forensic Medicine was extended, with a second floor being added to the Pathological Institute in 1883 and the construction of an extension to the lecture-hall. The work-spaces were moved to the South-wing of the first floor and the museum to the second floor. The lecture-hall, post-mortem room for forensic scientists and the laboratory were located in the southern half. Hofmann wrote the authoritative « Lehrbuch für Gerichtliche Medizin » (Course-book on Forensic Medicine) , which was first published in 1878. It remains today a core-text (11th edition by Albin Haberda, 1927) and has been translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

The death of Crown Prince Rudolf on 30 January 1889 and the investigation into the « Ringtheater » fire on 8 December 1881, in which more than 400 people died, occurred during Hofmann's tenure. The « Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft » (Vienna Voluntary Rescue Association) was founded as a result of the tragic event on 8 December 1881. The accident led to a number of key-insights for forensic medicine, such as the fact that during a fire, smoke intoxication can result in death. Moreover, it was proven that carbon monoxide (CO) is a clear indication that somebody was burned alive. When examining the bodies, modern methods of identification were used, such as determining identity on the basis of dental records.

Following the death of Hofmann, the pathological anatomist Alexander Kolisko assumed the chair. He dedicated himself primarily to the pathology of sudden-death and left the criminal side of the subject, court activities and lectures for lawyers to his first assistant, Albin Haberda. When the chair for pathological anatomy became available in 1916, Kolisko returned there, paving the way for Haberda to be appointed to the chair of forensic medicine « primo » et « unico loco » .

After the First World War, it became possible to extend the institute's building to the North in 1922 when the adjacent Military Pathological Institute of the « Garnisonsspital » became available. Since this time, the institute has been located at « Sensengasse » Number 2.

Haberda was succeeded first by Anton Werkgartner, and then, by Fritz Reuter, who was stripped of his position in 1938 for political reasons and was then only able to return to the University in 1945, his name having been cleared. Reuter set-up a dedicated chemistry laboratory for the institute. His successor was his former first assistant, Walter Schwarzacher, who created the Heidelberger Institute.

Leopold Breitenecker followed Schwarzacher, holding the position from 1958 to 1973. Under his stewardship, the old building underwent comprehensive renovation, with an additional floor being added to the side-wings and a new laboratory building being created by an extension to « Sensengasse » . He created 2 new departments : serology and anthropology. Furthermore, he gave the Museum of Forensic Medicine a permanent home in the listed central-wing of the main-building.

The creation of the collection of compounds can be traced back to Johann Peter Franck. In 1796, a decree was passed

following Frank's efforts, pursuant to which doctors at the Vienna General Hospital were obliged to supply every compound to the Museum of Pathological Anatomy (in the former Institute of Pathology) . In 1875, Hofmann assumed his lectureship in Vienna. He was able to remove the forensic medicine compounds from the Pathological Collection and to create an independent museum. The museum has been located in the Institute of Forensic Medicine at « Sensengasse » Number 2 since 1922. The museum houses more than 2,000 compounds, which were largely obtained during post-mortems for health and forensic purposes. A collection of crime tools, ranging from simple weapons from earlier decades to the very latest weapons, provide a good overview of the history of crime over the past 100 years. Many famous criminal cases are represented by means of exhibits, such as the file with which Empress Elisabeth was murdered in Geneva on 10 September 1898.

## Dates

**1044** : The Als river (Alserbach, from the Celtic « als » for stream (Bach) and « olsa » for alder (Erle)) , which is acknowledged in the name of Vienna's 9th District, Alsergrund, is mentioned for the first time in documents. In the 19th Century, the area became increasingly boggy, with the result that the Alserbach was re-routed underground between 1840 and 1846 for reasons of hygiene.

The village of Siechenals (the German name is a play on the languid flow of the stream) was located on the banks of the Alserbach.

The diseases brought during the crusades led to a large number of people requiring medical aid, and they were moved to infirmaries (« Siechenhäuser ») in the surrounding towns (e.g. , St. Johann an der Siechenals) .

**14th Century** : St. Lazar hospital was founded in the village of Siechenals to care for patients afflicted by leprosy.

**1302** : The first clearly documented and court-ordered post-mortem examination took place in Bologna.

**1365** : The University of Vienna was founded (« Alma Mater Rudolphina Vindobonensis ») .

The Faculty of Medicine is a founding member of the « Alma Mater Rudolphina Vindobonensis » .

**1399** : The first records of events at the Faculty of Medicine from May 1399 - see : university archive, « Acta Facultatis Medicæ Universitatis Vindobonensis » .

**1404** : The Italian professor Galeazzo di Santa Sophie (who died in 1427) performed the first post-mortem examination for the purposes of teaching and demonstration at the « Heiligen-Geist-Spital » . The hospital founded in the 13th Century was destroyed during the first siege of the Turks and was not rebuilt (today : Vienna University of Technology) .

**1452** : Dissection of a female corpse at the Faculty of Medicine.

**1530** : Hospital at Siechenals serves as a hospital for those afflicted by the Plague.

**1532** : « Constitutio Criminalis Carolina », the painstaking procedure for the judgment of capital crimes (« Halsgerichtsordnung ») of Emperor Charles V came into force stipulated the involvement of physicians in the judicial process when assessing medical questions.

**1621** : Paolo Zacchia (1584-1659) : « Quæstiones medico-legales » (1621-1650) - first systematic manual for forensic medicine.

**1630** : Deaths in the city were registered by the « Totenbeschreibeamt » records of external examinations dating back to 1648 are still held at the City and Regional Archive of Vienna.

**1656** : The « Bäckerhäusel » (close to today's « Boltzmannngasse / Währingerstraße ») was also used as a place for sick people to convalesce.

**1657** : The « Kontumazhof » (a hospital for diseases between today's « Währingerstraße » and « Van Swieten Gasse ») was built and later became the military garrison hospital of the City of Vienna.

**1693** : Johann Theobald Frankh dedicated his property on « Alsergasse im Schaffernack » (today « Alserstraße » Number 4 in Vienna's 9th District) to the construction of a hospital for soldiers.

**1694** : The Home for the Poor and Invalid was built on Frankh's land - completed in 1697 (today : first court-yard of the former general hospital) .

**1732** : The City of Vienna bought the land next to the « Kontumazhof » (a site for quarantined patients) and turned it into a cemetery.

**1756** : An Anatomic Theatre was opened at the University of Vienna (today : « Dr. Ignaz-Seipl-Platz » Number 2, 1010 Vienna - Academy of Sciences) .

**1761** : Giovanni Battista Morgagni published his seminal work « De sedibus et causis morborum per anatomen indagatis » (On the Seats and Causes of Diseases as Investigated by Anatomy) - this sentence was used by way of dedication on the gables of the Institute of Pathology.

**Saturday, 31 December 1768** : Archduchess Maria Theresia enacted the « Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana », a uniform penal code for Austria and Bohemia.

**Friday, 30 March 1770** : External examination of corpses became obligatory on the orders of Maria Theresia and only allowed to be carried-out by physicians. The medical examiners needed to be certified by the Faculty of Medicine.

The « Hauptsanitätsnormativ », a generally applicable health-care law for countries under the Monarchy, was introduced. The « Sanitäts- und Kontumazordnung » created uniformity across the health-care system. The health and well-being of the people becomes a State affair.

**1775** : Elements of forensic medicine were taught during lectures on surgery in order to familiarize students and physicians with external examinations of corpses.

**1783** : The garrison hospital was built on the former land of the « Kontumazhof » to care for wounded soldiers.

**1784** : Josef II (1741-1790) opened the Vienna General Hospital on 16 August 1784 to care for and provide solace to sick people (« saluti et solatio ægrorum ») based on the Home for the Poor and Invalid (today, court-yard Number 1 to Number 7 of the former General Hospital) . A mortuary was built at the north-east end of the facility next to the straw warehouse (hence, the German name « Strohhof » or « Leichenhof » ; court-yard Number 10 of today's former General Hospital) . Official post-mortems were transferred to the 2 youngest surgeons. Together with the city-surgeon, they formed a commission in which the city-surgeon performed the actual autopsy.

**1785** : On 7 November 1785, the surgical academy was opened (today : « Josephinum ») .

Forensic medicine lectures were held as an ancillary subject by the professor for surgery and obstetrics for students training to become physicians at the aforementioned Josephine Academy.

**1795** : Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821) , who had been holding lectures on forensic medicine and medical policing since 1785, was appointed a professor at the University of Vienna and also as director of the Vienna General Hospital.

Proposal : Setting-up a chair for State pharmacology.

Publication of the fundamental book « System einer vollständigen Medizinischen Polizey » (System of a complete medical policy) .

**Saturday, 21 July 1804** : The first independent university chair was established for State pharmacology (« Staatsarzneykunde ») by Emperor Franz II (1768-1835) .

**1805** : The Prussian Criminal Code was enacted with rules governing forensic external examinations and the performance of post-mortem examinations :

Explicit instructions that a post-mortem had to include the 3 cavities of the body (chest, abdomen and head) , and that the lungs of new-borns should be tested to ascertain if the child was dead or alive when it was born (part 2, chapter 2 sections 164 and 166) .

**Sunday, 24 February 1805** : Doctor Ferdinand Bernhard Vietz was appointed Chair of Forensic Medicine (Head of the

Institute from 1805 to 1813) .

Holding of medical and legal lectures.

Forensic medicine became a subject in its own right at the medical and legal faculty.

**1808** : A regulation was enacted which stipulated the Professor for State Pharmacology should be ultimately responsible for forensic post-mortem examinations, which students could now also attend.

**1812** : All post-mortems ordered by the courts and health authorities from the city and towns surrounding Vienna were carried-out at the Vienna General Hospital.

**1813** : Josef Bernt (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1813 to 1842) .

Certified by the authorities as Master Inspector (corresponds to today's expert witness) in 1815.

Setting-up of a learning facility for forensic medicine with an autopsy room.

**1815** : The Office of the Official Head Medical Examiner of the City of Vienna was associated with the Chair of State Pharmacology.

**1818** : The prosector of pathology and anatomy was given responsibility for all post-mortems ordered by the health authorities and the courts. A forensic medicine remains part of pathological anatomy until 1875.

The dissection chamber was extended, creating an anatomical auditorium.

**1821** : An extraordinary chair for pathological anatomy was established and filled by Lorenz Biermayer.

**1833** : The University of Zürich was opened - official lectures in forensic medicine began.

The Practical Research Institute for State Pharmacology was founded in Berlin.

**1843** : Jakob Kolletschka (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1843 to 1862) .

**1844** : Pathological anatomy was established as a dedicated discipline - Carl von Rokitansky was the first « ordinarius » Professor of Pathological Anatomy in Vienna.

**1855** : Enactment by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice : Provisions for performing forensic external examinations.

Chair for Forensic Medicine was established at the University of Bern - a dedicated institute was only established in 1927.

**1859** : The Institute of Pathology and Anatomy (colloquially referred to as « Indagandis Hof » , in reference to the dedication « Indagandis sedibus et causis morborum » on the gables at the research of the seats and causes of diseases) was built on the site of the former mortuary. The working areas were located in the North-wing of the first floor, with a chemical laboratory and a museum. The forensic funeral chamber and a commission room were on the ground-floor.

**1862** : Johan Dlauhy (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1862 to 1875) .

Together with Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky, Dlauhy moved to the newly-built single-floor « Leichenhof » building in 1862 (today : brain research-centre of the Medical University of Vienna) .

**1863** : The Institute of Forensic Medicine was founded at the Karl Franzens University in Graz.

**1869** : A consecration chapel was built on the edge of today's court-yard Number 10 of the former General Hospital.

Following the example of Vienna, a chair for State pharmacology was established at the University of Innsbruck - the first holder of this chair was the future Director of the Vienna Institute, Eduard von Hoffmann.

**1875** : Chair for hygiene was established upon the opening of a dedicated Institute of Hygiene in 1908 on « Kinderspitalgasse » .

Eduard Hofmann (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1875 to 1897) .

Investigated the death of Crown Prince Rudolph on 30 January 1889.

Investigated the over 400 victims of the « Ringtheater » fire on 8 December 1881 :

First time identification was made using dental records.

Smoke inhalation was the cause of death.

Demonstrating that the presence of carbon monoxide (CO) is evidence that someone was burned alive.

First publication of Hofmann's « Text-Book for Forensic Medicine » (1878) . For a long period of time, this was the standard reference-book for forensic medicine and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

Removal of forensic medicine specimens from the pathology association collection and transferred to its own,



independent collection.

Forensic medicine and hygiene separated.

Post-mortems ordered by the court and health authorities were linked to the Director of the Institute for Forensic Medicine from 1875. From this time on, forensic medicine was no longer part of pathological anatomy.

**1898** : Alexander Kolisko (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1898 to 1916) .

The dagger which was used to murder the Empress Elisabeth in Geneva on 10 September 1898 was included in the forensic medicine collection.

Following the death of Hofmann, the pathological anatomist Alexander Kolisko was appointed to the chair. He concentrated primarily on the pathology of sudden-death and left the criminological side of the field, working with the courts and holding lectures for lawyers, to his first assistant Albin Haberda. When the chair for pathological anatomy became vacant in 1916, Kolisko returned there, and Haberda was appointed to the chair for forensic medicine.

**1909** : Institute of Forensic Medicine established in Munich.

**1916** : Albin Haberda (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1916 to 1935) .

The former military prosecutor building of the garrison hospital located at « Sensengasse » Number 2 (its role as a military hospital was abandoned following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the First World War) was converted to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in 1922, now the Department of Forensic Medicine.

**1935** : Fritz Reuter (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1935 to 1938 : removed from office for political reasons) .

A chemistry lab for forensic medicine was set-up.

Anton Werkgartner (Interim Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine in 1935) .

**1938** : Philip Schneider (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1938 to 1945) .

(Image) Forensic Medicine in Vienna under National-Socialism from the German-language book by Ingrid Arias.

Anton Werkgartner (Acting Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine following the so-called « Anschluß » (annexation of Austria to Germany) .

**1945** : Fritz Reuter (vindicated in 1945 : Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1945 to 1946) .

1946 :Walter Schwarzacher (Head of the Institute of Forensic Medicine from 1946 to 1958) .

### Mahler and the Pernerstorfer Circle

Gustav Mahler first came into contact with the Pernerstorfer Circle via Siegfried Lipiner. Victor Adler was hosting meetings at his home at the time that Mahler first entered the Circle. Apparently, Adler purchased a top-quality piano for his house so that Mahler could practice on it. Further, he worked to find piano pupils for Mahler, providing Mahler with income while he attended the Vienna Conservatory.

Mahler also played piano for Circle meetings. His friend Natalie Bauer-Lechner describes hearing him play Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » at Richard Kralik von Meyrswalden's house (the brother of Mathilde) .

Mahler's interest in the circle reflects intense philosophical and metaphysical interests that were an integral part of his work as a composer and conductor. Mahler was influenced to some degree by Friedrich Nietzsche ; he uses one of Nietzsche's poems in his 3rd Symphony. He changed his opinion of Nietzsche in his later life, though during his courtship of Alma Schindler, he reacted with some horror to finding Nietzsche's complete works on her book-shelf and demanded that she burn them immediately.

He certainly was influenced by Wagner. Besides conducting Wagner's work, Alma Mahler noted in her commentary on Mahler's letters that Mahler had often said that, except for Wagner in his book, Beethoven, only Schopenhauer in « The World as Will and Idea » had had anything worthwhile to say about the essence of music.

Mahler also shared with some other Circle members an interest in occult spiritualism. Mahler's residence in Steinbach is located opposite Nussdorf, where Victor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer spend their summer holidays with their families.

...

In 1878, Gustav Mahler joined the Pernerstorfer Circle, a group whose origins lay in the sense of separation experienced by Austrian Germans in the late 1860's after Austria joined Napoléon III in an alliance against the Prussian Germans. Like the much larger « Leseverein der deutsche Studenten Wiens » , founded in 1871, the Pernerstorfer Circle looked to Germanic culture as a tool for the restoration of a pan-German political unity. While, for Mahler, the specific political aspirations of pan-German nationalism may later have evaporated, the cultural ideals with which it was associated remained with him throughout his life. The founding in 1873, by Guido Adler and Felix Mottl, of the « Wiener Akademischen Wagner-Verein » was, thus, a cultural event of political significance. One of its members, Siegfried Lipiner, was later to introduce Mahler into the Pernerstorfer Circle.

...

Mahler became a member of the Pernerstorfer Circle toward the end of the 1870's when he was brought into the

circle through his friendship with Siegfried Lipiner. At about the time, Mahler joined the group, it was undergoing important changes in its activities and outlook. When the government dissolved the « Leseverein der deutsche Studenten Wiens » to curb its advocacy of radical German nationalism, the circle was forced to redirect its political activities from a student environment to the tasks of Party organization and mass-movements. At the same time, the circle's relationship with Friedrich Nietzsche suffered when the philosopher took offense at Lipiner's awkward attempts to establish a close personal friendship. Although Nietzsche continued to wish his Viennese followers well (from a careful distance) and most of the circle's members remained committed to his ideas, the circle increasingly shifted its focus from philosophical discussion to the practical tasks of realizing its political and cultural goals.

That the members of the circle took seriously their goal of fostering genius is revealed, in Mahler's case, by the fact that Victor Adler went to the expense of buying the best piano he could find so that the impoverished Mahler could practice. He also set about locating pupils for the hours of piano instruction that constituted Mahler's chief livelihood while he was a student at the Vienna Conservatory. Mahler returned the favour by providing the piano accompaniment for the nationalist songs that the group performed at its political gatherings. With respect to Mahler's exposure to Nietzsche's thought, the evidence suggests that although the moment of the circle's closeness to Nietzsche had passed, Mahler's association with the group gave him a general knowledge and admiration of the philosopher's outlook that was expanded to a detailed understanding of Nietzsche's work at a later time.

For most members of the Pernerstorfer Circle, the encounter with Nietzsche's thought they experienced as university students significantly influenced the accomplishments of their mature years, but it was in the work of Gustav Mahler that the philosopher's ideas achieved their fullest artistic realization.

...

Mahler was a member of the Pernerstorfer Circle, on and off, until 1883, when he finally left Vienna to take-up his post in Olmütz. These 3 years and the circle itself were the most crucial of all in terms of Mahler's literary and philosophical formation and his whole outlook on life, so that a lengthy excursus is more than justified, not least because Siegfried Lipiner was of tremendous importance in Mahler's life, first in the years leading-up to the breach following his marriage to Alma Schindler, and again in the final years of Mahler's life. (The fact that Alma Schindler was born in the autumn of 1879, at the very time that Mahler was becoming involved in the Lipiner circle, also serves to underline the generation gap between Mahler and his wife.)

...

One legacy of Mahler's membership in the Pernerstorfer Circle was his interest in the political dimension of German culture rather than in Austrian particularism - although, like other former members, by 1906, he had long distanced himself from the circle's nationalist and conservative political ambitions. There was of course a powerful musical tradition of composing works for national occasions during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Throughout the 19th Century, Goethe and Schiller were the focal-points in a prolific discourse on the national functions of German literature. The last 3 decades of that Century in particular were marked by a lively debate that conceived of Goethe's « Faust » as a «

national » text - a debate in which Wagner and Nietzsche happened to be key-figures. Mahler's literary and philosophical interests were firmly rooted in his student days in the 1870's. In his critical reading of German cultural history, he ultimately takes a stance against the nationalist and conservative functionalization of art so characteristic of the cultural climate during his student days in general and the Pernerstorfer Circle in particular, a mobilization of art that, by 1900, had gained a clear anti-Semitic dimension.

### Pernerstorfer Circle

The Pernerstorfer Circle was a group of late-19th Century Viennese intellectuals who developed and shared a collective outlook. This outlook strongly influenced their individual activities within their own specialties, including politics, philosophy, poetry, music, and theatre. The core of the Circle was formed in the 1870's as a reading group in social-democratic literature. One can trace the development of common ideas within the group through the end of the Century, when the Circle divided into those most interested in political activism and those most inspired by Richard Wagner's aesthetic-religious path. By the first decade of the 20th Century, key-members of the group occupied prominent and influential positions in the cultural and political life of Austria, most notably Victor Adler and Gustav Mahler.

The Pernerstorfer Circle is one striking example among the numerous reading societies and discussion groups which were deeply integrated into the culture of 19th Century Vienna. Such groups facilitated a dynamic intersection between philosophy, politics, and the arts. The Circle provides a glimpse at the way in which numerous influential figures in turn of the Century Vienna were steeped in concerns and activity outside of their own realm of specialization via significant and influential contact with each other.

### Doctor Max von Gruber

The Austrian scientist, physician, botanist, physiologist, bacteriologist and hygienist Doctor Max Gruber was born on 6 July 1853 in Vienna and died on 16 September 1927 in Berchtesgaden, Germany. His brother was Franz von Gruber.

He influenced Austrian sanitary legislation. Was member of the Sanitary Council. In 1896, he discovered specific agglutination with his English colleague Herbert Durham (internationally recognized method : Gruber-Widal-reaction) for the detection of infectious diseases (typhoid fever) ; discovered the « specific agglutination » of typhoid bacteria. His main-interests were studying the hygiene and the sexual life.

Gruber participated as an officer in the Pernerstorfer Circle, and, like many members, he was also a participant and officer within the « Leseverein der deutsche Studenten Wiens ». He was among the group members who signed the letter to Friedrich Nietzsche indicating their readiness to dedicate themselves to his ideological vision. In his career as a doctor and researcher, he invented a method for detecting typhoid fever.

Gruber wrote that, for himself and others of his generation, there was a common bond of painful adolescent rejection of the values of his parents and the standing political, economic, religious, and cultural structures of the Habsburg

Empire. For Gruber, and certainly for other members of the Circle (almost all born in the early 1850's) , this common youthful bond remained a lifelong foundation of values and thinking.

Max von Gruber was the son of Ignaz Gruber (1803-1872) , a general practitioner and the first ear-specialist (otology) in Austria, and publisher of a 2 volume text-book on medical chemistry (1835) . He graduated from the « Schottengymnasium » in Vienna and studied medicine at the University of Vienna, receiving his medical doctorate in 1876. He then learned chemistry and physiology under Max von Pettenkofer (1818-1901) and Karl von Voit (1831-1908) in Munich and Karl Ludwig (1816-1895) in Leipzig. Also working under Pettenkofer was Hans Ernst August Buchner (1850-1902) , who encouraged Gruber to concentrate on bacteriology.

Unlike some of the great names of the time, among them Carl Wilhelm Nägeli, Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) , Ferdinand Cohn (1828-1898) , and Robert Koch (1843-1910) , Gruber recognized that bacteria possess a variability within limits partially determined by the culture medium. This theory was important for the differentiation of the categories of bacteria and gained significance for Gruber in his examinations of cholera vibrios, enabling him to distinguish them from other vibrios.

In 1882, Gruber was habilitated as a lecturer in Vienna, and, 2 years later, he became associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») and head of the newly-established Institute for Hygiene at the University of Graz. On 23 March 1887, he became « ausser-ordentlicher » professor in Vienna, succeeding Josef Nowak, and, on 10 December 1891, he was appointed to the chair of hygiene established in 1875 at the University of Vienna. Karl Landsteiner became his assistant in 1896.

Another of his pupils, Alois Lode, in 1897, became the first professor in the new chair of hygiene at the University of Innsbruck. The working conditions in the Institute of Hygiene were so poor, that Gruber attempted to resign his chair and find employment as head of a laboratory in Munich or at the Jenner Institute in London, under Joseph Lister. It was while in Vienna, however, that Gruber, with his English student Herbert Edward Durham (1866-1945) , discovered the agglutination which gained him international fame.

Gruber eventually left Vienna in 1902, and, in October that year, he succeeded Hans Buchner as director of the Institute for Hygiene in Munich. He held the post until his voluntary retirement in 1923, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. On this occasion, he made a statement that described an outlook probably common to many members of the Pernerstorfer Circle :

« To realize a noble humanity myself and to help others realize it - that was actually, when I really consider it, always the ultimate aim of my longing. Problems of world-view and morality have always concerned me more than all other things. He described himself as having throughout his life a restless despair at the disparity between ideal and reality. »

In Vienna, Gruber was succeeded by Arthur Schattenfroh (1869-1923) , who held the chair from 1905 to 1923. During his last years, Gruber concentrated completely on his duties as president of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

With Max Rubner and Father Martin Ficker (1868-), Gruber published the « Hand-book of Hygiene », edited in 6 volumes by S. Hirtzel in Leipzig (1911-1913) .

As a leading racial hygienist, when he first met the Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler, he described him as a witness at court in 1923 :

« It was the first time I had seen Hitler close at hand. Face and head of inferior type, cross-breed ; low receding forehead, ugly nose, broad cheek-bones, little eyes, dark hair. Expression not of a man exercising authority in perfect self-command, but of raving excitement. At the end, an expression of satisfied egotism. »

...

Maximilian Franz Maria Gruber, seit 1908 Ritter von Gruber (geboren 6. Juli 1853 in Wien ; gestorben 16. September 1927 in Berchtesgaden) war ein österreichischer Mediziner, Botaniker, Physiologe, Bakteriologe und Hygieniker. Von Gruber gilt als einer der Begründer der modernen Hygiene und Serologie und beschäftigte sich zudem mit Themen der Rassenhygiene.

Max von Gruber, Sohn von Ignaz Gruber, einem der 1. Ohrenärzte Österreichs, wuchs in Wien auf. Nach Abgang vom renommierten Schottengymnasium studierte Gruber Medizin und Chemie an den Universitäten Wien, München und Leipzig. 1876 wurde er promoviert und war danach drei Jahre Assistent am Chemischen Institut in Wien. Seine weitere Ausbildung erhielt er in München unter Max von Pettenkofer, Carl von Voit und Carl von Nägeli. 1882 habilitierte er sich in Wien im Fach Hygiene, arbeitete dann ein Semester unter dem Physiologen Carl Ludwig in Leipzig und übernahm 1884 die Leitung des Hygiene-Instituts in Graz. Ab 1887 lehrte er in Wien, wo er zum Direktor des Hygienischen Institutes berufen wurde.

1896 entdeckte von Gruber, zusammen mit seinem englischen Kollegen Herbert Edward Durham, die sogenannte Agglutination und begründete damit die spätere Serologie. Fernand Widal zeichnete dafür verantwortlich, daß diese Methode en gros in der Praxis eingesetzt werden konnte (Gruber-Widal-Reaktion) .

1902 wurde von Gruber als Ordinarius für Hygiene und Nachfolger des mit ihm befreundeten Hans Bucher Direktor des Hygiene-Instituts in München. 1908 erfolgte die Erhebung in den bayerischen Personaladel. In seiner Münchener Zeit wandte er sich zunehmend rassenhygienischen Fragestellungen zu. Von 1910 bis 1922 war er Vorsitzender der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene. Während des 1. Weltkriegs engagierte er sich als nationalistisch-politischer Redner für einen deutschen « Siegfrieden » und ein vergrößertes deutsches Kolonialreich. Von Gruber war Mitglied im Alldeutschen Verband. 1917 nahm er die Herausgeberschaft der von Julius Friedrich Lehmann gegründeten rassistisch-nationalistischen Zeitschrift Deutschlands Erneuerung an (unter anderem zusammen mit Houston Stewart Chamberlain) . Zusammen mit Lehmann gründete von Gruber die bayerische Sektion der Deutschen Vaterlandspartei. 1919 war er Mitbegründer der Deutschnationalen Volkspartei in Bayern.

Bekannte Familienmitglieder waren sein Bruder, der Architekt Franz von Gruber, und sein Sohn, der Geodät Otto von

Gruber.

Nach Max von Gruber wurde eine kleine Seitenstraße am Klinikum Schwabing in München benannt.

...

Nach dem Medizinstudium, der Promotion in Wien (1876) und einer Assistententätigkeit am chemischen Institut der Universität Wien (F. C. Schneider) erhielt Gruber seine weitere Ausbildung bei Pettenkofer, Voit und Naegeli in München. 1882 habilitierte er sich für Hygiene in Wien und arbeitete dann ein Semester bei dem Physiologen Carl Ludwig in Leipzig. 1884 wurde er zum außerordentlichen Professor der Hygiene in Graz ernannt und 1887 als außerordentlicher Professor und Direktor des Hygienischen Instituts nach Wien berufen (Mitglied des Obersten Sanitätsrates, 1891 Ordinarius). 1902 folgte er einem Ruf nach München, wo er als Nachfolger seines Freundes Hans Buchner den Pettenkoferschen Lehrstuhl bestieg. Eine erneute Berufung an seine Heimatuniversität Wien lehnte er ab. Über 20 Jahre wirkte er in München, bis er 1923 emeritiert wurde.

Gruber darf als Mitschöpfer der modernen Hygiene bezeichnet werden. Er hatte hervorragenden Anteil an der Sanitätsgesetzgebung in Österreich und Bayern, erwarb sich große Verdienste um die Bekämpfung der Volkskrankheiten (insbesondere des Typhus und der Cholera), beschäftigte sich mit den Problemen der Städtesanierung, der Schulhygiene und Jugenderziehung und nahm ausführlich Stellung zur Alkoholfrage und zu sexuellen Problemen. In den späteren Jahren wandte er sein besonderes Interesse der Bevölkerungspolitik und Rassenhygiene zu. Seine Hauptleistung liegt jedoch auf dem Gebiet der Bakteriologie und Immunitätsforschung. Die Entdeckung der Agglutination, die er zusammen mit Durham 1896 veröffentlichte (Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift 43 (1896); Seite 285f.), machte seinen Namen weltberühmt. Gruber erkannte sofort die große diagnostische Bedeutung dieser Reaktion, deren Grundprinzip darin besteht, daß das Blutserum eines Tieres oder Menschen nach überstandener bakterieller Infektion die Fähigkeit erhält, pathogene Mikroorganismen derselben spezifischen Art in Klümpchen (Agglutine) auszufällen. Damit begründete Gruber die Serologie. Widal machte kurz darauf diese Methode in großem Maßstabe der klinischen Praxis nutzbar (Gruber-Widalsche-Reaktion). Auf bakteriologischem Gebiet arbeitete Gruber ferner über das verwickelte Problem der Abwehrkräfte und Abwehrstoffe des Organismus einerseits und der Parasiten andererseits (Antitoxine, Opsonine). Von seinen vielen berühmten Schülern ist vor allem Landsteiner zu nennen.

## Genealogie

Vater : Ignaz Gruber (1803-1872), Doktor der Medizin, Otologe in Wien, Sohn des Forstmeisters Franz und des Juliane Mühlbacher ; Mutter : Gabriele (1814-1908), Tochter des Johann von Menninger (1780-1849), Börsensensal in Wien, und des Franziska Tenamberg ; Bruder : Franz Ritter von Gruber (österreichischer Ritterstand 1882, 1837-1918), Militärische- und Zivilarchitekt, Erbauer der Aspangbahnhofs, Ignaz Freiherr Gruber von Menninger ; verheiratet 1) Gnadwald 1878 Julie (1851-1888), Tochter des Anton von Aichinger (1795-1874), Spediteur, Burgmeister von Hall/Tirol, und des Auguste von Schorn, 2) Birmingham 1891 Alwine Friederike (geboren 1863), Tochter des Uhrenfabriker William Ehrhardt und des Dorothea Rugenstein ; 4 Sohn, 2 Tochter aus 1), und andere Otto, Wolfgang (geboren 1886), Chef-chemiker der Wacker Gesellschaft für Elektrochemische Industrie, Werk Burghausen ; Neffe : Richard von Gruber (1869-

1938) .

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (Mid-June 1878)

**Wednesday, 19 June 1878 :**

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen « Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

Fortunato Luzzatto. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen « Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(2 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang.

Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Franz Weber. »

Bei Musiktheorie « Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(12 Zöglinge.)

Heinrich Eisner, Paul von Janko, Carl Kehlendorfer, Adolf Kmoch, Richard Schulz. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(11 Zöglinge.)

Paul Lorenz, Ferdinand Löwe, Bela Mandl, Heinrich Salzmänn, Josef Schalk, Franz Weber, Hanns Winter, Josef Zschel. »

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1878-1879

**Saturday, 21 September 1878 :**

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper :



(Fußnote, ohne Bruckner-Bezug.)

1) Ordentliche Lehrer.

(...)

5) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium zählen :

Franz Brischar (« aus Jedlersee, 19 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») (Harmonielehre) , Franz Burgarth (« aus Hamburg, 17 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») (Harmonielehre) , Ernst Denhof (« 16 Jahre - Klavier V. III. , Harmonielehre, I. Sprach. ») (Harmonielehre) , Rudolf Dittrich (« aus Biala, 17 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Klavier II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Julius Korngold (« aus Brünn, 18 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») (Harmonielehre) , Ferdinand Löwe (« 15 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Komposition I. , Kontrapunkt II. , I. Sprach. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Bela Mandl (« aus Zenta, 20 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Kontrapunkt II. , Komposition I. , Literaturgeschichte. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Anton Meißner (« 16 Jahre - Klavier V. III. , Harmonielehre. ») (Harmonielehre) , Karl Bernhard Öhn (« Karl B. Ehn, 25 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») , Eduard Rosé (« Rosenblum Eduard, aus Jassy, 19 Jahre - Violoncello A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Franz Schalk (« 15 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») (Harmonielehre) , Josef Schalk (Kontrapunkt) , Hans Peter Vergeiner (« aus Freistadt, Oberösterreich, 19 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Franz Weber (« aus Raab, 21 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Alfred Zamara (« 16 Jahre - Harfe A. II. , Klavier III. , Harmonielehre. ») , Josef Zschel (« 16 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») (Kontrapunkt) , vermutlich auch noch Richard Schultz (« 15 Jahre - Horn V. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») , der die Schule am 21. Februar 1879 verläßt.

Als Orgelschüler sind verzeichnet :

Emanuel von Kaczkowski (« 25 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Fortunato Luzzatto (« aus Triest, 22 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Komposition III. , General der Musik. ») , Lorenz Ritter (« aus Mariazell, 14 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Allgemeine Musiklehre, Klavier I. ») , Hans Peter Vergeiner (« aus Freistadt, Oberösterreich, 19 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Adolf Veith (« 14 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») und Franz Weber (« aus Raab, 21 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Ferdinand Hellmesberger (« 15 Jahre ») , Robert Hirschfeld (« aus Groß-Meseritsch, 21 Jahre - Harmonielehre I. , Klavier II. , General der Musik. ») , Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 16 Jahre - Klavier V. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Carl Lillich (« 17 Jahre ») , Theodor Lucca (Luka) (« 19 Jahre - Violoncello A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Rudolf (Raoul) Mader (« aus Preßburg, 22 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Komposition I. ») , Josef Schalk (« 21 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. ») , Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 13 Jahre - Violin V. III. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Friedrich Spigl (« 19 Jahre

- Klavier A. III. ») , Alfred Stroß (« 20 Jahre - Komposition A. III. ») und Franz Zottmann (« aus Hainburg, ? Jahre - Klavier A. III. ») .

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehören 2 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 2 ganz und 3 nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren, einer war « Stiffling » . 14 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Harmonielehre als Hauptfach und 5 Kontrapunkt (davon 1 Stiffling und 1 halb befreit) . Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 116 und Kontrapunkt von 23 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich erteilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 2.

Monatlich erteilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelschulen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 36.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelklassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 23.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400. »

### WAB 54 : Ölzelt junior's wedding

**Wednesday, 27 November 1878** : « Zur Vermählungsfeier » (For the wedding ceremony) (WAB 54) .

A 64 bar wedding song in D major for men's choir (TTBB) « a cappella » based on a text by Heinrich von der Mattig (Pseudonym of the Salzburg military doctor and amateur poet Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) .

Bruckner composed the setting for the wedding ceremony of his beloved landlord Anton Ölzelt junior with Amalie (Amy) Edler von Wieser. The piece was intended to be performed during the ceremony in the church of the Klosterneuburg Abbey. However, the ceremony did not occur, because the groom was a Protestant.

The original manuscript is stored in the archive of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna. It was first published in the Year-book of the Klosterneuburg Abbey (Vienna and Leipzig) in 1910. It has been re-edited by Josef von Wöb in 1921 together with the « Ave Regina cælorum » (WAB 8) . It is put in Volume XXIII/2, Number 30 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

Zwei Herzen haben sich gefunden  
Und durch die Ehe sich verbunden.  
Gesegnet hat des Priesters Hand  
Das Paar, geknüpft das Liebesband.  
Hat euch vereint der Geist der Wahrheit,  
Habt ihr erfaßt die Pflicht der Klarheit,  
Dann ist der Ehe Heiligtum  
Ein himmlisches Elysium.

So möge euch fürs ganze Leben  
Der Himmel Heil und Segen geben,  
Auch mein Gebet ruft heute laut :  
Gott segne Bräutigam und Braut !

...

Two hearts have found each other  
And bound together in marriage.  
The hand of the Priest has blessed  
The couple, establishing their band of love.

If the spirit of truth has united you  
And you understood the duty of clarity,  
Then the sanctuary of marriage is  
A heavenly Elysium.

So may for your whole life  
Heaven give you holiness and blessing,  
Also my prayer calls today loudly :  
God bless groom and bride !

### Doctor Heinrich Wallmann

The Austrian military physician, surgeon, obstetrician, writer, poet and journalist Doctor Heinrich Wallmann was born on 10 July 1827 in Mattsee, Salzburg region ; and died on 4 July 1898 in Vienna where he practised for decades. Upon his request, he was buried in his home-town cemetery.

Wallmann was « Oberstabsarzt » 1st Class field-physician, head of the Garrison Hospital Number 16 in Budapest - the head-physician of the 6th Corps. « Oberstabsarzt » (OStArz or OSA) is a military rank in German speaking armed force. It describes a medical staff officer surgeon or medical staff officer dentist comparable to major (« Major ») or lieutenant commander (« Korvettenkapitän ») .

Other titles : Imperial-Royal field-physician ; lecturer at the Imperial-Royal University of Vienna ; « Emeritus » Prosector of the Imperial-Royal Josef's Surgical Academy (« Josephinum ») full-member (« ordinarius ») of the Imperial-Royal Society of Doctors ; full-member (« ordinarius ») of the Imperial-Royal Zoological and Botanical Society of Vienna ; member of the Society for Regional Studies of Salzburg ; member of the Carolina-Augusteum Provincial Museum of Salzburg ; corresponding-member of the Physical-Medical Society of Würzburg.

As early as 1855, Wallmann, then a young military doctor, returned regularly to his birthplace for his summer vacation. Through his contributions to newspapers, magazines and brochures, he made the town of Mattsee and its surroundings known to wider circles - he is considered the father of tourism there. He was mainly responsible for the construction of the first sea-side bathing resort (consisting of 3 closed cabins) , which was inaugurated on 18 August 1869 on the occasion of Emperor Franz-Josef I birthday.

Wallmann was a great nature-lover who wrote articles on the subject. From 1869 to 1871, he worked on a book entitled « Mattsee and its surroundings » which will soon be out-of-print after its publication. Another remarkable work was his Treaty on the lakes of the Alps.

He is also the author of various medical articles.

He published dialectical poems under the pseudonym « Heinrich von Mattig » .

He was made honorary citizen of the town of Mattsee. The house of his birthplace is now a guest-house.

### The « Hunt » Scherzo

**December 1878** : Anton Bruckner replaced the original Scherzo with a completely new movement, which is sometimes called the « Hunt » Scherzo (« Jagd Scherzo ») .

In a letter to the music-critic Wilhelm Tappert, of **October 1878**, Bruckner describes the new movement thus :

« The Scherzo represents the hunt, whereas the Trio is a dance melody which is played to the hunters during their repast. »

The original title of the Trio reads : « Tanzweise während der Mahlzeit auf der Jagd » (Dance melody during the hunters' meal) .

...

The « Hunt Scherzo » is a replacement for the rather boisterous but thoroughly enjoyable piece Bruckner originally composed (in 1874) as the third movement of this Symphony. This replacement, a product of his over-hauling the Symphony in 1878-1880, is tighter and generally more tautly dramatic. Its opening mirrors the beginning of the first movement, with horns (here, a whole section of them) proclaiming what Bruckner actually calls in the score a « Jagdthema » or Hunting Theme (quietly, as if from a distance) against a hushed accompaniment of string tremolos. Other brass instruments join in the hunt and, after considerable working-out and quite a lot of thrilling dissonance brought about by piling-up sonorities above pedal points, we arrive at the relaxing contrast of the Trio section. Again, we hear shades of Schubert in the charming « Ländler » that occupies this stretch, with oboe and clarinet (later, first violins) piping-out its innocent, bucolic melody before an abbreviated repetition of the Scherzo section. « The Hunting of the Hare » is what Bruckner called his Scherzo, with the Trio being a « Dance Melody During the Huntsmen's Meal » .

### The String Quintet and the « Riedhof » Restaurant

**December 1878** : Anton Bruckner starts the composition of his String Quintet (WAB 112) .

According to August Göllerich junior, Bruckner talks about the main-theme of his brand new chamber work during the evening in company of young physician Doctors at the pub of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant (« Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus ») located at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schlößelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

### Ternberg : « Gasthof Derfler »

**1879 and after** : Anton Bruckner and his friend organist Franz Xaver Bayer were frequent guests at the « Gasthof Derfler » (« Hauptstraße » Number 15) in the town of Ternberg. The inn is diagonally opposite to the parish church of St. Peter et St. Paul (« Pfarrkirche Heiligen Peter und Paul ») located at « Kirchenplatz » Number 1 (today, « Einbahnstraße » Number 1-11) .

The building is a traditional « Vierkanthof » (square-shaped farm with an open-air middle-courtyard) specific to Upper-Austria and Lower-Austria (within a quadrilateral formed by the towns of Linz, Wels, Steyr and Amstetten) .

The tavern was built in 1477 and served as the hunting-lodge of Count Lamberg.

In 1879, the « Sulzbach » Tavern was taken-over by Leopold Derfler.

The 6th generation of the Derfler family is now running the « Sulzbach » Tavern.

Since 1 January 1998, the « Marktwirt Derfler » is owned by Leopold Derfler junior.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (Mid-June 1879)

#### Monday, 16 June 1879 :

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(4 Zöglinge.)

Hermann Vergeiner. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(2 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Fortunato Luzzatto.

II. Jahrgang : Franz Weber. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(16 Zöglinge.)

Franz Brischar, Franz Burgarth, Ernst Denhof, Julius Korngold, Anton Meißner, Franz Schalk. » (Hermann Vergeiner hörte Harmonielehre bei Franz Krenn.)

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(8 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Rudolf Dittrich.

II. Jahrgang : Ferdinand Löwe, Bela Mandl, Josef Schalk, Franz Weber, Josef Zschel. »

Zum Abschluß seiner Ausbildung erhält Franz Weber ein Diplom und wird mit der Gesellschafts-Medaille ausgezeichnet.

### Student Alfred Stroß's Symphony

**Wednesday, 2 July 1879** : Composition competition at the Vienna Conservatory. Alfred Stroß received unanimously the First Prize for the first movement of his Symphonie in C major (dedicated to Anton Bruckner) . Bruckner's organ pupil Fortunato Luzzatto (from Trieste) will be awarded a 2nd prize for the first movement of a Piano Quintet.

**Sunday, 15 July 1879** : The first movement of the prize-winning Symphonie in C major by Alfred Stroß is performed during the second final concert which concluded the Spring Semester at the Vienna Conservatory.

### Altpernstein abandoned Castle

**Sunday, 17 August 1879** : Beginning of Anton Bruckner's summer vacation.

Bruckner and his friends Josef Greck (nicknamed « Engerl ») and Karl Zeitlinger visit the abandoned Altpernstein Castle (Micheldorf) in Carinthia (Upper-Austria) along with tour-guide Förster Wischenbart.

Bruckner climbed with some difficulty the steep road leading to the old castle. After a while, Greck and Zeitlinger had to carry him (Bruckner sitting on their hands) .

Bruckner prayed with great devotion in the chapel and even « tried » the low dungeon-cells, in order to better understand the agony of the former prisoners. A morbid ritual which lasted for more than a hour.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1879-1880

**Monday, 22 September 1879 :**

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichtsleitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

1) Ordentliche Lehrer.

(...)

6) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel) . »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium zählen Franz Brischar (« aus Jedlersee, 20 Jahre - Horn V. I. , Kontrapunkt. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Rudolf Dittrich (« aus Biala, 18 Jahre - Violin A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , Klavier III. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Franz Ludwig (Fronz ?) (« Franz Ludwig, 20 Jahre - Harmonielehre. ») (Harmonielehre) , Carl Last (« 16 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») (Harmonielehre) und Lorenz Ritter (Harmonielehre) .

Als Orgelschüler sind verzeichnet :

Josef Baßwald (« aus Bruck an der Leitha, 22 Jahre - Orgel V. Kontrapunkt. ») , Carl Luze (« aus Altenmarkt, 15 Jahre - Orgel V. , Klavier I. , A. M. ») , Lorenz Ritter (« aus Mariazell, 15 Jahre - Orgel V. (Rept.) , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Franz Seifert (« 21 Jahre - Orgel V. ») , Adolf Veith (« 15 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. Klavier III. ») und Hermann Vergeiner (« aus Freistadt, 20 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt, Klavier III. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Ferdinand Hellmesberger (« 16 Jahre - Violoncello V. III. , Klavier II. ») , Robert Hirschfeld (« aus Groß-Meseritsch, 22 Jahre - Kontrapunkt. ») (bis zum 21. April 1880) , Carl Hrubý (« 10 Jahre - Violin V. C. , I. Abtheilung. ») , (« Leoš



Janáček, aus Hochwald, 25 Jahre - Komposition I. , General der Musik. ») , Paul Janko (« aus Totis, 23 Jahre - Klavier A. II. ») , Julius Korngold (« aus Brünn, 19 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. ») (bis zum 3. Dezember 1879) , Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 17 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») , Carl Lillich (« 18 Jahre - Violin A. II. ») , Theodor Luka (« 20 Jahre - Komposition A. I. ») , Rudolf (Raoul) Mader (« aus Preßburg, 23 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Komposition II. , General der Musik. ») , Karl Bernhard Ehn (« 26 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier II. , General der Musik. ») , Franz Schalk (« 16 Jahre - Violin A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») (bis zum 21. November 1879) , Josef Schalk (« 22 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») und Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 14 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Kontrapunkt, Klavier III. ») .

Von den 7 (recte : 6 ?) Orgelschülern gehören 2 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 2 ganz und 3 (4 ?) nicht vom Schulgeld befreit waren, einer war « Stiffling » . 8 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Harmonielehre als Hauptfach und 8 Kontrapunkt. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 114 und Kontrapunkt von 29 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4, effectiver : 4.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelschulen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 24.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2. Jahrgäng.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 25.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

Dem gedruckten Stundenplan zufolge hatte Anton Bruckner folgende Unterrichtseinteilung :

Orgel : Dienstag von 10 bis 12 Uhr und Donnerstag von 10 bis 12 Uhr.

Harmonielehre als Hauptfach : Dienstag von 12 bis 14 Uhr (« 12-2 ») , Donnerstag von 12 bis 2 Uhr, Samstag von 12 bis 2 Uhr.

Kontrapunkt : Dienstag von 17 bis 19 Uhr (« V (= Vormittag ! Recte " N ") " 5-7 " ») , Donnerstag von 17 bis 19 Uhr.

Die in der rechten Spalte angegebenen Zahlen ermöglichen es, anhand des Orientierungsplans auf Seite 66 die Lage von Anton Bruckners Unterrichtsraum zu bestimmen.

**University of Vienna : Winter Semester (1879-1880)**

Students of the Faculty of Philosophy who inscribed in Bruckner's university lectures :

Josef Aichinger, Cyprian Galembski, Otto von Liebieg, Paul Müller, Josef Schnabl, Rudolf Steiner.

**WAB 106**

**Between Wednesday, 24 September 1879 and Saturday, 3 September 1881 : The Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) is dedicated to the beloved landlord and philosophy teacher Anton Ölzelt junior.**

**Vienna Conservatory : Fall Semester (1879)**

**November 1879** : Among Bruckner's students at the Vienna Conservatory during the Fall Semester :

Johann Evangelist Aichinger, Otto von Liebig, J. Schnabl et Rudolf Steiner.

Bruckner's ideas and his methods attracted many of the curious who nevertheless approached him with respect. Among his students were Alois Hofler, later professor of pedagogy at the University of Vienna, and Rudolf Steiner, the founder of anthroposophy.

...

Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar entries :

(Hans Rott's hand-writing) « Hans Rott, 1st District, " Rothenturmstraße " Number 16, 4th floor. »

(Anton Bruckner's hand-writing) « (Franz) Weber, 8th District, " Laudongasse " Number 14, 3rd stairs, 2nd floor, door Number 26. »

(Unknown hand-writing) « Anton Schmidt, " Goldschmidgasse " Number 11, first floor. »

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

### « Ilse » : The Opera libretto

**Early 1880** : Anton Bruckner is interested by « Ilse » , an Opera libretto written by tenor Franz Schumann, which was performed in Leipzig by the Austrian conductor Josef Sucher. Unfortunately, Schumann was unsuccessful not only with Bruckner, but also with Hugo Wolf. (In 1883, Bruckner will ask again to see the libretto. Schumann promised him to write a new version.)

On **Monday, 15 December 1890**, Bruckner composed the song « Träumen und Wachen » (Dreaming and being awake) (**WAB 87**) . The text is from the end of Act I of Franz Grillparzer's drama « Der Traum ein Leben » . The piece was performed under Bruckner's baton at the « Grillparzer-Feier » , to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Grillparzer's birth (15 January 1891) by the « Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein » (Vienna Academic Choral Society) with tenor Franz Schumann in the ball-room of the University of Vienna. Bruckner dedicated the composition to his house-mate Doctor Wilhelm August Ritter von Härtel, the rector of the University of Vienna (1890-1891) . The piece, of which the original manuscript is stored in the archive of the performing choir (current name : « Universitätssängerschaft " Barden zu Wien " ») , was published in 1891 by Theodor Rättig, in Vienna, without Bruckner's authorization. Because of the encountered performance difficulties (humming voices) , Bruckner slightly revised the score on 4 February 1892. (The song is issued in Volume XXIII/2, Number 34 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .)

### Imperial Court Jeweller's new owners

**1880** : Heinrich and Theodor Köchert take-over the helm of the firm A. E. Köchert, Imperial Court Jeweller, as the third generation. There are already 50 goldsmiths employed at Köchert producing fine tiaras and colliers. Köchert is mentioned in the same breath as the other great jewellers of Europe, such as Mellerio, Bucheron and Cartier.

### 1880 : Bruckner cited in the « Deutsche Zeitung »

Anton Bruckner remained a puzzle in Vienna, with his old-fashioned peasant clothing, which included a large red handkerchief protruding from a pants pocket, and his rustic table manners. Children laughed and followed him in the street. One of his oddest preoccupations was the counting of windows in buildings, the type of repetitive behaviour that those suffering from OCD display.

### The Upper-Austrian look

Anton Bruckner gave special instructions to his personal tailor in St. Florian as to how to make his pants. He wore very ample and relatively short trousers : not very elegant. This helped his footwork when playing the organ, his leg movements and his steps on the dance-floor. He always took the time to transcribe in his personal agenda the most relevant information concerning his female partners during the village dance of the previous night.

His written comments included several nicknames given to the dresses of his charming ladies :

« Zottel » , « Gschnürleten » , « Gigerl » , « Blauen » , « Weichen » .

...

In later years, Bruckner visited his friends the Mayfelds at their country-house in Schwanenstadt. Their concern for Bruckner and desire that he should make his way socially in the Austrian capital occasionally led to some expressions of dismay at his sartorial habits ! In matters musical, however, Bruckner was clearly indebted to Mayfeld who, in his capacity as music-critic of the « Linzer Zeitung » , was one of the first to recognize and draw attention to the composer's creative gifts.

...

Bruckner never wore fashionable clothes. He never took any measurements. He simply made his new clothes according to the pattern of the old ones, which he had brought from Linz (and, before that, St. Florian) . Durable and comfortable, that is all he asked for. He wore a broad-brimmed hat on his always smoothly shaven mighty Cæsar's skull - but, most of the time, he kept the hat in his hand. He wore around his short neck a white reclining collar and a black bow-tie. The dark « loden » jacket with a blue or red handkerchief hanging-out from the pocket, and a pair of over-flowing pants (which stopped before the ankles) was completed by the rough half-boots made of seal leather. Despite repeated calls for change from his immediate entourage, this was his costume until the end of his life.

Once, some of his closest friends took Bruckner's measurements without he even noticed. Then, they asked a renowned Viennese tailor to make a series of best suits according to the latest cut. They were placed under the Christmas tree as a gift. The strategy proved to be a complete waste of time. Bruckner appeared in his horrible floor-shy pants.

However, after a wise analysis, Bruckner made this surprising statement :

« Das neumodische Ginklerwerk hab i z'erst amal unterm Brunn fest einweichen lassen, damit die steifen Bügelfalten vergengan, dann hab i die viel z'langen Hosen unt'abgschnitten und so werd'n s'jetzt kleinweis bequem die Anzüg ! »

And so it was !

...

Bruckner's physician, Doctor Richard Heller, has left a vivid description of his character as reported in Karl Kobald's « In Memoriam Anton Bruckner » (1924) :

« No one who saw Bruckner could ever forget the impression made by that characteristic head, reminiscent of a cinquecento bust, in combination with his almost comical physique. The resemblance between that striking profile and the head of a Roman Emperor was strengthened by his constant refusal to wear a beard, and, by his habit of cropping his thick, white hair almost to the skull. His body was small and thick-set. His feet were shod in broad, almost rectangular seal-skin ankle boots, of which he owned about 30 pairs. Above these, he wore a pair of immensely wide, bag-like trousers. His jackets were of a similar expanse and each one had its own name, so that his faithful house-keeper needed a good memory if she was always to bring the right one. One of them was called " Shaggy " because it was made of thick Loden material ; another was " the Cords " since it was made of worsted ; a third was " the Dandy ", or " the Bobby ", or " Fatty " and so on. Bruckner's hats were also given names. The " Hüadal " (a little hat) was the one he usually wore, a black, broad-brimmed slouch-hat ; his Sunday hat was simply " The Hat " ; while " The Top-Hat " was a collapsible Opera hat of prehistoric design, which he put on only for very special ceremonious occasions. The basic principle of his wardrobe was spacious and comfortable - which he carried to grotesque lengths. His way of living was as simple as he himself was, and anyone who saw the Master slurping-up his soup from the bowl would have thought that he was in the company of a farm-hand grown old in honourable service rather than a great composer. »

### Hans Rott's madness

The edge is narrow and the plunge is probable : the fine line between genius and madness. In 1872, a psychiatrist named Cesare Lambroso substantiated this theory with medical arguments that appear monstrous today. His work was called « Genio e follia » and it was to appear in German as « Genie und Irrsinn » (Genius and Madness) in 1887. This was 7 years after the abrupt fall of the Austrian composer Hans Rott into what the Romantics called a benighted state.

Chain of unfortunate accidents exerting a heavy psychic strain on Hans Rott caused an already lurking insanity to break-out.

**Thursday, 23 August 1877** : Hans Rott sends a letter to conductor Hans Richter. He announces his visit and wants to present him the Symphony in E major. (The meeting will finally happened on 14 October 1880.)

**Early September 1877** : Hans Rott attempted without success to get Hans Richter to perform his 1st Symphony. Hardly 2 weeks later, he paid a call on Johannes Brahms, who, together with Eduard Hanslick and Karl Goldmark, had to decide about the awarding of a State fellowship.

Brahms doubted that Rott was the author of the Symphony because « together with such beauty there was also so much triviality and nonsense in the composition that the former could not stem from Rott » .

Rott then made another try. In the meantime, he had good prospects for a post as music-director or choir-director with a Choral Society in the Alsatian town of Müllhausen (Mulhouse) but continued to cling to the hope that his Symphony might be performed.

**Monday, 17 September 1877** : Hans Rott pays a visit to Johannes Brahms.

**Sunday, 14 October 1877** : Hans Rott finally played his 1st Symphony on the piano for Hans Richter.

**Sunday, 21 October 1877** : Hans Rott's friends brought him to the train bound for Mulhouse (Mülhausen) , in the Alsace, where he had accepted a position as music-director and Choir-Master.

While stopping-over in Linz, Rott was disturbed by the sound of knocking on the walls of his hotel-room.

**Monday, 22 October 1877** : Back on the train, Rott continued his journey. He was convinced that people from Mühlhausen were inspecting how he used his travel money.

A fellow-traveller in his compartment wanted to light a cigar. Rott drew his revolver and threatened the man because he was endangering his life and that of all the others in the train. The reason for his conduct he gave was that « Brahms had fixed the train with dynamite ! » . He must have become convinced that Johannes Brahms was conspiring against him, jealous of his talents as a musician. Rott was taken-off the train at the border station of Simbach.

**Tuesday, 23 October 1877** : Rott was admitted for observation as a patient of the lowest, non-paying class to the Psychiatric Clinic « Landesirrenanstalt » ; insane asylum) of the General Hospital in Vienna « in a completely confused state » . It was thus that his death sentence was pronounced.

One year later, a diagnosis recorded « hallucinatory insanity, persecution mania-recovery no longer to be expected » .

Ironically, Rott did get his State scholarship but, by that time, he had been in a mental hospital for 6 months. At first, Rott was able to see his friends, but his condition soon deteriorated.

### Gustav Hueber's New Year greetings

**Thursday, 1 January 1880** : Letter from Gustav Hueber to Johann Nepomuk and Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

New Year greetings to the parents.

### A giant pear on 2 legs

**Wednesday, 4 February 1880** :

« Anyone who sees this corpulent and triumphant man, wandering on the streets, as round as a balloon, the skull perfectly polished, remembers involuntarily a giant pear on 2 legs. (...) On the street, one notices it from afar because of its oscillating gait. When he meets a friend, it is as if he had just discovered a part of the world. The little round hat he wears gives him terrible headaches, so he has to resolve to hold it firmly in his hand. »

### Bruckner pays tribute to Hans Rott

**Friday, 12 March 1880** : Anton Bruckner makes a testimony for Hans Rott on his successful studies at the Vienna Conservatory, and, in particular, his performances as an organist.

**1880** : Hans Rott makes a « particell » (condensed score) transcript of the Andante of Anton Bruckner's second version of the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) .

### « Red Hedgehog » : Bruckner, Mahler, Krzyżanowski

**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 the « 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.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (Mid-June 1880)

#### Wednesday, 16 June 1880 :

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

Josef Baßwald, Lorenz Ritter. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(2 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Adolf Veith, Hermann Vergeiner. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(8 Zöglinge.)



Ludwig Fronz, Carl Last, Lorenz Ritter. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(7 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Franz Brischar.

II. Jahrgang : Rudolf Dittrich. »

### University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1880)

Students of the Faculty of Philosophy who inscribed in Bruckner's university lectures :

Cyprian Galembiawski, Adolf Grenzstein, Wilhelm Gruß, Gottfried Henning, Brother Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, Rudolf Steiner.

### Invitation from the landlord

**Monday, 21 June 1880** : Anton Bruckner is invited by his landlord Anton Ölzelt junior.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1880-1881

**Tuesday, 21 September 1880** :

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

6) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor. (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.) »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium ((?) bedeutet : bei Kontrapunkt kommt auch Franz Krenn als Lehrer in Frage) zählen :

Franz Bauer (« 17 Jahre - Violoncello V. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Franz Brischar (« aus Jedlersee, 11 Jahre (recte :“ 21 Jahre ” ?) - Horn V. I. , Kontrapunkt II. ») (Kontrapunkt) , Paul Caro (« aus Breslau, 21 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. ») , (?)

Emil Evers (« aus Hildesheim, 19 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Kontrapunkt, General der Musik. ») , (?) Otto Findeis (« aus Brünn, 18 Jahre - Kontrapunkt, Klavier III. ») , Ludwig Fronz (« Franz Ludwig, 21 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. ») , (?) Albert Grünwald (« aus Beissagol, 19 Jahre - Kontrapunkt, Klavier I. ») , (?) Eduard Hensen (« 18 Jahre - Kontrapunkt, Klavier II. ») , Rudolf Kleinecke (« 19 Jahre - Orgel V. ») (verließ am 30. Mai 1881 das Wiener Konservatorium wegen « Disziplinar-Vergehen ») , Moriz Kremer (« 16 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 18 Jahre - Orgel V. ») , (hat einen 2. Eintrag ! oder ein Namensvetter ?) Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 18 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Kontrapunkt. ») , Carl Last (« 17 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») , Carl Luze (« aus Altenmarkt, 16 Jahre - Orgel V. , Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») , (?) Carl Pöck (« 16 Jahre - Flöte A. I. , Kontrapunkt, Klavier III. ») , Ernst Pollak (« aus Boskowitz, 23 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Lorenz Ritter (« aus Mariazell, 16 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Klavier III. ») , (?) Moriz Schirmann (« aus Lemberg, 21 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. Sprache. ») , Anton Scholz (« aus Waidhofen an der Ybbs, 20 Jahre - Orgel, Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Adolf Veith (« 16 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Klavier III. , General der Musik, L. G. ») , Hermann Vergeiner (« aus Freistadt, 21 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Komposition I. , General der Musik. ») , (?) Leopold Wikauril (« 17 Jahre - Flöte A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. ») , und (?) Josef Wöb (« aus Cattaro, 17 Jahre - Komposition A. II. , Kontrapunkt, I. Sprache, französische Sprache. ») .

Orgelschüler sind demnach :

Rudolf Kleinecke, Emil Lamberg, Carl Luze, Lorenz Ritter, Anton Scholz, Adolf Veith und Hermann Vergeiner.

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Ernst Décsey (« aus Hamburg, 10 Jahre - Violin V. I. ») , Rudolf Dittrich (« aus Biala, 19 Jahre - Violin A. III. ») , Robert Erben (« aus Troppau, 18 Jahre - Klavier V. III. , Harmonielehre, I. Sprache. ») , Ferdinand Foll (« 13 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Carl Gianicelli (« aus Gaming, 20 Jahre - Cimbalo A. II. ») , Ferdinand Hellmesberger (« 17 Jahre - Klavier III. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 11 Jahre - Violin V. C. , II. Abth. ») , Paul Janko (« aus Totis, 24 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Komposition I. , General der Musik. ») , Julius Korngold (« aus Brünn, 20 Jahre - Kontrapunkt. ») , Carl Lillich (« 19 Jahre - Violin A. III. ») , Ferdinand Löwe (« 17 Jahre - Komposition III. ») , Rudolf Mader (« aus Preßburg, 24 Jahre - Komposition A. III. ») , Guido Peters (« aus Graz, 14 Jahre - Klavier A. II. (Rept.) , Komposition II. ») , Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 15 Jahre - Violin A. II. ») und Josef Stritzko (« 19 Jahre - Komposition A. I. ») .

Von den 7 Orgelschülern gehören 3 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 2 ganz und 1 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren, einer war « Stiffling » . 10 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, einer Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 128 und Kontrapunkt von 21 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 18.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 28.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

Der Lehrplan lautet für Anton Bruckners Fächer :

#### « 6. Vorbildungsschule für Orgel.

Ein Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden für 4 Schüler.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner :

Vorkenntnisse : Fertigkeit im Klavierspiele, entsprechend dem absolvirten 2. Jahrgange der Vorbildungsschule für Klavier ; Kenntniß der allgemeinen Musiklehre.

Alter : Das vollendete 13. Jahr.

Jährliches Schulgeld 100 Florins.

Lehrstoff : Übung im Manual- und Pedalspiele nach Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck's Orgelschule.

#### 7. Ausbildungsschule für Orgel.

2 Jahrgänge mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden für 4 Schüler.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner :

Alter : Das vollendete 14. Jahr.

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins.

Lehrstoff : Für beide Jahrgänge : Höhere Aufgaben des Orgelspiels : Fugen, Sonaten, Konzerte ; Übung im Generalbaßspiele. »

« C.

Schulen für Musiktheorie ...

(...)

2) Schule für Harmonielehre.

Ein Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 6 Stunden.

Herr Professor Franz Krenn, Herr Professor Anton Bruckner : Parallel-Klassen.

Vorkenntnisse :

Allgemeine Musiklehre ; Klavierspiel entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe des 2. Jahrganges der Schulen für Klavier als Nebenfach. (B. 3)

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins.

Lehrstoff : Intervalle und deren Umkehrungen, Accordlehre, Modulation. Harmonisirung gegebener Melodien, Erfindung im reinen 4stimmigen Satze (Choral) , Ausbildung der Melodie, freie Figuration. »

« 4. Schule für Kontrapunkt.

2 Jahrgänge.

Erster Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 4 Stunden.

Herr Professor Franz Krenn, Herr Professor Anton Bruckner : Parallel-Klassen.

2. Jahrgang mit wöchentlich 2 Stunden.

Herr Professor Anton Bruckner :

Vorkenntnisse : Harmonielehre, entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe der Harmonielehre (C. 2) ; Klavierspiel, entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe des 3. Jahrganges der Schule für Klavier als Nebenfach. (B. 3)

Jährliches Schulgeld 120 Florins.

Lehrstoff :

Im 1. Jahrgange : Einfacher und doppelter Kontrapunkt der Octave, Nachahmung, einfache Fuge.

Im 2. Jahrgange : Drei- und vierfacher Kontrapunkt, Fuge mit mehreren Subjecten, Canon. »

**Paying the months of August and September**

**Monday, 2 August 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« “ Frau Kathi ” (Katharina Kachelmayr) - payment of 14 Florins on April 16, for August and September. »

**The « S/X Admiral Tegetthoff »**

**August 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner about Julius von Payer's North Pole expedition on the « S/X Admiral Tegetthoff » :

« The “ Tegetthoff ” traveled 8,000 miles before finally meeting people from the North. »

...

In 1868, Julius von Payer was invited by the German geographer August Petermann to participate in the 1869-1870 2nd German North Polar Expedition (« Germania » under Carl Koldewey) .

In 1871, von Payer participated in the preliminary Austro-Hungarian expedition to Novaya Zemlya, with Karl Weyprecht.

From 1872-1874, he led the Austro-Hungarian North Pole Expedition with Karl Weyprecht, who was Commander at sea, while Payer was Commander at shore. During this voyage, he made the discovery of « Franz-Josef-Land » , however, upon his return to Vienna, many critics voiced doubts about its existence and about the experiences of other participants in the expedition. Payer could have proven his statements using testimonies, diaries and sketches, however, his efforts were thwarted, including his promotion to Captain. In 1874, he resigned from the army because of political maneuvers against him and his brother officers' doubts about his discovery and his sledge journeys. He was awarded 44 Austro-Hungarian Gulden on 1 October 1874 for the discovery of « Franz-Josef-Land » (about equal to the monthly salary of a Sub-lieutenant at the time) .

However, on 24 October 1876, Julius von Payer was elevated to the Austrian nobility which entitled him and his descendants to the style of « Ritter von » in the case of male and « von » in the case of female off-spring.

...

The « S/X Admiral Tegetthoff » with her crew of 24 left Tromsø, Norway in July 1872. At the end of August, she got locked in pack ice north of Novaya Zemlya and drifted to hitherto unknown polar regions. While drifting, the explorers discovered an archipelago which they named « Franz-Josef-Land » after Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz-Josef I. Payer led several sledge expeditions to explore the new-discovered lands, on one of them reaching 81° 50' North.

In May 1874, boat-captain Weyprecht decided to abandon the ice-locked ship and try to return by sledges and boats. On 14 August 1874, the expedition reached the open-sea and, later, Novaya Zemlya where they were rescued by a Russian fishing vessel. On 3 September, they reached Vardø in Finnmark, Northern Norway.

The expedition returned to Austria by coastal steamer from Vardø, and by train from Hamburg. On the journey, they were met by crowds and invited to dinners hosted by local dignitaries and geographical societies in Norway, Sweden and Germany. They entered Vienna in triumph, welcomed, according to contemporary newspaper reports, by hundreds of thousands of people. Further festivities followed throughout Austro-Hungary as the individual explorers returned to their homes.

The expedition's discoveries and experiences made a significant contribution to polar science, especially the discovery of the Northeast passage by Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. They also gave an impetus to International Polar Years, meaning a shift from sports-like races of single expeditions to world-wide scientific cooperation in exploring the polar regions.

The expedition yielded various results in the fields of meteorology, astronomy, geodesy, magnetism, zoology, and sightings of Aurora Borealis. They were published by the Academy of Sciences in 1878. The paintings by Julius von Payer (who also published a book entitled « The Austro-Hungarian North Pole Expedition 1872-1874 ») are probably the only paintings of a polar expedition created by the explorer himself.

### At the « Red Hedgehog » Inn before leaving for vacation

**Before Friday, 13 August 1880 (?)** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

(with ?) « Doctor Weinstein, Doctor (Baron) August von Plappart (jurist and theatre intendant) at the “ Gasthof zum Rothen Igel ” before departure. »

Addresses of Doctor Johann Jakob Mendel (organist and music-director at the Bern Cathedral) and Gustav Weber (organist at the « Großmünster » in Zürich) may have already been recorded in Vienna in another note-book belonging to Bruckner.

### Bruckner and railroad travelling

Anton Bruckner preferred the railroad when he was travelling. In order to do it with style, he put on a « travel » top-hat. Initially rarely used, the black wool top-hat turned into a « faithful companion » .

Bruckner's letters show that he mostly traveled alone. Even the beautiful panoramas did not seem to interest him very much. Often, he booked a night-train for long distances.

But the number of his trips remained manageable.

Of 30 documented journeys, 10 of them lead to Bayreuth - to hear Wagner Operas. His other main-destination was the city of Munich : 5 times. Only twice as an organ virtuoso, he traveled to non-German-speaking foreign countries : England and France. During the summer of 1880, he undertook his longest holiday trip. It lead him to Switzerland. However, he won't repeat such a journey.

In short, Bruckner was no travel nut !

But that changed with the success of his 7th Symphony. No other work will make him travel as much as this one. The world-premiere took-place in Leipzig, for which he applied for an « extra » vacation as organist of the Austrian Imperial Court. Although he had not been to Leipzig before, he knew some friend-musicians who have settled there

and linked his stay with several visits. Because of the success of the 7th, Bruckner was invited to other performances in Munich, Bratislava and Berlin, which he gratefully accepts.

### Longest summer vacation

Anton Bruckner goes on summer vacation. It will be the longest one ever undertaken by the composer : a stop in Oberammergau, and then, a stay in Switzerland to visit several holiday resorts : Schaffhausen (Schaffhouse) , Geneva, Chamonix, Lausanne, Freiburg and Lucerne. The journey will end on September 11, with a few days spent in St. Florian. Organ concerts will be given in Geneva, Freiburg, Bern, Zürich and Lucerne. Its schedule will also include so-called « academic » stops in various Austrian universities.

Occasionally, Bruckner took the opportunity of playing the organ in the towns or cities he visited. His technique was much less secure by now but the power of his playing could still astonish and move his listeners. During his summer vacation in 1880, he fulfilled a long-cherished desire to visit Switzerland. His first « port of call » was Zürich where he played the organ in the cathedral on 28 August. His itinerary took him next to Geneva (29 August) , Chamonix (30 August - 4 September) , back to Geneva where he played the organ in the cathedral (5 September) , Lausanne (6 September) , Freiburg where he played in the cathedral after a concert given by Vogt, the resident organist (7 September) , Bern where he made a great impression on Doctor Jakob Mendel, the cathedral organist (8 September) and Lucerne (8-10 September) .

### St. Florian

**Friday, 13 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner leaves for a one week stay in St. Florian.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 13 August, map of Switzerland on hand. Leaving for St. Florian. »

### Oberammergau : Marie Bartl

**Friday, 20 August 1880** : From St. Florian to Oberammergau.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« August 20, arriving at Oberammergau in the evening. »

**21 or 22 August 1880 (Saturday, Sunday)** : Anton Bruckner meets « Fräulein » Marie Bartl in Oberammergau.

**22 or 23 August 1880 (Sunday, Monday)** : Anton Bruckner attends the Passion Play of Christ in the town of Oberammergau, in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Upper-Bavaria. This biblical representation is presented each 10 years and



lasts 6 hours !

The reputation of the Passion Play spread rapidly and, by 1880, the number of performances was increased to 39, thus achieving the impressive figure for the time of 100,000 visitors.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 22 or 23 August, attended (Passion Play) . »

The name of Anton Bruckner does not appear in a hotel guest-book from Oberammergau, covering the years 1870 to 1890. It was auctioned in Munich at the end of April 1995 by Zisska & Kistner.

Despite his well-known piety, the middle-aged man was distracted by a pretty 17 year old Bavarian chorister who was part of the cast.

Her name : Marie Bartl.

She interpreted the minor role of a peasant woman alongside one of the « Daughters of Israel » . Once again, Bruckner mixed earthly love with divine love ...

He went to wait for Marie after the performance, and then, took his courage in his hands and followed her to her mother's house where she was staying. He spent the evening in her company, lingering till 11 o'clock in the evening.

Bruckner presented himself timidly to « Frau » Lina Bartl, the mother, in order to initiate a kind of mediation :

« I am Professor Anton Bruckner and I am an organist. » (He was not yet known as a composer.)

The next day, he came-back at the house to ask Marie's hand by offering her a collection of prayers and an autographed picture with the following words :

« To my dearest friend, Marie Bartl. »

The proposal was taken seriously. It seems that the young girl really fell in love with Bruckner.

But after 3 days in his charming company, the prudish and stingy composer (not wanting to pay for a second travel ticket) insisted on re-taking the route alone for Switzerland. The idyll with a sustained correspondence will last only a few months at the most.

**Before Tuesday, 5 April 1881** : Anton Bruckner sent a prayer-book and a music-review article (presumably of the 4th Symphony) to Marie Bartl in Oberammergau.

**Thursday, 9 September 1880** : Letter from « Fräulein » Marie Bartl to Anton Bruckner :

Marie sends a photograph of her to Bruckner (which includes a postscript-note written by her mother, Lina Bartl) .

**Before Sunday, 7 November 1880** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Fräulein » Marie Bartl (Oberammergau) :

Bruckner writes to Marie about his illness and mentions he will send her a picture.

**Thursday, 7 October 1880** : Photograph of Anton Bruckner with the following dedication :

« Anton Bruckner. Vienna, 7 October 1880. To the most beloved girlfriend : “ Fräulein Marie Bartl ” »

**Before Tuesday, 5 April 1881** : Anton Bruckner sent a prayer-book and a music-review taken from a newspaper article (presumably about the performance of the 4th Symphony on Sunday, 20 February 1881) to « Fräulein » Marie Bartl in Oberammergau.

**Tuesday, 5 April 1881** : Letter from « Fräulein » Marie Bartl (Oberammergau) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Marie thanks Bruckner for the prayer-book and the press-article. She is pleased about his offer to visit her in Oberammergau. But she still prefers to come to Vienna accompanied by her mother.

The moments of passion are reflected in the first extremely joyful movement of the 6th Symphony (**WAB 106**) . The brake-up earned us the sublime pages of the Adagio where resignation is transformed into prayer, and appeases itself in a conclusion of religious serenity.

Max Auer had rejected the idea of the existence of such a correspondence alleging that it was burned immediately after the rupture between Marie and Bruckner. This proved to be false.

The girl's and her mother's letters, up to **June 1881**, have survived and are now preserved in St. Florian.

Marie Bartl will appear on photos taken in Marienbad.

**Schaffhausen : « Rheinfall »**

**Wednesday, 25 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner left Munich and he is now heading for Zürich.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 25 August, passing by Lindau and Winterthur, stopping at the Rhine Falls. In Zürich in the evening. »

The Rhine Falls (« Rheinfall ») is the largest plain waterfall in Europe. They are located on the High Rhine on the border between the cantons of Schaffhausen and Zürich.

The north side of the falls is a mill-site. In the 17th Century, a blast furnace for smelting iron ore found in the limestone was built. It was in operation until the first half of the 19th Century.

In 1887, the iron-works applied for permission to divert between one fifth to one half of the river's flow for electricity generation. The Swiss Alpine Club, the « Schweizerische Naturforschende Gesellschaft » (a nature group) and several scientific societies opposed the plan.

Tourists have been awed by the Rhine Falls for Centuries. In the 19th Century, the painter William Turner made several studies and larger paintings of the falls, and the lyrical poet Eduard Mörike wrote of the falls :

« Halte dein Herz, o Wanderer, fest in gewaltigen Händen !  
Mir entstürzte vor Lust zitternd das meinige fast.  
Rastlos donnernde Massen auf donnernde Massen geworfen,  
Ohr und Auge, wohin retten sie sich im Tumult ? »

...

« Hold your heart, oh traveller, tightly in mighty hands !  
Mine nearly collapsed, shivering with pleasure.  
Restlessly thundering masses thrown upon thundering masses,  
Ear and eye, whither can they save themselves in such an uproar ? »

In 1840, author Mary Shelley visited the Falls while on a tour of Europe with her son. She described her visit in a travel narrative that she published in 1844, Rambles in Germany and Italy.

She says :

« A portion of the cataract arches over the lowest platform, and the spray fell thickly on us, as standing on it and looking-up, we saw wave, and rock, and cloud, and the clear heavens through its glittering ever-moving veil. This was a new sight, exceeding anything I had ever before seen ; however, not to be wet through, I was obliged quickly to tear myself away. »

« Schloß Rapperswil »

**Thursday, 26 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner stays in Rapperswil for only one day.

In 1350, an attempted « coup » by the aristocratic opposition (a central person was Count Johann II) in the city of

Zürich was forcefully put-down, and the town walls of Rapperswil and the castle were destroyed by Rudolf Brun. Eiszwei-Geissebei, a Carnival festival hold in Rapperswil on Shrove Tuesday, may go back to the siege and destruction of the city of Rapperswil. The battlements and the castle were rebuilt by Albrecht II, Duke of Austria in 1352-1354.

After the extinction of the line of Habsburg-Laufenburg in 1442, the castle (« Schloß Rapperswil ») was given to the citizens of Rapperswil. Ending Old Zürich War, Rapperswil was controlled by the Swiss Confederation from 1458 to 1798 as a so-called « Gemeine Herrschaft », i.e. under control of 2 cantons of the Old Swiss Confederation and their representant, a Vogt, and Rapperswil castle became an administration site respectively military base and prison.

Over the course of time, the castle fell into disrepair. In 1870, the castle was leased for 99 years from the local authorities by a post-November 1830 Uprising Polish « émigré », Count Wladyslaw Broel-Plater (a relative of Emilia Plater, a heroine of the same 1830 Uprising), who had been in Switzerland since 1844. At his own expense, he restored the castle, and, on 23 October 1870, the Polish National Museum was established.

Rebuilt by Duke Albert II, since 1354, the castle forms an almost equilateral triangle, and each corner of the castle is reinforced with a tower. The highest tower in the southwest is the donjon, commonly called « Gügeliturm » in Swiss-German language, where the so-called « Hochwächter » warned the residents against approaching danger or fire. The 5 sided « Zeitturm », a clock tower in the east, houses 3 bells and beside a sundial and 2 large clocks. Between these 2 towers, the castle's 6 storey « palais » is situated. In addition, ramparts respectively battlements are leading to the third tower in the northwest, the so-called « Pulverturm » (Powder tower). From 1698 to 1837, there was a draw-bridge, at the present lower-gate towards the former castle chapel. The French revolutionary troops plundered the castle's interior in 1798.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 26 August to Rapperswil. Visited the Polish Museum, and the Old Castle Church and Tower ; then, the Habsburg Tower. “ Retour ” (back) to Zürich by steam-boat ; terrible storm. »

## Zürich

**Friday, 27 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner stays in Zürich until Sunday.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 27 and 28 August, Zürich. »

## Zürich : « Großmünster »

**Saturday, 28 August 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Cathedral organ (built by Carl Theodor Kuhn in 1876) played on August 28 ; water-powered. Polytechnic and University. »

(Address of organist Gustav Weber in Bruckner's calendar notes.)

### Gustav Weber

Organist Gustav Weber was born on 30 October 1845 in Münchenbuchsee, and died on 12 June 1887 in Zürich. The son of Johann Rudolf Weber who was a voice professor and primary school teacher, and Anna Maria « née » Hottinger. His brother Oskar was born in 1879. Gustav married Johanna Karolina Gujer in 1874. From 1861, he studied at the Leipzig Conservatory. In 1865, he studied under Vinzenz Lachner in Mannheim and, in 1869-1870, under Carl Tausig in Berlin. In 1872, Weber became organist at St. Peter's Church in Zürich and, in 1876, organist at the « Großmünster », where he regularly gave organ recitals. He contributed extensively to the music life of the city of Zürich by teaching singing, organ, theory and history of music at the Music Academy. From 1877 to 1886, he was the music-director of the Harmony Choir. He was also a music-critic for the « Neue Zürcher Zeitung ». From 1876 to 1883, he was the publisher of the « Schweizerisches Sängerbblatt » magazine which was founded by his father. His choral works composed in a Romantic style received a favourable reception in Switzerland and abroad.

### The organ

The construction of the « Großmünster » began in 1090 and most of it was completed by 1230, although the 2 distinctive towers were only added after a fire in 1781. The first organ is thought to have been built in the 14th Century. Documents from 1418 explain how the first known organist, Theodor Sebach, had to rub rat poison into the bellows. In 1505, the instrument was rebuilt - but the new organ didn't get much of an airing : in 1519, Ulrich Zwingli, a leading figure of the Reformation in Switzerland, became pastor of the « Großmünster » and began preaching ideas on reforming the Catholic Church. In 1524, he banned anything that wasn't sanctioned by the bible, and pictures, altars, sculptures and even the organ were all removed.

One of the greatest influences on the « Großmünster » was Ulrich Zwingli, a leading figure of the Reformation in Switzerland who, in 1519, became pastor of the Grossmünster and promptly threw out anything that wasn't sanctioned by the Bible, including music !

Not a peep was heard until **1876**, when an organ was installed by Swiss builders Carl Theodor Kuhn on which composers Camille Saint-Saëns and Anton Bruckner played.

### Kuhn organ-builders

The company was founded in Männedorf by Johann Nepomuk Kuhn (1827-1888) .

**1888** : Following the death of Johann Nepomuk Kuhn, management of the company passed to his son Carl Theodor

Kuhn (1865-1925) .

Carl Theodor Kuhn had completed his musical training at the School of Music in Zürich and learned the craft of organ building in his parents' work-shops. In order to further his education, he spent his journeyman years travelling and working in France, Germany and North America. The importance of an international approach, then, was recognized at Kuhn from very early in its history. Theodor was especially impressed by the work of Cavaillé-Coll, which led later to his decision to open subsidiaries in France, first at Bellegarde and Nancy, then at Lyon. Thanks to a combination of expert craftsmanship and commercial foresight, the House of Kuhn prospered.

**1927** : Reconstruction of the organ in « Großmünster » .

« Orgelbau Kuhn » started in 1864 when Johann Nepomuk Kuhn, a Master organ-builder, settled in Männedorf and founded his own company. A native of southern Germany, he first saw the shores of Lake Zürich in 1863 when he came as an employee of Eberhard Friedrich Walcker to build a new organ for the church in Männedorf, and was so taken by the region that he decided to stay. He soon began to acquire major orders, not least was for large instruments for the « Tonhalle » in Zürich (1872) and St. Gallen Cathedral (1875) . He only built mechanical cone chest organs and, to make his larger instruments easier to play, used the Barker pneumatic lever. In keeping with the fashion of the times, Nepomuk's organ cases were usually neo-Gothic, but he was also careful to integrate other revivalist styles. After Nepomuk's death, his only son, Carl Theodor, who had learned the craft in his father's shop, took-over management of the company in 1888. He had spent his journeyman years working in France, Germany and North America, and was especially impressed by the work of Cavaillé-Coll. Thanks to a combination of expert craftsmanship and commercial foresight, the House of Kuhn prospered. Around the turn of the Century and the increasing industrialization of the organ business, Kuhn switched to pneumatic actions for his organs.

### « Großmünster »

The « Großmünster » (Great minster) is a Romanesque-style Protestant church. The core of the present building near the banks of the Limmat was constructed on the site of a Carolingian church, which was, according to legend, originally commissioned by Charlemagne. Construction of the present structure commenced around 1100 and it was inaugurated around 1220.

The « Großmünster » was a monastery church, vying for precedence with the « Fraumünster » across the Limmat throughout the Middle-Ages. According to legend, the « Großmünster » was founded by Charlemagne, whose horse fell to its knees over the tombs of Felix and Regula, Zürich's patron saints. The legend helps support a claim of seniority over the « Fraumünster » , which was founded by Louis the German, Charlemagne's grandson. Recent archaeological evidence confirms the presence of a Roman burial ground at the site.

The twin towers of the « Großmünster » are regarded as perhaps the most recognized landmark in Zürich. Architecturally, the church is considered Romanesque in style, and thus, a part of the first pan-European architectural trend since Imperial Roman architecture. In keeping with the Romanesque architectural style, « Großmünster » offers a

great carved portal featuring medieval columns with grotesques adorning the capitals. A Romanesque crypt dates to the 11th and 13th Centuries.

Bollinger Sandstein was used for the construction. The 2 towers were first erected between 1487 and 1492. Originally, they had high wooden steeples, which were destroyed by fire in 1763, following which the present neo-Gothic tops were added (completed 1787) . Richard Wagner is known to have mocked the church's appearance as that of 2 pepper dispensers !

### Polytechnic School

The « Eidgenössische Polytechnische Schule » was founded in 1854 by the Swiss Confederation and began giving its first lectures in 1855 as a polytechnic institute. It was initially composed of 6 faculties : architecture, civil engineering, mechanical engineering, chemistry, forestry, and an integrated department for the fields of mathematics, natural sciences, literature, and social and political sciences.

### University of Zürich

The University of Zürich was founded on April 29, 1833, when the existing colleges of theology, the « Carolinum » founded by Huldrych Zwingli in 1525, law and medicine were merged with a new faculty of Philosophy. It was the first university in Europe to be founded by the State rather than a Monarch or Church.

In the University's early years, the 1839 appointment of the German theologian David Friedrich Strauß to its Chair of Theology caused a major controversy, since Strauß argued that the miracles in the Christian New Testament were mythical retellings of normal events as super-natural happenings. Eventually, the authorities offered Strauß a pension before he had a chance to start his duties. The university allowed women to attend philosophy lectures from 1847, and admitted the first female doctoral student in 1866.

**Sunday, 29 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner leaves Zürich (passing the Habsburg's gate) and is heading for Geneva.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 29 August, Geneva. »

### Chamonix

**Monday, 30 August 1880** : Anton Bruckner arrives in Chamonix.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 30 August to 4 September, Chamonix. »

Bruckner spends a few days at one of the most wonderful sites on earth : Chamonix and « La Flégère » (hill located on the heights of the Chamonix valley) . From the valley, the breathtaking view of the glacial peaks of « Mont Blanc » remains an unforgettable experience. Curiously, Bruckner's pocket calendar, which also serves as a diary, does not evoke at any moment the overwhelming majesty of the site. This tends to confirm the comments of Friedrich Klose to the effect that Bruckner was not really challenged by the beauty of nature (as was the case with Beethoven or Gustav Mahler) .

**Tuesday, 31 August 1880** : Rainy day. Anton Bruckner makes a trip to « La Flégère » , in Chamonix.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 31 August, “ Flegere ”, rain. »

« Mont Blanc »

**Wednesday, 1 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner visits the Cave of the Bossons Glacier (« La Grotte du Glacier des Bossons ») in Chamonix. He will « refresh » himself at the « Chalet » not far.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 1 September, “ Mont-Blanc ” Cave. »

« La Flégère »

**2, 3 September 1880 (Thursday, Friday)** : Excursion of Bruckner at « La Flégère » with nice weather and a breathtaking view of the « Mont Blanc » . He spends the night at the Inn of the « Cross of La Flégère » (Auberge de la « Croix de La Flégère ») .

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 2 September to 3 September, at noon-time, “ Flégère ” : nice weather. »

Geneva

**Saturday, 4 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner leaves Chamonix and is now heading for Geneva.

In the evening, he attends a recital by St. Peter's Cathedral organist, Anton Häring from Basel (1866-1886) .

The monumental symphonic instrument (4 tractioned manuals assisted by a « Barker machine ») which was built by the French firm « Merklin et Schütze » was inaugurated in 1866. Joseph Mooser was the previous organist at St.



Peter's ; disabled by deafness, he was forced to leave his post.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 4 September, arrived in Geneva in the afternoon ; (...) organ recital by Häring in the evening. »

At the request of Häring, Bruckner will perform improvisations on this same instrument the following day.

**Sunday, 5 September 1880** : During the day, Anton Bruckner tours the city of Geneva. In the evening, he gives an organ recital (consisting of improvisations) at St. Peter's Cathedral. Anton Häring is attending.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 5 (September) , visiting. Played the Cathedral organ. »

Anton Bruckner's organ concerts during this trip were not mentioned in the « Schweizerischen Musik-Zeitung » . We know there was an organ in St. Peter's in the 16th Century. But the first major instrument was the work of the renown organ-builder Samson Scherrer in 1757. It was a great organ with a « Positif de dos » and its instrumental part was based on the Classical French School.

### Anton Häring

Anton Häring was born in 1825 in Basel, Switzerland. He was named music-director at Æsch. He held the post of resident organist at St. Peter's Cathedral in Geneva from 1866 to 1886. He died prematurely in 1888. In 1887, a competition selected Otto Barblan to replace him.

### 1866

Dans l'histoire de la musique à Saint-Pierre, 1866 marque une charnière. Cette année-là, le temple fut doté à la fois de nouvelles orgues et d'un nouvel organiste.

Les constructeurs parisiens des nouvelles orgues de Saint-Pierre en firent l'essai, les 12, 13 et 14 mars, au cours de 3 « séances d'audition » ouvertes au public. Le professeur et organiste (aveugle) Charles-Victor Dubois, de Bruxelles, que l'on avait fait venir tout exprès, assura seul les 2 premiers programmes et se partagea le 3e avec les organistes Blanchet, de Lausanne, et Häring, de Liestal. Entre des morceaux de Franz-Josef Haydn, Felix Mendelssohn et Giacomo Meyerbeer, Dubois joua plusieurs de ses propres œuvres. Sa « Pastorale avec scène et orage » impressionna surtout l'auditoire, conquis d'emblée par la puissance et la qualité des nouvelles orgues.

L'inauguration même donna lieu, les 27, 28 et 29 juin 1866, à 3 concerts ainsi qu'à un concours inhabituel d'exécutants : le Chant sacré, la Société de chant du Conservatoire, la Cécilienne, les cantatrices Levier et Lardi, les

organistes Jakob Vogt, de Fribourg, Rudolf Lœw, de Bâle, Édouard Batiste, Renaud de Vilbac, tous deux de Paris, et Samuel de Lange, de Rotterdam, se produisirent aux côtés de l'organiste titulaire de Saint-Pierre : Anton Häring. L'organiste de Liestal venait d'être nommé en effet à Genève. Il allait tenir les grandes orgues de Saint-Pierre durant une vingtaine d'années, jusqu'à sa mort survenue prématurément en 1886. Ses 2 prédécesseurs Nicolas Scherer et Joseph Mooser n'avaient organisé ni donné aucun concert dont le programme se soit conservé. Ce fut le mérite d'Anton Häring d'introduire à Saint-Pierre le concert spirituel comme élément permanent de la vie locale et de gagner ainsi définitivement les Genevois à la musique religieuse.

### Les concerts d'Anton Häring

De décembre 1866 à mars 1886, Anton Häring organisa chaque année 3, 4 ou 5 grands concerts spirituels. Les programmes d'une cinquantaine d'entre eux nous sont connus par des affichettes ou des annonces de journal. Rien de régulier dans les dates de ces « grands concerts sacrés ». Häring les place en toute saison, de préférence au printemps ou en automne, tantôt le dimanche (à 4 heures de l'après-midi) , tantôt un jour de semaine (en soirée) . Dès 1875 cependant, l'habitude est prise d'en donner un durant la Semaine Sainte (le Vendredi-Saint généralement) , un autre le jour de Noël. L'entrée est toujours payante. Les places réservées coûtent 2 Francs, les autres 1 Franc. Lorsque le concert a lieu en hiver, le programme précise que « le temple sera chauffé et éclairé » .

Häring dans ses « grands concerts » ne joue jamais seul. Il s'associe parfois un autre organiste, son vieux maître Jakob Vogt, de Fribourg, Eduard Vogt, le fils de Jakob, Blanchet, de Lausanne, ou encore Eugène Gigout, de Paris. En 1882 et 1885, il fera jouer à ses côtés une de ses élèves, Madame Palliser, Irlandaise. La plupart des concerts sont donnés avec plusieurs solistes, des cantatrices surtout. Quelques rares virtuoses étrangers figurent à l'affiche : Moritz Kahnt, de Leipzig, 1er violoncelle de l'Orchestre de Bâle (17 avril 1869) , Léonce Valdec, baryton des concerts de l'Albert Hall de Londres (en 1872) , le jeune violoniste toscan Guido Papini (en 1873) , une cantatrice de Munich (23 mars 1873) , « Monsieur Rutling, un des noirs Jubilee-Singers » (1er février 1885) . Les autres solistes se recrutent à Genève même, les noms qui reviennent le plus souvent au programme étant ceux du violoncelliste Malignon (souvent accompagné de son épouse violoniste) , de Mademoiselle Bosson et de Madame Figleff, cantatrices, du violoniste Breitenstein. Häring, qui est professeur d'orgue au Conservatoire, fait volontiers appel à ses collègues : le ténor Sigmundt, qui se produit à répétées reprises, le violoniste Louis Henry, le violoncelliste Richter et le fameux Léopold Ketten. Häring peut aussi compter sur sa propre famille : sa femme, née Elisabeth Senn, a une jolie voix de soprano, qu'elle a transmise à leur fille Julia, née en 1859, dont le nom revient très souvent à l'affiche dès 1881 et qui sera qualifiée de « cantatrice de concert » dès 1884. Tous les solistes d'ailleurs ne sont pas connus, car de nombreux amateurs prêtaient leur concours et les programmes, conformément aux bonnes manières de l'époque, ne les désignent que par l'initiale de leur nom. Des ensembles vocaux agrémentent aussi les « grands concerts » de cette époque : la Société chorale de Genève (16 décembre 1866) , un « Quatuor vocal suédois » qui se produit à 2 reprises (11 avril 1875 et 5 juin 1884) et ne chante que de la musique nordique, le Chœur royal de la Cathédrale de Berlin (21 juillet 1879) et surtout, dès 1877, une « Société de chant composée d'artistes et d'amateurs distingués » qui pourrait bien avoir été formée par Häring lui-même. En une occasion, le concert fut donné avec le concours d'un véritable orchestre, celui de la Ville de Lausanne dirigé par Herfurth (26 février 1882) .

Les programmes de ces « grands concerts » offrent un choix assez large de compositeurs, car on y voit figurer les maîtres italiens de Palestrina et Alessandro Stradella jusqu'à Giuseppe Verdi, les maîtres allemands de Jean-Sébastien Bach jusqu'à Richard Wagner et Max Bruch, quelques Français : Dancla, Gounod, Massenet, ainsi que les principaux organistes-compositeurs de l'Europe du XIXe siècle : Batiste, Buck, Gigout, Lefébure, Lemmens, Merkel, Saint-Saëns, Töpfer, Widor. En fait de compositeurs suisses, on ne rencontre guère que le pianiste genevois Auguste Werner, dont Häring interpréta le 20 décembre 1874 « L'Apparition aux bergers, fantaisie pour orgue » - et Häring lui-même, qui à plusieurs reprises joua une œuvre de sa composition.

2 concerts méritent une mention particulière : celui du 8 mai 1885, entièrement consacré à des œuvres de Georg Friedrich Händel et de Jean-Sébastien Bach, à l'occasion du second Centenaire de leur naissance ; et celui de Noël 1885, qui comportait en seconde partie l'audition intégrale de l' « Oratorio de Noël » de Saint-Saëns (créé en 1869) . L'exécution d'une œuvre de cette ampleur reste en effet exceptionnelle dans les concerts spirituels d'Anton Häring. Comme au siècle précédent, le public exigeait manifestement une grande variété dans les programmes, de sorte qu'il était courant de donner un seul air, un seul mouvement d'une œuvre et de réunir en un même concert 10 ou 12 morceaux de compositeurs différents.

À côté de ces « grands concerts » , Anton Häring prit l'initiative de se produire à l'orgue tout au long de l'année, à raison de 2 concerts hebdomadaires en été, les mercredis et samedis à 7 heures du soir, et d'un concert par semaine en hiver, le dimanche à 4 heures de l'après-midi. Ces petits concerts, qui ne donnaient apparemment pas lieu à l'impression d'un programme, eurent rapidement du succès, puisque le Bulletin du Consistoire en date du 17 novembre 1868 constate que « le nombre des auditeurs s'est élevé à plus de 900 depuis le commencement de l'année » . Après divers changements d'horaire, le nombre de ces petits concerts fut porté à 3 par semaine en été (les lundis, mercredis et samedis, à 7 heures du soir) , mais réduit à 1 seul par mois en hiver (le 1er dimanche de chaque mois, à 3h30 de l'après-midi) .

### Lausanne

**Monday, 6 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner leaves Geneva and is now heading for Lausanne. There, he visits Notre-Dame Cathedral and probably meets the resident organist Louis Daniel Delessert.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Lausanne Cathedral. Viewed at 7:00 in the morning. Rudolf of Habsburg (whose castle was seen on the left during the trip from Zürich to Geneva) was present at the consecration. »

### Freiburg

**Tuesday, 7 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner arrives in Freiburg. He goes to St. Nicholas Collegiate Church to hear the resident organist Eduard Vogt (1847-1911) play Johann Sebastian Bach's Toccata in D minor. Bruckner also plays the instrument.

The organ in the loft above the main-entrance brings together Classical and Romantic characters. At that time, the instrument with its 7,800 pipes (some of them 32 feet high) was considered a musical wonder and quickly attracted many famous musicians. Franz Liszt, for one, made it sing and thunder.

### Liszt plays at St. Nicholas

En 1836, Franz Liszt accompagné de Georges Sand et Marie d'Agoult se rendent à Fribourg pour entendre l'orgue de St. Nicolas construit par Aloÿs Mooser (1834) et « L'Orage » interprété par l'organiste Jacques Vogt.

Voici quelques extraits du récit, souvent teinté d'humour, de ce voyage par Georges Sand (Lettre n° VII) :

Nous entrâmes dans l'église de St. Nicolas pour entendre le plus bel orgue qui ait été fait jusqu'ici. (...)

« (...) En effet, Mooser, le vieux luthier, le créateur du grand instrument, aussi mystérieux, aussi triste, aussi maussade que l'homme au chien noir et aux macarons d'Hoffmann, était debout à l'autre extrémité de la galerie, et nous regardait tout à tour d'un air sombre et méfiant. (...)

(...) Aussi l'organiste de la cathédrale, gros jeune homme à la joue vermeille, confrère familier et quasi protecteur de notre ami, le poussait doucement à chaque instant, et prenant sans façon sa place, essayait, à force de bras, de nous faire comprendre la puissance vraiment grande, je le confesse, du charlatanisme musical. Il fit tant des pieds et des mains, et du coude, et du poignet, et je crois, des genoux (le tout de l'air le plus flegmatique et le plus bienveillant), que nous eûmes un orage complet, pluie, vent, grêle, cris lointains, chiens en détresse, prière du voyageur, désastre dans le chalet, pialement d'enfants épouvantés, clochettes de vaches perdues, fracas de la foudre, craquement des sapins, finale, dévastation des pommes de terre. (...)

(...) Ce fut seulement lorsque Franz posa librement ses mains sur le clavier, et nous fit entendre un fragment de son “Dies iræ”, que nous comprîmes la supériorité de l'orgue de Fribourg sur tout ce que nous connaissions en ce genre. (...) mais le perfectionnement est remarquable dans celui de Fribourg, surtout les jeux de la voix humaine, qui, perçant à travers la basse, produisirent sur nos enfants une illusion complète. (...) Jamais le profil florentin de Franz ne s'était dessiné plus pâle et plus pur, dans une nuée plus sombre de terreurs mystiques et de religieuse tristesse. (...)

(...) Grâce à ces effets inattendus de la lumière, la blanche et propre cathédrale de Fribourg paraissait encore plus riante que de coutume, et la figure du roi David, peinte en costume de théâtre du temps de Pradon, avec une perruque noire et des brodequins de maroquin rouge, semblait sourire et s'apprêter à danser encore une fois devant l'arche. Et cependant, l'instrument tonnait comme la voix du Dieu fort, et l'inspiration de notre grand musicien faisait planer tout l'enfer et tout le purgatoire de Dante sous ces voûtes étroites à nervures peintes en rose et en gris de perle. (...) »

### Eduard Vogt

Organist Eduard Vogt is the first director of the Freiburg Conservatory founded in 1904.

## The organ

**1824-1834** : Built by Aloÿs Mooser (1770-1859) .

This particular organ is considered his Masterpiece, and the « vox humana » , with swell mechanism, is its most famous characteristic. The organ was enlarged in 1912, but it has remained essentially Mooser's organ.

**1852-1966** : Additions and transformations by Haas, Kyburtz, Haller, Merklin, Kuhn, Wolf-Giusto, Pürro, Hartmann.

Built in the Gothic style on a rocky outcrop 50 metres above the river Saane, St. Nicholas' dominates the centre of the medieval town. The main-body of the church was started in 1283 on the site of a Romanesque style chapel which pre-dated the town's foundation in 1157. Construction was completed around 1430 and the West tower was completed in 1490. It is 76 metres tall and houses 13 bells - 11 of which are in the west tower and 2 are in the Bell Tower of the Choir.

The edifice of the building is from the Gothic period - as is the choir-gate, the baptismal fonts, the pulpit, the cross, and 2 sculptured portals. The high-Gothic south portal shelters statues of St. Nicholas, the martyr who is Freiburg's patron saint, and of the 3 maidens of his legend. Nicholas, a 4th Century bishop of Myra in Asia Minor, is said to have secretly provided dowries for the 3 daughters of an impoverished nobleman.

The « chevet » , the choir-arch with key-stones, coats of arms of Patrician families, decoration of the aisle arch-ways, the organ of Sebald Manderscheidt and the 6 chapels between the buttresses are from the Baroque period. The most important of the sculptures is a monumental burial scene from the early-15th Century called « The Burial of Christ » in the Holy Sepulcher Chapel in the apse behind the main-altar. It is a composition of 13 life-size figures in sandstone with faded colouring ; it shows Jesus being laid into the tomb in the presence of the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and other grieving women, sleeping Roman soldiers, and angels. At least 3 unidentified artists executed the group with great realism.

The church began life as a parish church. In 1512, the church attained the rank of Collegiate Church with a provost (with mitre and crozier) dean, chanter and 12 canons. Since 1803, the church has been the property of the State of Freiburg and services are administered by the Roman Catholic Church.

...

The same day (**September 7**) , Anton Bruckner leaves Freiburg and is now heading for Bern.

## Bern

**Wednesday, 8 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner plays the organ of Bern Minster (« Berner Münster ») Cathedral. (St. Vincent's) . His style and virtuosity arouses great admiration from the resident organist, Doctor Jakob Mendel, who in

turn improvises a fugue on themes from Richard Wagner's « Ring des Nibelungen » .

The first organ in the Cathedral was built nearly 200 years after construction was completed. The first great organ was built in between 1726 and 1730. The town council voted to have the organ built on 5 June 1726. They hired Gottlieb Leuw from Bremgarten in September 1726. By January 1730, his work was nearly finished and the town began searching for an organist. While the main-organ was finished in 1730, the ornamentation and finish work continued until 1736. This first organ had 38 organ stops, with a breast and back work as well as an echo work with pedals.

In 1746, the council decided that the organ needed to be rebuilt. On 16 September 1748, they reached an agreement with Victor Ferdinand Bossart to do so. On 1 June 1752, they signed a contract with Johann August Nahl to do the exterior decoration on the new organ. The rebuilt organ had 43 organ stops, and was built in a late-Baroque style. It was renovated in 1827.

When the new organ balcony and screen were built in 1845-1848 above the western entrance by Beat Rudolf von Sinner, the organ was completely rebuilt and was known as the second organ. The organ-builder Friedrich Haas from Winterthur increased the number of stops to 55. The number of consoles was changed to three.

### Johann Jakob Mendel

The Swiss organist and voice teacher of German origin Johann Jakob Mendel was born on 8 September 1809 in Darmstadt, in the State of Hesse, Germany ; and died on 22 December 1881 in Bern, Switzerland.

Mendel came from a modest background. He received his basic musical training at the Hessian Court with organist Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck. From 1828, he studied with Luigi Cherubini at the Paris Conservatoire. Mendel was also teaching in Paris at the Royal Institute of Sacred Music under the directorship of Alexandre Choron.

On the recommendation of Rinck, Mendel was named organist and music-director at the Bern Minster (« Berner Münster ») Cathedral. He quickly shaped the city's musical life as choir-master of the Vocal Training Society, the Student Choir and the Choral Society, and by teaching music at the cantonal school, the municipal school for girls and the University of Bern. He also regularly conducted the « Musikgesellschaft » concerts. In 1842, Mendel received the Swiss citizenship. He participated in the creation of the new « Church Hymn Book of 1854 » by composing choral works, orchestral works and cantatas. In 1864, the University of Bern awarded him an honorary Doctorate, and, in 1875, he was appointed honorary professor.

Today, the music estate of Jakob Mendel is located at the « Burgerbibliothek » in Bern.

...

But Anton Bruckner also does some sight-seeing. He visits the Federal Palace, the « Bärengraben » (Bear Pit) , and the

« Zytglogge » (Clock Tower) . He meets attractive young ladies.

## Bear Pit

The city of Bern's relationship with its heraldic animal goes back many years. Legend has it that a bear was the first animal to be caught by city founder Berchtold V. von Zähringen during a hunting expedition in the area, and that he city owes its name to this.

The Bernese chronicler Valerius Anshelm described in 1513 how the Bernese returned home victorious from the Battle of Novara, carrying both the captured standards and a living bear as spoils of war in their triumphal procession. It was kept in the city moat in front of the « Käfigturm » (Cage Tower) .

The first bear pit remained at what is still called the « Bärenplatz » (Bear Square) , until it had to be moved in 1764 because of traffic problems. It was relocated to the « Schanzengraben » (Moat) in Bollwerk, in front of the gateway to the city.

The final, still visible bear pit is the 4th enclosure in the city. It was opened on May 27, 1857. 12 or more bears were intermittently kept in the 3.5 metre deep pit.

## Clock Tower

The « Zytglogge » is a landmark medieval tower in Bern. Built in the early-13th Century, it has served the city as guard tower, prison, clock tower, centre of urban life and civic memorial.

Despite the many redecorations and renovations it has undergone in its 800 years of existence, the « Zytglogge » is one of Bern's most recognisable symbols and, with its 15th Century astronomical clock, a major tourist attraction.

When it was built around 1218-1220, the « Zytglogge » served as the gate-tower of Bern's western fortifications. These were erected after the city's first west-ward expansion following its « de facto » independence from the Empire. At that time, the « Zytglogge » was a squat building of only 16 metres (52 feet) in height. When the rapid growth of the city and the further expansion of the fortifications (up to the « Käfigturm ») relegated the tower to second-line status at around 1270-1275, it was heightened by 7 metres (23 feet) to overlook the surrounding houses.

Only after the city's western defences were extended again in 1344-1346 up to the now-destroyed « Christoffelturm » , the « Zytglogge » was converted to a women's prison, notably housing « Pfaffendirnen » (priests' whores) , women convicted of sexual relations with clerics. At this time, the « Zytglogge » also received its first slanted roof.

In the great fire of 1405, the tower burnt-out completely. It suffered severe structural damage that required thorough repairs, which were not complete until after the last restoration in 1983. The prison cells were abandoned and a clock was first installed above the gate in the early-15th Century, probably including a simple astronomical clock and

musical mechanism. This clock, together with the great bell cast in 1405, gave the « Zytglogge » its name, which in Bernese German means « time bell » .

In the late-15th Century, the « Zytglogge » and the other Bernese gate-towers were extended and decorated after the Burgundian Romantic fashion. The « Zytglogge » received a new lantern (including the metal bell-man visible today) , 4 decorative corner towerlets, heraldic decorations and probably its stair-tower. The astronomical clock was extended to its current state. In 1527-1530, the clockwork was completely rebuilt by Kaspar Brunner, and the gateway was over-arched to provide a secure foundation for the heavy machinery.

The « Zytglogge's » exterior was repainted by Gotthard Ringgli and Kaspar Haldenstein in 1607-1610, who introduced the large clock faces that now dominate the east and west façades of the tower. The corner towerlets were removed again some time before 1603. In 1770-1771, the « Zytglogge » was renovated by Niklaus Hebler and Ludwig Emanuel Zehnder, who refurbished the structure in order to suit the tastes of the late-Baroque, giving the tower its contemporary outline.

Both façades were again repainted in the Rococo style by Rudolf von Steiger in 1890. The idealising historicism of the design came to be disliked in the 20th Century, and a 1929 competition produced the façade designs visible today : on the west façade, Victor Surbek's fresco « Beginning of Time » and on the east façade, a reconstruction of the 1770 design by Kurt Indermühle.

### Marie Studer

In the train heading for Lucerne, Bruckner will speak with « Fräulein » Marie Studer.

### Lucerne

**Thursday, 9 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner arrives in Lucerne in the morning. He meets the resident organist at St. Leodegar Church (« St. Leodegar im Hof » , « Hofkirche St. Leodegar ») , Father Ambros Meyer. They decided to play in succession on the stormy instrument.

At the same occasion, Bruckner meets Friedrich Haas who rebuilt the organ.

Father Meyer (Meier) comes from St. Urban's Cistercian Abbey. Born in 1814, he teaches music since August 1866.. He will act as resident organist at St. Leodegar from 1874 until his death in 1888.

**1640-1650** : A new organ is built by Johann Geißler from Salzburg after the church fire of 1633.

**1820** : Excavation of the mezzanine because the back-space has become ineffective.

**1858-1862** : Reconstruction of the organ by Friedrich Haas from Winterthur, who subsequently settled in Lucerne.



**1898-1899** : Conversion and pneumatization of the organ by Friedrich Goll, the business successor of Haas.

5 manuals (6 divisions) and pedal ; 103 stops ; 144 ranks ; electro-pneumatic action.

After the Lucerne « Hofkirche » had been devastated by fire in 1633 it was newly-built in Baroque style. Following 2 choir-organs (1637-1642) a large and, for those times, monumental organ with 2 manuals, pedals and 42 sounding stops was built on the west gallery (1640-1652) . It was constructed by Master organ builder Johann Geißler from Salzburg. The design for the case was made by a man of the same surname, but from Lucerne, Niklaus Geißler. Ever since, the show-piece has been its largest front-pipe, the low C of the Principal 32 ' (length : 970 centimetres ; diameter : 57 centimetres) .

Besides work on the instrument and a number of modifications, between 1857 and 1862, there followed substantial alterations by Friedrich Haas. He transformed the Baroque instrument into a Romantic concert organ. The « Rückpositiv » was removed, the slider wind-chests were replaced by cone-chests, the new mechanical action was fitted with Barker machines and an Echo organ was built-up in the roof space of the cathedral. Only the impressive main case with its front-pipes and about 15 further stops remained. Amongst the new stops were, most importantly, strings, harmonic pipes and all the reeds. The « Re-builder » of the organ was celebrated as triumphantly as Master Geißler had been over 200 years before.

The biography of the organ was, however, soon to be continued. The instrument was made pneumatic in 1895 by Goll Organ-Builders and, in 1945, it was fitted with electric systems. The organ movement saw to it that experts could no longer take much pleasure in the instrument and the traditional organ concerts were replaced more and more with the famous « storm fantasy » using the instrument's unique « rain machine » . As a result, in 1970, plans were made for substantial changes to be made to the instrument, although this caused in a bitter dispute over the direction to be taken. One party wished for a reconstruction of the instrument of 1652 whilst another favoured the Haas version. Others wished for the current instrument to be repaired. Finally, the argument was won by the majority, who simply wanted a new, contemporary organ, albeit with the complete incorporation of the remaining Baroque material and part of the « usable » material from the 19th Century. This plan also found favour with the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

Our task was now to realize these basic ideas and wishes in a project which was also practical from the technical point of view. The « Rückpositiv » was reconstructed, although the « balustrade » of the gallery was not able to be changed back to its original size. The placing of 3 manual divisions and the pedal organ in the main case was not strictly according to historical guide-lines, but more defined by the space required by the new slider wind-chests with the mechanical action. The 5th manual (« Fernwerk » - echo organ in the roof) was handled in the manner of a restoration. The cone-chests remained, but the action was made electric. The most difficult task was, besides the scaling of the pipes, their voicing. A wholly unified sounding instrument needed to be formed out of the Baroque pipes of 1652, the Romantic pipes of 1862, and the new stops of 1977.

In 2001, there followed an expansion of the « Fernwerk » . 3 ranks of free reed pipes which had been stored away

since 1977 and which originated from the Friedrich Haas organ of 1862 were reincorporated into the spacious echo chamber of the « Fernwerk » : a Physharmonica 8 ', a Clarinette 8 ' and a Fagott 16 '. These stops stand on a newly-built cone-chest in a separate swell-box which functions parallel to the main swell-box of the « Fernwerk » . The action of the additional wind-chest is also electric. The Fagott is playable by the pedals (30 notes) and the other 2 stops on the 5th manual. Further ranks and part-ranks from both Geißler and Haas which were removed in 1977 are still stored in the roof-space of the cathedral.

...

Über dem Westeingang auf der Empore befindet sich die so genannt Große Hoforgel. Sie geht zurück auf ein Instrument, das in den Jahren 1640 bis 1648 von dem Orgelbauer Johann Geißler aus Salzburg erbaut wurde. Das Gehäuse wurde 1648 von Niklaus Geisler geschaffen und ist original erhalten. Diese Orgel hatte 48 Register (2.826 Pfeifen) auf 2 Manualwerken und Pedal. Im Zuge einer Emporenvergrößerung im Jahre 1820 wurde das Rückpositiv entfernt. In den Jahren 1858 bis 1862 wurde die Orgel durch den Orgelbauer Friedrich Haas auf 70 Register auf vier Manualen und Pedal erweitert. Das Instrument wurde zudem mit einem Fernwerk ausgestattet, welches auf dem Dachboden der Kirche untergebracht wurde.

Das Fernwerk hat ein besonderes, weltweit einzigartiges Effektregister, eine so genannt Regenmaschine. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Holztrommel, die mit Orgelwind angetrieben im Kreis gedreht wird. Die Trommel ist mit Blech ausgeschlagen. In der Trommel befinden sich Metallkugeln, die über so genannt Schikanen an die Blechwand der Trommel schlagen. Die Regenmaschine ermöglicht es, zusammen mit den tiefen Pedalregistern « Klanglawinen » bis hin zu « Orgelgewittern » zu erzeugen.

In den Jahren 1972 bis 1977 wurde die Orgel durch die Orgelbaufirma Kuhn umgebaut, restauriert und erweitert. Das Rückpositiv wurde rekonstruiert. Im historischen Prospekt der Orgel steht eine Pfeife aus dem Jahr 1648, welche die längste und schwerste Orgelpfeife der Welt aus dieser Zeit ist: Sie mißt 9,7 meters und wiegt 383 kilogramms. Einige Register wurden entfernt, und werden nun (2015) als Echowerk auf der nördlichen Empore wieder in das Orgelensemble eingebunden. 2001 wurden im Schallkanal des Fernwerkes, der so genannt Tonhalle, drei durchschlagende Zungenregister wiedereingebaut, die Haas im Jahre 1862 erbaut hatte. Es handelt sich dabei um romantische Klangfarben, die den Klängen eines Harmoniums oder eines Akkordeons ähnlich sind.

Das Schleifladen-Instrument hat heute 84 Register (5.949 Pfeifen) auf fünf Manualwerken und Pedal ; die Register des Fernwerkes stehen auf Kegelladen. Ohne das Fernwerk wiegt die Hauptorgel etwa 20 Tonnen. Ein Großteil der Register sind historischer Bestand aus den Jahren 1648 (19 Register) und 1862 (36 Register) . Die Spieltrakturen sind (mit Ausnahme der Trakturen der Register des Fernwerkes) mechanisch. Die Koppeln und Registertrakturen sind elektrisch.

...

In the 8th Century, there was already an abbey consecrated to St. Maurice on the current site of the church, which had been donated by Pépin the Short, and was known at the time as the « Monastarium Luciaría » . By the 12th

Century, the abbey was under the jurisdiction of the Murbach Abbey, whose patron saint was St. Leodegar. In 1291, the abbey was sold to the Habsburgs. In 1433, the city of Lucerne, no longer a member of the « Eidgenossenschaft », took control of the abbey, and, in 1455, it was converted from Benedictine to a « universal order » church. The monastery experienced a heyday during the time of the Reformation due to Luzern being a prominent city for the Swiss Catholic cantons. The papal nuncio, resident in Luzern, used the church as his cathedral during this time. In 1874, the parish church of St. Leodegar was founded and with that the church became simultaneously a monastery church and parish church.

### Father Ambros Meyer

Die Zahl der Conventualen der in den 40er Jahren aufgehobenen Schweizerischen Cistercienser-Klöster wird mit jedem Jahre kleiner. So starb am 20. December v. Jahr wieder ein Conventuale von St. Urban.

Wir entlehnen nachstehenden Nekrolog dem in Luzern erscheinenden Vaterland. Es schreibt : Mit Pater Ambros Meyer ist einer jener frommen, arbeitsamen und ideal angelegten Mönche zu Grabe getragen worden, deren die früheren Jahrhunderte viele gesehen und die auch heute, bei stark verändertem Zuge der Zeit, noch nicht ganz ausgestorben sind. Wie sein Vorgänger Pater Leopold Nägeli, begann auch Pater Ambros seine Laufbahn als Conventual im Cistercienser-Kloster zu St. Urban und endigte sie als Präbendar und Organist im Hof zu Luzern. Diese Männer wußten inmitten der Regelmässigkeit klösterlicher Gebräuche, neben ihren religiösen und priesterlichen Verrichtungen Herz und Sinn offen zu behalten für die Einflüsse der Kunst und als ausübende Musiker sich nicht nur eine seltene Fertigkeit zu erwerben, sondern auch ganz bedeutende Erfolge zu erzielen. Es geschah das Alles (wenn wir von den äussern Kundgebungen des Menschen auf seine innerlichen Motive schließen dürfen) nicht um des Glanzes und nicht um des Erwerbes willen, wohl aber zur Befriedigung eines tiefgewurzelten und höher strebenden Bedürfnisses, vor Allem zur Ehre des Schöpfers und den Mitmenschen zur Freude : dieses schöne Weihnachtsmotto war die Unterlage ihrer ganzen Wirksamkeit. Ein anspruchsloser, stets dienstbereiter, sittenreiner Priester, ein edler Mensch und hervorragender Künstler, dem es in seiner Bescheidenheit nie darum zu thun war, sich selbst über Andere zu stellen, der aber alles Gute in seiner Umgebung zu schätzen und zu loben verstand, eine Seele, von Friedfertigkeit und Wohlwollen überfließend - so ist Pater Ambros unter uns gewandelt.

Pater Ambros (sein Taufname war Placidus) wurde am 25. April 1814 zu Buttisholz, Kanton Luzern geboren. Seine körperliche und geistige Entwicklung war keine frühzeitige, selbst die Gabe der Sprache verdankte er einem nach seiner Überzeugung wunderbarem Eingriffe, zeitlebens blieb sein Gesundheitszustand ein schwächerer und vielen Zufälligkeiten ausgesetzt. Von seinem 12. Jahre an aber zeigte sich in ihm eine erstaunliche Leichtigkeit zur Erlernung nicht nur des Klavier- und Orgelspiels, sondern aller Arten musikalischer Instrumente, deren Einübung er denn auch mit Vorliebe und Ausdauer oblag. In den Benedictiner-Stiften Einsiedeln (1828-1831) und Engelberg (1832) machte er seine Gymnasialstudien, wo er zugleich treffliche Gelegenheit fand, seine musikalischen Fähigkeiten anzubilden und zu verwerthen.

Im Jahre 1833 trat der junge Meyer in St. Urban ins Noviziat und legte im folgenden Jahre am Feste Mariä Empfängniß die heilig Gelübde ab und erhielt den Namen Ambrosius. Nach Absolvierung der philosophischen und theologischen Studien wurde er dann 1840 zum Priester geweiht und feierte sein erstes heil. Messopfer am 5. Sonntag

nach Pfingsten. Hatte er während der letzten Jahre die Musik nicht vernachlässigt, so konnte er sich derselben jetzt fast ganz weihen ; aus dem Schüler war ein Lehrer geworden ; er mußte den Novizen und den Zöglingen des Lehrerseminars Unterricht ertheilen, nebenbei aber auch in der Pastoration sich hethätigen.

Man wird in alldem nichts besonderes und aussergewöhnliches finden und den Ruf, den unser musizirender Cistercienser unter seinen Mitbrüdern genoß, vielleicht nicht allzuhoch anzuschlagen geneigt sein. Das Eigenthümliche und nach unserem Erinnenen höchst Verdienstliche bestand aber darin, daß Pater Ambros sich die Kenntniß und Beherrschung der Orgel, Violine, Flöte, Oboe, des Cello, der Blechinstrumente, sowie in spätern Jahren der Erard'schen Harfe, nicht nur aus eigenem Antrieb, sondern auch sozusagen ohne fremde Beihilfe, jedenfalls ohne eigentlich methodischen Unterricht aneignete.

So verlebte Pater Ambros glückliche Tage in seinem schönen Kloster bis zum Jahr 1848, da dasselbe von der radikalen Regierung Luzerns aufgehoben wurde. Die Ordensbrüder trennten sich, der eine wandte sich dahin, der andere dorthin ; Pater Ambros liess sich in Willisau nieder, wo er die Stelle eines Cantors übernahm. In diesem kleinen Landstädtchen brachte er nun 26 Jahre zu, wohl ohne den ehrgeizigen Wunsch nach einem größern Wirkungskreise in sich aufkommen zu lassen. Anfänglich machte ihm die eigenthümliche Verquickung von Priesterthum und weltlich musikahscher Thätigkeit, wie sie in der Regel einem « Musik-kaplan » zugemuthet wird, sonderbar vorkommen. Indessen fand er sich rasch in seine neue Lage hinein und gewann sich Aller Herzen durch seine Leutseligkeit und die Bereitwilligkeit, womit er seine Dienste zur Verfügung stellte.

Einem Bittenden absehlägigen Bescheid zu geben, konnte er nicht über sich bringen. Es war ihm Beruf, mit den Trauernden zu klagen und mit den Froheu zu jubeln. Über dem geselligen Musiciren vernachlässigte er aber seine ernstern Übungeu keineswegs, sondern legte Werth darauf, sich trotz seiner verhältnissmässigen Vereinsamung auf der Höhe der Orgeltechnik und in Fühlung mit den neuen Erzeugnissen der Kunst zu erhalten. Dies gelang ihm so wohl, daß man nach dem Hinsehide seines Ordensbruders Pater Leopold Nägele im Jahr 1874 einen würdigeren Nachfolger nicht glaubte finden zu können, um die Schönheiten des neu restaurirten gewaltigen Orgelwerkes in der Stiftskirche zu St. Leodogar in Luzern dem sich immer zahlreicher zudrängenden heimischen und fremden Publikum zu erschliessen.

Mit Freude, aber zugleich mit charakteristischem Zagen, folgte Pater Ambros den ehrenvollen Rufe nach Luzern. In dem Studium der Hoforgel erblickte er von nun an seine Lebensaufgabe und der Sechziger gieng mit jugendlichem Euthusiasmus an die verlockende Arbeit. Wie manches Register wurde da gezogen und gestossen, wie manche Pedalübung vorgenommen, wie mancher gute Freund berathen, bis die Construction des Werkes dem neuen Spieler geläufig geworden, die passenden Compositionen ausgesucht, die Mischungen richtig gestellt und die Effecte ausgeglichen waren. Es dauerte einige Monate, ehe der ängstliche Mann mit seinem I. Concertprogramm hervorzutreten wagte. Seitdem hat er deren zu Hunderten abgespielt und, man darf es ungescheut aussprechen, der liebens-würdige klerikale Virtuose hat sich in den Herzen aller Musikfreunde in Stadt und Land ein bleibendes Denkmal gesetzt. Als Belege zu diesem Ausspruch würden sich ohne Zweifel in der Mappe des Verewigten zahlreiche Ergüsse vorfinden, die in Prosa und Versen der hohen Befriedigung Ausdruck geben, womit empfängliche Touristen der verschiedenen Weltgegenden den Orgelproductionen der letzten Jahre in der Luzerner Stiftskirche gelauscht haben. Es ist das schon an und für sich ein für den Künstler und für Luzern nicht zu unterschätzender.

Erfolg. Auf eine Beurtheilung der Leistungen vom Standpunkte der neuesten Schule gedenken wir keineswegs einzugehen. Nach den oben gegebenen Andeutungen wird Niemand darob erstaunt sein, wenn wir den Organisten aufrichtiger bewunderten in dem, was er aus seiner früheren klösterlichen Praxis auf die neuen Verhältnisse überzutragen in den Fall kam, als die großen Aufgaben, die er sich in seinem hohen Pflichteifer für die Orgelconcerte gestellt hat und die er mit musterhafter Ausdauer, dabei aber entsprechender physischer Anstrengung bewältigte. In freien Präludien, Versetzen und Zwischenspielen bei Vesper und Amt war Pater Ambros in seinem Elemente, geschmeidig, erfinderisch, elegant wie Wenige. Es war, als hätte er sich alsdann von den Fesseln befreit, die das Bewußtsein des Centrolirtwerdens, die Gegenwart kritischer Zuhörer, ihm anzulegen schien. Er lustwandelte da in seinem Revier, wo er jeden Ein- und Ausgang kannte. Alles trug das Gepräge seiner Zeit und war darum so behaglich anzuhören. Beschränktheit, ja Unmühsamkeit hiesse es, vom einzelnen Menschen zu verlangen, daß er Charakter und Styl mit jedem Jahrzehnt ändere, So trat auch die « cäcilianische » Kirchen-musikreform zu spät an Pater Ambros heran, als daß er sich näher damit hätte befreunden können. Er verhielt sich dagegen nicht sowohl feindlich als ablehnend, was sich aus den Traditionen, mit denen er aufgewachsen, gar leicht erklären läßt. Im Übrigen bewahrte der Verewigte für alle Verbesserungen ein offenes Auge, für jeden Nothstand eine bilfreiche Hand. Er war Activ- oder Ehrenmitglied der hauptsächlichsten städtischen Musikvereine, versäumte nie deren Concerte zu besuchen und wirkte selbst mit, so lange seine Kräfte es erlaubten. Besonders gern wurde allenthalben sein Harfenspiel entgegengenommen, während die Orchester-dirigenten sich des nützlichen Musikers beim Violin- oder Viola-pult versicherten. Auch bei Orgelexpertisen und in Prüfungskommissionen hat Pater Ambros als still beobachtendes Mitglied seinen Mann gestellt.

Nach den vorgerückten Jahren zu schliessen, in welchen Pater Ambros sein neues Amt in Luzern antrat, konnte seine Laufbahn hier keine sehr lange werden. Wirklich stellten sich allmählig die Beschwerden des Alters ein, Gehörsinn und Elasticität der Glieder nahmen zusehends ab, man hatte seit 4 oder 5 Jahren auf Ersatz zu denken. Schon bei Anstellung eines Hilfsorganisten äusserte sich der Verstorbene, daß nunmehr mit seinen « Exequien » begonnen werde. Mit Schmerzen und nur Schritt für Schritt, dem Unvermeidlichen weichend, zog er sich von seinem geliebten Instrumente zurück. Jetzt galt es, jene Tugend der Resignation zu üben, die in dem Repertoire der beifallverwöhnten Künstler so selten Platz findet, Da mußte der Ordensmann nachhelfen ! Mit welcher Milde und Ergebung der Kranke seiner Auflösung entgegensah, das wissen diejenigen zu beschreiben, die ihn auf dem Sterbelager gepflegt und besucht haben. Hat auch die nie ganz aufgegebene Hoffnung auf Wiedergenesung sich nicht erfüllt, so wird doch der festgegründete Glaube an eine Wiedererstehung um so weniger trügen, der da hinweist auf den Tag, wo alle Dissonanzen sich lösen, auf den Ort, wo himmlische Harmonien ewig fortklingen werden. R.I.P.

Pater Ambros überleben noch 5 Mitbrüder, 4 Priester und 1 Laienbruder, die jetzt alle hochbetagt sind. Das Kloster St. Urban zählte bei seiner Aufhebung eben viele junge Mitglieder. Es ist nur zu bedauern, daß damals und später nie ein Versuch gemacht wurde, den Convent wieder zu sammeln und anderwärts neu aufleben zu lassen. An Kräften hätte es nicht gefehlt, auch gebrach es nicht an materiellen Mitteln, da ja sämtliche Conventualen von der Regierung Pensionen bezogen, aber es mangelte vor allem ein Führer, ein tüchtiger unternehmender Oberer. Bald nach der Gründung der Mehrerau siedelten drei der ältern Conventualen von St. Urban dorthin über, woselbst sie Anfaues der sechziger Jahre gestorben sind und auf dem Klosterfriedhofe ihre Ruhestätte gefunden haben.

**Thursday, 9 September 1880** : In the afternoon, Anton Bruckner travels along Lake Lucerne by rack-train up to the town of Vitznau and stops at Mount-Rigi, the « Queen of the Mountains » on the Swiss « plateau » . He enjoys the panorama, the view to Küßnacht-am-Rigi, the sunset, and gets to know Babette Schreiber, the sister of the local in-keeper.

(Mark Twain also visited Rigi during his tour of Central Europe in the late-1870's, and wrote about his travels in Chapter 28 of his « A Tramp Abroad » .)

The rack-railway from Arth - Goldau and Vitznau is operated by the « Rigi Bahnen » . The « Vitznau-Rigi-Bahn » started operation on May 21, 1871, and was the first mountain railway in Europe. On June 4, 1875, the « Arth-Rigi-Bahn » was finished, allowing access from the other side of the mountain. They were electrified in 1937 and 1907 respectively, with the « Arth-Rigi-Bahn » becoming the first electrified standard gauge rack-railway in the world. Both lines go all the way to the summit, Rigi Kulm.

### « Tellskapelle »

Anton Bruckner takes time to visit the newly-built « Tellskapelle » (Tell's chapel, 1879) decorated with 4 frescos by Ernst Stückelberg (realized between 1880 and 1882) . It is located on the « Tellsplatte » or « Tellenplatte » (Tell's slab) on the shore of Lake Lucerne at the foot of the Axenberg cliffs. He also walks the trail of the « Hohle Gasse » .

The Catholic chapel marks the site where according to legend, William Tell during a storm leapt from the boat of his captors (the « Tellensprung » - Leap of Tell) and escaped, allowing him to assassinate the tyrant Geßler and initiate the rebellion that led to the foundation of the Old Swiss Confederacy. The « Tellenplatte » is first mentioned in 1470 in the White Book of Sarnen, as « Tellen blatten » .

There are traditions of a chapel built on the site as early as 1388, but the earliest reliable mention of the chapel dates to the chronicle of Heinrich Brennwald (1508-1516) . In 1561, a society was established which held an annual memorial service at the chapel. The chapel was enlarged or rebuilt in 1589 to 1590. In 1599, its altars were dedicated to St. Sebastian, St. William, the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints. From the 17th Century, the annual service and the associated procession were officially sanctioned by the canton of Uri.

### Rigi railway

Aware of the scenic location of Mount Rigi, Swiss engineer Niklaus Riggenbach master-minded the construction of a railway from Vitznau, on the shores of Lake Lucerne and the southern flank of Mount Rigi, to a point close to its summit. He already had the technology as he had patented, in France in 1863, a system of toothed racks set between the railway tracks interlocking with cog-wheels fitted under the locomotives.

Jointly, with fellow-engineers Olivier Zschokke and Adolf Naef, he submitted an application to the Canton of Lucerne for permission to build a line from Vitznau to Rigi Staffelhöhe, a point somewhat below the summit of Rigi, but the

nearest point to the summit within that canton. The cantonal administration already knew of the success of the Mount Washington Railway and saw the advantages in this construction, granting permission on 9 June 1869.

The construction itself began in the following September, the limited liability company, which had offered 1,250 shares was greatly over-subscribed on the first day of issue. On 21 May 1870, Riggenbach's birthday, locomotive No. 1, named « Stadt Luzern », made its first trial run. Exactly 1 year later, the first mountain railway using rack and pinion technology was officially opened. Riggenbach, never noted for missing an opportunity, drove the first train to the upper-terminus at Rigi Staffelhöhe.

The line, from Vitznau to Rigi Staffelhöhe was 5 kilometres (3.1 miles) long and climbed a total of 1,115 metres (3,658 feet) to reach a height of 1,550 metres (5,085 feet) at its summit, the maximum gradient being 1 in 4 (25 %).

As originally built, the Vitznau-Rigi Railway only reached Rigi Staffelhöhe, as that was the cantonal boundary between the Canton of Lucerne and the Canton of Schwyz. The summit of Mount Rigi is situated in the Canton of Schwyz, along with the northern slopes of the mountain and the town of Arth on Lake Zug below.

In 1870, a committee made-up of 12 citizens of Arth were granted a concession from the Schwyz Cantonal Council for a railway to operate from Arth via Oberarth to Rigi Kulm, together with a second line to connect Rigi Staffelhöhe to Rigi Kulm. The same engineering team who were responsible for the Vitznau-Rigi Railway also undertook responsibility for the construction for these lines.

The Arth company started by building the line from Rigi Staffelhöhe to Rigi Kulm, and this was ready for opening in time for the summer traffic in 1873. This line made an end-on connection with that from Vitznau and the Vitznau company operated their trains over it, paying the Arth company a ground rent for its use.

The line from Rigi Staffelhöhe to Rigi Kulm, was just 1.8 kilometres (1.1 miles) long but enabled trains to reach the summit at Rigi Kulm, a height of 1,752 metres (5,748 feet) above sea-level, a climb of a further 202 metres (662.7 feet) from Rigi Staffelhöhe.

The high-level platform of the Arth-Rigi Railway at Arth-Goldau station, with main-line platforms underneath. By the time construction started on the main-line of the Arth-Rigi Railway, construction had also started on the Gotthard railway, and it was clear that this main-line railway would include a station in Arth, now known as Arth-Goldau station. It was clearly important that the Arth-Rigi line should connect with this station.

The concession to construct the Arth-Rigi Railway was ceded, in 1873, to the International Company for Mountain Railways in Aarau, a company founded by Riggenbach and this company carried-out the railway project as general contractor at a cost of CHF 4.2 million and also supplied 5 of the 6 steam-locomotives needed to operate it. Construction of the first section, that from Arth-am-See, a station by Lake Zug, to Oberarth commenced in 1873 and once the position of the railway station had been agreed with the main-line company, in 1874, construction work on

the second section began, the Arth-Rigi Railway becoming operational on 4 June 1875. The line offered only summer-time services until 1884 when year-round operation commenced.

The line from Arth to the junction at Rigi Staffelhöhe was 6.8 kilometres (4.2 miles) long, making the total length of the Arth line 8.6 kilometres (5.3 miles) . The maximum gradient is 1 in 5 (20 %) .

Whilst the Arth-Rigi railway was under construction, another line on the Rigi massif was also being built. This linked Rigi Kaltbad, on the Vitznau-Rigi line, with Rigi Scheidegg to the east. Unlike the previous 2 lines, the Rigi-Scheidegg Railway followed the contours near the top of the mountain, rather than climbing it, and was not a rack-railway. Also unlike the other 2 lines, it was built to 1,000 millimetres (3 feet 3 3/8 inches) metre-gauge rather than standard gauge, and so, never made a direct connection to the other lines. The line opened, in 2 stages, in 1874 and 1875.

...

**Friday, 10 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner leaves Rigi-Kulm and arrives in Lucerne in the afternoon. From there, he heads for Munich.

**Munich - Salzburg - Vöcklabruck - Linz**

**Saturday, 11 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner arrives in Munich at 7 o'clock in the morning. At 10:45 am, he takes the train for Vöcklabruck making a stop in Salzburg.

While in Traunstein (near Salzburg) , Bruckner gets to know the « very nice » « Fräulein » Wisbauer, the daughter of the local in-keeper.

Once in Vöcklabruck, he meets with the Braun family.

Finally, Bruckner arrives in Linz around 5 o'clock in the evening.

During this last journey, Bruckner's personal diary indicates a long list of names of young girls whom he stopped on his way. If the candidate was seen as worthy and honest to become his wife, he would listen. Then, he tried to get more information about her character, her family and the dowry. On many occasions, he will go so far as to ask a friend or relative to make a thorough investigation. He wanted to make sure that the beloved had enough money to ensure the viability of the marriage. He also took into consideration the possibility that, in the event of his death, he would have no obligation towards her. Of course, light women will remain a symbol of sin and damnation.

**WAB 106 : St. Florian**

**After Saturday, 11 September 1880** : Anton Bruckner spends the rest of the summer holidays in St. Florian.



**Monday, 27 September 1880** : Still in St. Florian, Bruckner finished the first movement of his 6th Symphony, started 1 year ago. Central movements are considered as a musical achievement of his impressions of Switzerland. The Adagio will be completed on November 22 at the University of Vienna. And the Scherzo, on December 17, 1880.

### Rott writes to Hans Richter

**Monday, 23 August 1880** : Letter from Hans Rott to Hans Richter :

Rott announces he will visit Richter and show him his Symphony in E major.

Finally, the meeting will take place on **Thursday, 14 October 1880**.

### Rott visits Brahms

**Friday, 17 September 1880** : Hans Rott, suffering from lack of both family and money, and from an unrequited love, submits his Symphony to the Beethoven Prize competition, and goes to play it to Johannes Brahms, who enters a cruelly harsh judgment :

« The composition contained besides such beauty so much triviality and non-sense that the former could not possibly stem from Rott himself. »

Brahms advises Rott to give-up composition. Rott's Symphony boldly combines the styles of several major German / Austrian composers and, in the last movement, contains a theme presented 3 times which sounds much like that from the last movement of Brahms's own 1st Symphony - Brahms may easily have misinterpreted the combination of that with Wagnerian-style material as a put-down. All this stress is too much for Rott and his mind snaps.

### Serious anomaly

**Thursday, 9 October 1880** : Back in Vienna, Anton Bruckner applies for the prestigious post of assistant choir-master of the « Wiener Männergesang Verein » (Vienna Men's Choir Society) . His application is refused.

During this time, a serious anomaly develops in Bruckner's feet and legs which in no way helps his morale.

### Nephew's confirmation

**Tuesday, 12 October 1880** : Gustav Hueber is confirmed by Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger at St. Ulrich parish church in Vöcklabruck. Anton Bruckner, the godfather, is not able to attend the celebration.

### Rott leaves Vienna

**Thursday, 21 or Friday, 22 October 1880** : Hans Rott leaves Vienna.

**Rott, the insane**

**Saturday, 23 October 1880** : Hans Rott is declared insane by a psychiatrist.

**Vienna : Hotel « Kummer » , Paul Caro**

**After Friday, 22 October 1880 ?** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« (Schüler) Herr (Paul) Caro, Hotel Kummer, Mariahilferstraße. »

**End of September 1880** : Paul Caro from Breslau, aged 21, entered the class of counterpoint (first year) of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory.

**University begins**

**Monday, 25 October 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« University begins. »

**Mahler starts to teach**

**Monday, 1 November 1880** : Gustav Mahler announces in a letter to his friend Emil Freund that the composition of the Cantata, « Das Klagende Lied » , has been completed.

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

**Mahler knows about Rott's madness**

**Monday, 1 November 1880** : Gustav Mahler wrote in a letter to Emil Freund :

« (...) My friend Hans Rott has gone mad ! (...) »

**Vienna Conservatory : Fall Semester (1880)**

**November 1880** : Among Anton Bruckner's students at the Vienna Conservatory during the Fall Semester :

Johann Evangelist Aichinger, Otto von Liebig, J. Schnabl et Rudolf Steiner.

## Rejection of Rott and Stroß

**Tuesday, 14 December 1880** : Meeting of the Jury for the Beethoven Composition Prize. The Symphonie in C major (dedicated to Anton Bruckner) by Conservatory student Alfred Stroß and the Symphony in E major by Conservatory student Hans Rott are both judged « unworthy » - unanimously, in the case of Rott. (According to Hans Richter's written report in the Archives of the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna.)

## « Franzl » , Bruckner's pug dog

Anton Bruckner owned a pug that he nicknamed : « Franzl » (in honour of the Emperor Franz-Josef ?) . The little dog (and perhaps even obese) was always at his side, in the classroom, during the courses at the Vienna Conservatory (« Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») .

At lunch time, when the Master went-out to take his hearty meal at one of his favourite restaurants, he asked his « dear students » (fervent Brahmsians, not really receptive to Wagner's music) to take care of his little companion during his absence. They took the opportunity to entertain the little animal while constantly feeding him with chunks of sandwiches. One of them was the prodigious young violinist Fritz Kreisler, aged 7. After 3 years at the Conservatory (1882-1885) , Kreisler received a gold medal.

The pug has a mostly sedentary life. He may be subject to obesity, although this is preventable through regular exercise and a healthy diet. But in the company of Bruckner, is it really possible ???

« Mops » (which means « angry ») is the German word associated with this dog breed, of Chinese origin, which was brought to Europe in the 16th Century.

It is a dog with a flat-face, known for his snoring, his purring and, surprisingly, his meowing. He is much appreciated for his sweetness and his joyful spirit as well as his vivacity. The pug is loved by young children, for whom he will always have energy.

He does not groan when he is fondled or picked-up. He is not aggressive. He can be very sporty or, on the contrary, very quiet.

...

Ivan Petrovich Pavlov completed his studies in Leipzig and Breslau. In his first year in Leipzig, Pavlov attended the world-premiere of Bruckner's 7th Symphony under Artur Nikisch on December 30, 1884. He was so impressed that, when travelling to Vienna for a brief sojourn, he visited Bruckner in early February 1885. In his memoirs (unpublished - Archive of the Medical Faculty, St. Petersburg) , Pavlov recalled to have arrived at Bruckner's apartment at « Heßgasse » Number 4 when Bruckner was just teaching an amazing violin player, just 10 years old. Though, without mentioning a name, this must have been Fritz Kreisler, who in fact turned 10 on February 2, 1885. Pavlov was

particularly impressed by Bruckner's pug, « Franzl » and his interaction with young Fritz. His observations formed the basis for his later experiments - in particular, the fact that the pug started to drool immediately when Bruckner said to Doctor Pavlov and Fritz Kreisler :

“ Geh ma alle zum (Roten) ' Igel ' (Gasthaus) was essen, i bin hungrig. ” »

(« Go to the (Red) “ Hedgehog ” (Hotel) to eat. I am hungry. »)

### Brahms and cats

The rumour says that cats got Johannes Brahms back-up. The composer spent much time at his window in his Vienna home trying to hit neighbourhood cats with a harpoon manufactured from a bow and arrow.

Supposedly, Brahms began cat-bagging after the Czech composer Antonín Dvořák gave him a « Bohemian sparrow slaying bow » .

« After spearing the poor brutes, he reeled them in to his room after the manner of a trout-fisher. Then, he eagerly listened to the expiring groans of his victims and carefully jotted down in his note-book their “ ante-mortem ” remarks. »

(Richard Wagner)

...

Brahms, so it is said, was an avowed enemy of the feline tribe. Unlike Domenico Scarlatti, who was passionately fond of chords of the diminished cats, the phlegmatic Johannes spent much of his time at the window, particularly of moonlit nights, practising counterpoint on the race of cats, the kind that infest backyards of dear old Vienna. Antonín Dvořák had made his beloved friend and Master a present of a peculiar bow and arrow, which is used in Bohemia to slay sparrows. In and about Bohemia, it is named in the native tongue, « Slugj hym inye nech » . With this formidable weapon did the composer of orchestral cathedrals spend his leisure moments. Little wonder that Wagner became an anti-vivisectionist, for he, too, had been up in Brahms' backyard, but being near-sighted, usually missed his cat. Because of arduous practice Brahms always contrived to bring down his prey, and then (O diabolical device !), after spearing the poor brutes, he reeled them into his room after the manner of a trout fisher. Then so Wagner averred - he eagerly listened to the expiring groans of his victims and carefully jotted down in his note-book their « ante-mortem » remarks. Wagner declared that he (i.e. , Brahms !) worked up these piteous utterances in to his chamber-music, but then Wagner had never liked Brahms (...)

### Bruckner, an anti-Semite ?

Anton Bruckner was good and naive enough to become set-up by the viennese newspapers as an anti-Semite, which could only damage him. One day, at « The Red Hedgehog » Restaurant-Hotel (« Gasthof Zum Roten Igel ») , just when

he had again been denounced in the newspaper as an anti-Semite, he met Doctor Josef Königstein, the music-critic of the « Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt » (he used to sign « k. st. ») .

Bruckner addressed him :

« So, “ Herr ” Doctor, what it says in the newspapers is absolutely not true - I have absolutely nothing against the Israelite gentlemen ! »

### Vienna : The « Red Hedgehog » Inn

The site dates back from **1385**.

The « Red Hedgehog » was mentioned for the first time in **1571**.

**1703** : The editorial office of the « Wienerischen Diariums » (« Viennese Diaries ») , founded by book-printer Johann Baptist Schönwetter, occupied part of the building on « Wildpretmarkt » (« Tuchlauben » Number 550) , in Vienna's 1st District.

**1811** : The building was divided in 2 entities : one on « Tuchlauben » , and one on « Wildpretmarkt » . At the time, the city register mentioned the existence of a transit-door.

**1822** : The Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») rents premises within the « Red Hedgehog » House (« Haus zum Roten Igel ») - location : « Tuchlauben » Number 558 (later, Number 12) .

**1829** : The Society of Friends of Music buys the « Red Hedgehog » House, the building it had formerly rented, planning to replace this with a new building bringing the diverse activities of the « Musikverein » together under one roof.

**1831** : The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » opens the doors to its new premises on « Tuchlauben » . Designed by Franz Löbl, the building also contains a concert-hall for around 700 people. This is Vienna's first purpose-built concert-hall - previously, concerts took-place in « salons » or theatres that served multiple purposes.

Upon the death of Archduke Rudolph, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » inherits his music-library. With the arrival of 90 chests, each weighing 250 kilogrammes, priceless musical artefacts become part of the « Musikverein's » collection.

**1837** : A new building (located at « Wildpretmarkt » Number 1) replaced the old one.

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

The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » celebrates its 25th anniversary in the Imperial Winter Riding School. More than 1,000 people take-part in 2 concerts performing Franz-Josef Haydn's Oratorio, « The Creation » .

The « Red Hedgehog » Inn served as a bastion for Democrat militants during the Revolution of **October 1848**. It also affects the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . For 9 months, the Music Society gives no concert performances and teaching is temporarily suspended at the « Konservatorium » . The « Musikverein » faces a severe financial crisis.

The inn stood right next to the « Red Hedgehog » House (« Konservatorium ») . 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 « Conservatorium » , and regular users of the music library. Conviviality and passionate conversations were accompanied by coffee, delicious meals, beer and alcohol.

**1851** : The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » itself undertakes a comprehensive reform of the organisation to overcome the political crisis. The number of members continues to grow and the « Konservatorium » is able to resume its activities. Alongside streamlining the internal structure, a new artistic direction proves decisive : the Orchestra for the Society's Concerts is, from now on, to be no longer composed of practising members, i.e. amateurs, but rather of professional musicians. The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde's » professionalisation is also a response to the founding of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in 1842.

**1858** : While orchestral music is put into the hands of professionals, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » takes another approach with choral music. This remains the domain of practising amateur members - albeit in a new and highly efficient form. Thus, the « Singverein » is founded as a branch society of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , with rising star Johann Herbeck as its first choral director. Under his leadership, the choir soon develops into an outstanding vocal ensemble in much demand among composers.

Up to the present day (in principle, at least) , not much has changed. The « Singverein » of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » is an « amateur choir » , while also being one of the best concert choirs in the world.

**1859** : To provide the instrumentalists among their members with a forum of their own, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » founds a second branch society, the « Orchesterverein » . This too keeps the tradition of « practising members » alive. The « Orchesterverein » today remains an enthusiastic amateur orchestra with a very active role in concert life.

**1862** : The celebratory performance of the « Messiah » to mark the 50th anniversary of the « Musikverein » testifies to its extraordinary cultural importance. Emperor Franz-Josef I. and Empress Elisabeth attend the concert together with other members of the Imperial family and government representatives of the highest-level.

The inauguration of the « Musikverein » on the « Karlplatz » , on **Thursday, 6 January 1870**, didn't compromise the survival of the « Red Hedgehog » Inn because the regular « clientèle » remained faithful.

Anton Webern, a native of Klagenfurt, arrived in Vienna in 1902. He studied composition with Arnold Schönberg from 1904. He also became a fervent guest at the « Red Hedgehog » .

The « Red Hedgehog » Inn closed its doors in 1906. The demolition was due to the construction of a new building by architect Franz Rieß, which started in 1904. It was bought by the Austrian Industrial and Commercial Bank (« Österreichischen Industrie- und Handelsbank ») on March 19, 1918. On the top of its rounded outer-wall, at « Brandstätte » Number 8, the sculpted crest of a Red Hedgehog reminds us of the old iconic tavern.

(In the same vein, the building where Johannes Brahms lived in Vienna during the last 26 years of his life was curiously demolished in 1907, without any qualms - exactly 10 years after the composer's death.)

The « Amadeus » Hotel, located at « Wildpretmarkt » Number 5, now stands on the former site of the « Red Hedgehog » .

### « Zum Rothen Igel » : Crazy hours

Far from limiting oneself to the door of the amphitheatre, the relations between Master and disciples continued in the city life ; and 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 » . Some establishments pride themselves on having been the theatre of these encounters which were among the highlights of the Viennese cultural life.

**Sunday, 4 April 1880** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner at the guest-house « Zum Rothen Igel » :

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) .

### The left-handed cherub plying the lyre

**Saturday, 1 May 1880** : Inauguration of the impressive bronze monument (built on the initiative of the « Gesellschaft

der Musikfreunde ») to the memory of Ludwig van Beethoven - sitting on a chair. It is located in the 1st District, in front of the Academic « Gymnasium » (today, the « Beethovenplatz » between the « Christinengasse » and the « Fichtegasse » , not far from the « Konzerthaus ») .

Below, at the sides of the pedestal, sit 2 mythical characters :

On the right of the composer : a chained « Prometheus » which undergoes the assaults of a vulture that tries to cling to his wrist. « Prometheus » incarnates the first humanist in the history of mankind, the one who disobeyed the gods and who paid dearly for the price.

On the left of the composer : a winged « Nike » , the goddess of Victory, who holds in her right-hand a laurel wreath raised to heaven. She guides the heroes in the course of their exploits. It symbolizes eternal glory.

They both impersonate the suffering for the sake of humanity and eternal glory.

On the front and back of the pedestal is a ring of 9 cherubs symbolizing the composer's gift to the world : 5 in front and 4 in back, who represent (on one level) the 9 Symphonies.

They may also stand for the different aspects of Beethoven's music : heroic, pastoral, elegiac, tragic, idyllic, painful, pastoral.

In the centre of the front-group, the only cherub with wings, a left-handed (!) lyre-player (the instrument of Orpheus) , with a knee on the ground, is balanced by the figure of a swan on the verso of the monument - possibly a literal reference to Beethoven's « swan song » of the 9th Symphony.

Hans Commenda, a close friend of Bruckner, recounts this anecdote :

An enthusiastic Bruckner went to see the sculptor Caspar Clemens von Zumbusch to congratulate him and to tell him all the admiration he had for the composer he had just celebrated. But what was his disappointment when one of his students at the Conservatory pointed-out to him that the cherub in the centre of the pedestal played the lyre ... with his left-hand !!

He then immediately left the classroom to go on site to check the statement of his pupil. It was with anger and dismay that he realized that the latter had said justly.

He returned to his class, quite disturbed, and sighed :

« Alas, you are right ! »

...



After a performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony at the « Musikverein », Bruckner exclaimed :

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

His colleague from the Conservatory, Professor Julius Epstein, heard Bruckner and said :

« You are among the greatest. »

The composer's reply did not wait :

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

### Caspar Clemens von Zumbusch

The German sculptor Kaspar (Clemens Eduard) Zumbusch was born on 23 November 1830 in Herzebrock, Westphalia ; and died on 27 September 1915 in Rimsting, Bavaria. He became a pre-eminent sculptor of neo-Baroque monuments in Vienna.

In 1873 he was called to Vienna as professor at the Academy, a post he held until he was made « Professor Emeritus » in 1901.

Zumbusch also modeled many private funeral monuments, decorative works, and portrait busts, including one of Richard Wagner.

**1888** : Ritter von Zumbusch (a nobiliary particle) .

His brother Julius Zumbusch was a sculptor and one of his sons, Ludwig von Zumbusch, was a graphic artist and painter. Another of his sons, Leo von Zumbusch was a dermatologist known for his contribution to the identification of generalized pustular psoriasis.

### Steyr : Summer vacations

**1880's** : When Anton Bruckner spent part of his summer vacations in Steyr, he particularly enjoyed the company of 3 music-loving businessmen : Karl Almeroth, Isidor Dierkes and Karl Reder who indulged the composer in 2 of his favourite pursuits : coach-riding and « Pilsner » beer-drinking. The friendly trio was involved in a short-lived scheme to provide Bruckner with some financial help.

The trio was involved in a short-lived scheme to provide Bruckner with some financial help.

...

Bruckner paid a number of short-visits to Steyr, at different times during his lifetime. The earliest were probably during the 1843-1845 period when he was assistant school Master at Kronstorf, and he gave recitals on the parish church organ on at least 2 occasions during the 1870's. But it was the friendship and support of various friends, including Karl Almeroth, a businessman and amateur musician ; Leopold Hofmeyer, one of his most reliable copyists ; and the 2 parish priests, Georg Armingier and Johann Aichinger, that caused him to spend more of his summer vacation time in the quiet atmosphere of the Steyr rectory and less time at St. Florian, from 1884 onwards.

...

Karl Almeroth was a friend and one of Bruckner's sponsors. An affluent merchant and factory owner, he had close personal and commercial ties to Steyr : his father had been a member of the prestigious « Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft » , in Steyr ; the well-known Almeroth blade factory was located in Neuzeug, the birth place of Bruckner's mother ; the family owned a villa in Steyr. Almeroth introduced the composer to influential circles, where he met the likes of Karl Reder, a wood merchant and land-owner, and the merchant Isidor Dierkes. This led to the formation of a « Steyrer Circle » which met on a regular basis in the Vienna of the 1880's. Reder was to play an important role in organizing financial support for Bruckner as part of the activities of the so-called « Steyrer Consortium » .

The contact with Almeroth was close enough for Bruckner to dedicate to him on 13 January 1878 the romantically inspired male-voice « Abendzauber » (WAB 57) .

### Franz Xaver Bayer

Franz Xaver Bayer, director of the parish church choir of the village of Steyr, from the **late-1880's**, was an enthusiastic advocate of Anton Bruckner's music and was responsible for several daring performances of his sacred works.

On one such occasion (a performance of his D minor Mass in Steyr Parish Church, on 2 April 1893) , Bruckner played the organ-part ; at a special reception after the performance, the delighted composer paid tribute to conductor and performers for their exemplary preparation of the work.

### Rott : From one lunatic asylum to the other

**Wednesday, 16 February 1881** : After a first suicide attempt, Hans Rott is transferred from the psychiatric wing of the General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») to the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria, near Vienna.

The diagnosis was : insanity, hallucinatory madness and paranoia. He continued composing at the asylum, later on, however, he gradually developed a deep depression and destroyed some of his compositions.

But Rott continues to compose and uses his manuscripts for toilet paper, saying :

« That's what human works are worth. »

Even when Rott was in the insane asylum, he answered as follows when asked if he could remember his friend Gustav Mahler :

« Certainly, certainly, Mahler is a genius. »

(According to the notes of his friend Joseph Seemüller.)

### Brünnefeld : Provincial Lunatic Asylum of Lower-Austria

The Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Brünnefeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Brünnefeld ») was the first « real » asylum for the mentally ill in Vienna. It took-over from the « Narrenturm » (Fool's Tower) built under the reign of Emperor Josef II which was part of the General Hospital complex. Targeted clinical treatments only began with the arrival of the Lower-Austrian Provincial Lunatic Asylum.

At the time, the necessity to treat the mentally ill and stop to isolate them like real criminals was imperative.

In 1821, Prince Josef von Schwarzenberg (1769-1833) acquired from Doctor Leopold Pläsch von Seinsberg the Brünnefeld area known for its healing springs (located between the old General Hospital and the « Linienwall » - outer-line of fortifications for the city of Vienna which lay between the city's suburbs and outlying villages) and the agricultural cadastre « Number 27 » which was part of the estate of Brünnebad since 1805 (to become later Number 27 « Alserbachstraße » ; today, Number 16 « Lazarettgasse ») , in order to erect a modern mental health-centre. The project was temporarily delayed. Finally, on 14 February 1823, the Prince came to an agreement with the Austrian State. The new hospital (comprising 33 rooms for patient) will extend over 1,152 square-feet (10.23 hectares) .

Another project for a modern asylum was developed by Cajetan Josef Schiefer (born on 12 March 1791 in Komotau, Bohemia ; died on 12 November 1864 probably in Vienna) in collaboration with physician Doctor Johann Nepomuk von Raimann.

In 1820, Raimann had already been commissioned by the Austrian government to study such contemporary installations elsewhere which influenced his final proposal. It offered decent quarters for the sick, therapeutic facilities, an auditorium for theatrical performances and music concerts. The court-yard was surrounded by 4 different wings : one for the female patients, one for male patients, one for violent patients and one for quiet patients. But despite its approval by the Emperor, the project could not be realized due to lack of money.

Later, similar projects were designed by Doctor A. Leopold Köstler who was the head-physician of the mental department at the General Hospital of Vienna - chief of the « Narrenturm » from 1836 to 1839. But Köstler was not able not finalize his plan since he died before.

Until 1869, Köstler planned to purchase and expand the private clinic of the Austrian psychiatrist Doctor Bruno Görge (founded in 1820 in Döbling, near the « Narrenturm ») .

Köstler's successor, Doctor Michael von Biszanik used a different approach to bring the case to a successful conclusion. He undertook negotiations with Doctor Görge in order to acquire his private clinic. But the plan failed.

Due to the lack of space at the « Narrenturm » , the Imperial-Royal Provincial Building Department became involved in 1840 and, in turn, prepared plans for the long-overdue construction of a new facility. Further plans came from the Court architects Paul Wilhelm Eduard Sprenger and Ferdinand Fellner senior. Fellner's proposition, based on sketches by Counsellor Nádherný, were accepted by the Committee who asked him to draw-up the detailed plans. They were approved by Emperor Ferdinand I.

The construction (located at Number 26 « am Alserbach » ; today : Number 14 « Lazarettgasse ») began in April 1848. The new building was originally named « Imperial-Royal Lunatic Asylum » and was completed in October 1852. The sick were admitted as soon as 1 August 1853. The hospital will be later renamed : Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld.

On 17 February 1864, the administration of the Fund of the Lunatic Asylum was transferred to the Province of Lower-Austria, which facilitated the implementation of reforms.

On 1 July 1870, the Minister of Education Karl von Stremayr approved the highest-resolution of the establishment of the first Psychiatric University Clinic. Doctor Theodor Meynert was named Chairman of the Board.

(Doctor Carl von Rokitansky help Meynert in supplying a prosector facility, then, the Psychiatric University Clinic.)

During the construction of the metropolitan railway network of the city of Vienna, a commuter-station and freight-station were planned in Michelbeuern (today : Alsergrund, 9th District of Vienna) . Also, the local market-hall would be transformed into a central-market for sponges and berries. The Provincial Medical Officer of Lower-Austria filed a notice of opposition about the location of the future stations. The noise caused by the railway should not interfere with the sick during their sleep.

The solemn inauguration of the Michelbeuern station took place on 9 May 1898 in the presence of Emperor Franz-Josef.

Among the most prominent patients : physician Doctor Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis (who died in 1865) and sculptor Anton Dominik Fernkorn (who died in 1878) .

Gustav Mahler's last residence was close-by in the 9th District of Vienna.

The death-beds of Antonio Vivaldi, Anton Bruckner, and Johann Strauß are in the direct vicinity of the Vienna University

Technical School.

Expansion projects at the Lunatic Asylum were carried-out in 1876-1877, 1888 and 1903. But the institution won't be able to cover the increasing demand for beds. In 1902, the Lower-Austrian Assembly decided to sell the Brünnefeld Asylum. It was approximately where the clinical complexes of the New General Hospital now stand.

### Directors

**1853-1869** : Josef Gottfried von Riedel.

**1869-1872** : Karl Spurzheim.

**1872-1885** : Ludwig Schlager.

**1885-1895** : Moritz Gauster.

**1895-1907** : Adalbert Tilkowsky.

Josef Berze was temporarily named until the relocation of the institution.

### Prominent Doctors

**1883** : Julius Wagner-Jauregg received psychiatric training from Doctor Maximilian Leidesdorf at the first Psychiatry Clinic at Vienna University.

**1886** : The « Schlagergasse » in Alsergrund (Vienna's 9th District) was named in honour of Director Ludwig Schlager.

### The development of Viennese « care for the insane »

The 18th Century saw the creation of numerous asylums which continued into the 19th Century and which provided the material structure for the future development of psychiatry :

Bologna (1710) ; Warsaw (1726) ; Berlin (1728) ; Dublin (1745) ; Ludwigsburg (1746) ; London (1759) ; Deventer (1760) ; Manchester, Copenhagen (1766) ; Williamsburg (1773) ; Vienna (1784) ; Frankfurt on Main (1785) .

Abraham Joly in Geneva (1787) ; Philippe Pinel in Paris (1793) ; Quaker William Tuke in York (1796) ; Vincenzo Chiarugi in Tuscany (after 1788) ; Johann Gottfried Langermann in Bayreuth (1805) , struck-off the chains from the insane.

Langerman was super-intendent of an asylum near Bayreuth. It was largely due to his efforts that other humanitarian

hospitals were established at Seidburg and Leubus, in Prussia.

From the early 19th Century, the city of Leipzig played an important part in the development of psychology and psychiatry.

In the course of the 19th Century, psychiatric hospitals were established in all Austrian provinces, which, in addition to university clinics for psychiatry, provide most of the in-patient psychiatric care in Austria.

From 1784, the « insane » of Vienna were accommodated in a circular 5 storey building. Emperor Josef II, at whose instigation the asylum had been built, thus marked the beginning of the « care of the insane » in Europe. Fully in keeping with the « Enlightened » reasoning that was typical of this Century, in a Court decree of 1781, he laid-down who he thought should be detained in the tower, namely :

« Those who cause damage or disgust, ... insane persons or those affected by cankers or similar disfigurements, who must be removed from society at large and from the eyes of its people ... »

The « Narrenturm » (Fools' Tower) , which, even today, is still jocularly referred to by the Viennese as the « Gugelhupf » (a type of tall round cake) on account of its distinctive circular appearance (used to classify patients) , stood beyond the city-walls and at the most remote point within the Vienna General Hospital complex. It was the only building in the immediate area that was entirely newly-constructed. It was paid for by Emperor Josef II, who also gave instructions as to its design. Access is only by one door. Behind thick doors of wood and steel bars, in 139 small single-cells, the insane were detained, excluded and separated from society.

The main difference between the « Narrenturm » and the « Panopticon » (institutional prison designed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th Century) was that the supervision was carried-out from a guards' building which bisected the « Narrenturm » rather than a round tower at the centre.

Isidor Canevale created a cylindrical building whose exterior was originally entirely rusticated. The slit-like windows give the building the appearance of a fortification, and similar designs are more commonly to be found in prison architecture than in hospital design. Behind the narrow openings for daylight, there are the radially arranged cells, with a walk-way connecting with the court. They can only be reached through the guardians' wing which divides the court in 2 sections. Through this arrangement, the care and supervision of patients could be maintained with a minimum level of staffing.

The circular architecture of the « Narrenturm » allowed strict observation of inmates from all sides. The « exclusion of irrationality » was then one of the tasks of the « Medical Police » , who were required to provide for public security, since the immediate responsibilities of medicine were not at all clear in the 18th Century. For this reason, the total number of the insane was also small since there was still no pathological or psychiatric expertise in this field. Whether lunatics, beggars or loiterers, they were all included in the group of the « poor » . It was only with the building of poor-houses, correctional institutions, work-houses, foundling homes and the « Narrenturm » that there began, step by

step, a process of social differentiation. Abnormal and asocial people were supposed to be resocialized as far as possible, using appropriate measures. Subsequently, a distinction was made between « curable » and « incurable » cases of insanity. The incurable remained incarcerated in the « Narrenturm » .

With all these establishments, institutions and instruments of control, the State sought to gain the most precise information about the population. This central surveillance and social discipline « from above » characterized the enlightened absolutism of Emperor Josef II. It was only in the 19th Century that the term « mental ill » appeared and with it a new status. The insane person was adopted into medical discourse and became a potentially curable patient.

...

Until the 18th Century, it was customary to isolate the insane from the healthy and to keep them beast-like in penitentiaries, prisons, or poor and sick-houses. In Austria, « care for the insane » proper began under Emperor Josef II in 1784 when the « Narrenturm » (Fools' Tower) was erected in Vienna's General Hospital. Only in the mid-19th Century did « madness » come to be regarded as an illness.

**1784** : « Narrenturm » (Fools' Tower) erected in Vienna's General Hospital under the reign of Emperor Josef II.

**1853** : Use of the « Narrenturm » ceased. The newly-built Lower-Austrian Lunatic Asylum opened in Brünnefeld (today's 9th District of Vienna) .

**1859** : With his book « On the Origins of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life » , the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) revolutionizes the natural sciences. Subsequent scientists and ideologues apply Darwin's theories, especially about the survival of the fittest through selection in the « struggle for life » not only to animal and plant species, but also to human society (Social Darwinism) .

**1868** : The German zoologist and natural philosopher Ernst Hæckel (1834-1919) promotes Social Darwinist ideas in his work « Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte » (Natural History of Creation) .

**1883** : Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, introduces the idea of eugenics into scientific discourse. He advocates systematic incentives by the State to encourage the English elite to marry early and beget numerous offspring ; in this manner, the « number of the excellent » could increase from generation to generation.

**1895** : Alfred Plöetz (1860-1940) , main proponent of German racial hygiene, publishes his major work « Die Tüchtigkeit unserer Rasse und der Schutz der Schwachen » (The Excellence of our Race and the Protection of the Weak) , which calls for a « genetic improvement » - i.e. , a radical restructuring of society along socio-biological and racist principles. In contrast to the « eugenicists » , the « völkisch » nationally orientated advocates of racial hygiene around Plöetz also postulate a genetic hierarchy of the various « races » (Aryans forming the top) .

**1903** : The physician Wilhelm Schallmayer (1857-1919) publishes his treatise « Vererbung und Auslese im Lebenslauf der Völker » (Heredity and Selection in Peoples' Generations) , which becomes the leading standard work on eugenics.

**1904** : Alfred Plöetz launches the magazine « Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie » (Archive for Racial and Social Biology) , which is distributed internationally.

**1905** : Plöetz establishes the Society for Racial Hygiene in Berlin, and the German Society for Racial Hygiene in 1910.

**Friday, 18 October 1907** : The « Niederösterreichische Landes-Heil- und Pflegeanstalt für Geistes- und Nervenkrankte “ Am Steinhof ” » is opened. It comprises 34 pavilions (clinic, nursing home, sanatorium) and has an overall capacity of 2,200 beds.

**1914-1918** : In the course of World War I, almost 2,800 « Steinhof » patients succumb to infectious diseases and the drastic scarcity of food.

**1920** : The expert in penal law, Karl Binding (1841-1920) and the psychiatrist Alfred Hoche (1865-1943) are the first to coin the term « lebensunwert » (unworthy to live) in their paper « Liberalising the Destruction of Unworthy Lives. Scope and Form. » , in which they advocate the right to kill the incurably sick. The paper triggers a vehement discussion on euthanasia in the Weimar Republic.

**1924-1925** : Foundation of the Viennese Society for Racial Hygiene. The first president is Professor Otto Reche, who has been called from Hamburg to Vienna to become head of the university's Department of Anthropology. His deputy is the hygienist Professor Heinrich Reichel. The Society plays a central role in the promulgation of eugenicist ideas at the universities and in public even before 1938. The members, some of them notable scientists, largely come from the German « völkisch » and anti-Semitic academic « milieu » .

**1927** : Publication of the book « Sterilisation by Law of Mentally Handicapped People » by the Catholic theologian Joseph Mayer, who argues that the sterilization of mentally sick people is compatible with the principles of Catholic moral theology. With this theological opinion, Mayer remains in a minority position within the Catholic church.

**1928** : In a speech for the « Österreichischer Bund für Volksaufartung und Erbkunde » , the Social-Democrat Julius Tandler, Viennese City Councilor for Welfare, advocates the « sterilization of the inferior » . The Social-Democrats also discuss questions of population policies which despite their social focus aim at « hygienizing » society and eliminating fringe groups.

**1931** : The « Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift » , published by the Viennese Society of Physicians, publishes a contribution of Heinrich Reichel's on « Alfred Plöetz and the Contemporary Eugenic Movement » . Eugenic ideas are published in respectable media by eminent scientists such as Nobel laureate Julius Wagner-Jauregg. The latter's essay « Modern Eugenics » (1935) shows numerous parallels with the Nazi health policies carried-out since 1933.



**1931** : The « Centralausschuß der Evangelischen Inneren Mission » establishes an expert conference on « Eugenics and Welfare » . At the first conference in Treysa, from 18-20 May 1931, the sterilization of mentally sick people is described as « religiously and morally justifiable » in certain cases.

**Monday, 30 January 1933** : Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of the German « Reich » . The National-Socialists seize power in Germany. Racism and racial hygiene are now part of State ideology and form a central component of Nazi policy.

**Friday, 14 July 1933** : The « Law for the Prevention of Hereditary Sick Progeny » is passed, on the basis of which almost 260,000 people in the German « Reich » are subjected to forced sterilizations until 1940 alone.

**Tuesday, 3 April 1934** : The « Law for the Standardization of the Health System » enables the creation of a nationwide net of public health offices in charge of carrying-out « genetic and racial hygiene » .

**Sunday, 15 September 1935** : The Nuremberg Laws are decreed at the Nuremberg Rally : the « Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes » , or « Blutschutzgesetz » , criminalizes inter-marriage of « Jews » and « non-Jews » and any extra-marital sexual inter-course between « Jews » and « citizens of German blood » . It also forbids female German citizens under 45 to be employed in a « Jewish household » . According to the « Reichsbürgergesetz » , only « citizens of German or racially related blood » now count as citizens of the « Reich » ; « Jews » are merely classified as citizens who no longer have a claim to civil rights. The « Reichsbürgergesetz » forms the legal basis for countless further anti-Jewish and racist laws and regulations. Already at the Nuremberg Rally, Adolf Hitler announces the extermination of handicapped, mentally ill and non-conformist people (« millstone existences » and « useless eaters ») in a conversation with « Reichsärzeführer » Gerhart Wagner.

**Friday, 18 October 1935** : The « Gesetz zum Schutz der Erbgesundheit des deutschen Volkes » (Marriage Health Law) enables the public health offices to prevent marriages deemed undesirable from the point-of-view of genetic and racial hygiene.

**Saturday, 12 March 1938** : Annexation (« Anschluß ») of Austria with the German « Reich » . the former Austrian health-system begins to be restructured on the model of the « Altreich » . Vienna's public health offices start a genetic « stock-taking » of the city's population by means of a « genetic file » supposed to register all « inferior » people. By 1945, more than 700,000 file-cards have been compiled.

With the « Anschluß » , the Jewish population begins systematically to be driven-out of all areas of the health- and welfare-system. The anti-Jewish laws and regulations now also coming into force in Austria gradually ruin the social and economic existence of Jewish doctors. A majority of these succeed in escaping abroad, mainly to the United States and Great Britain. Also affected by the expulsion are Jewish university teachers ; they are largely replaced by doctors coming from the Nazi movement.

**July 1938** : Jewish doctors lose their contracts.

**Friday, 30 September 1938** : The « 4th amendment » to the « Reichsbürgergesetz » annihilates Jewish doctors' licences. Only Jewish « Krankenbehandler » are permitted for the remaining Jewish population. There now live 370 Jews in Vienna, and, by 1945, the number is reduced to almost zero through expulsion and deportations to concentration camps and ghettos.

**Summer 1939** : « The Knauer case » . The parents' request to Adolf Hitler to sanction « mercy killing » of their severely handicapped « child K. » initiates the practice of « children's euthanasia » .

**Friday, 18 August 1939** : A secret decree of the « Reich » Ministry of the Interior obliges all mid-wives and senior doctors in maternity wards to report to the respective public health offices any case of deformity (idiocy, mongolism, micro-cephaly, hydro-cephalus, misshapen limbs) and infants up to the age of 3 suffering from these. This decree can be seen as the prelude to « children's euthanasia » .

**Friday, 1 September 1939** : German attack on Poland. Start of World War II. Adolf Hitler's « authorization » to grant « mercy killing » to the « incurably sick » bears the date of the outbreak of War - it was presumably given at a later date and antedated. The chief of the « Führer's » Chancellery, « Reichsleiter » Philipp Bouhler, and Hitler's doctor, Karl Brandt (who had both been put in charge of organizing « children's euthanasia » several months earlier) are appointed to carry-out the « euthanasia » programme. Because the « Führer's » Chancellery must, on no account, be connected with the euthanasia killings Bouhler, Brandt and Herbert Linden of the « Reich » Ministry of the Interior create several « front-organizations » whose headquarters (« Zentraldienststelle ») is located at Number 4 on « Tiergarten-Straße » , in Berlin. The « Zentraldienststelle » reports direct to Main Office II of the « Führer's » Chancellery, headed by Viktor Brack. The abbreviation « T4 » is soon used by everyone involved as a designation for the « Zentraldienststelle » and a code-name for the killing programme targeted especially at the patients in clinics and sanatoria.

### Vienna General Hospital : the « Fool's Tower »

The « Narrenturm » (Fool's Tower) in Vienna is continental Europe's oldest building for the accommodation of mental patients. Built in 1784, it is next to the site of the old Vienna General Hospital (today, a university campus) , and is now home to the Federal Pathologic-Anatomical Museum, Vienna (« Pathologisch-anatomisches Bundesmuseum Wien ») .

The « Narrenturm » was constructed by Isidore Canevale in 1784, under Emperor Josef II. It consisted of a 5 storey, fortress-like circular building with 28 rooms and a ring of slit windows, plus a central chamber aligned north-south. There were in total 139 individual cells for the inmates. The building of the « Narrenturm » was prompted by the discovery of underground dungeons used by the Capuchin monks of Vienna for housing their mentally ill brethren ; another factor was that Josef II had learned about similar institutions in France during his travels there. The construction of the « Narrenturm » points to a new attitude towards the mentally ill - they began to be distinguished from the rest of society, and not simply classified among the general category of « the poor » .

Each cell had strong, barred doors as well as chains for restraining inmates. With its barracks-like appearance, the

tower was a visible expression of the segregation, stigmatization and criminalization of socially deviant forms of behaviour.

By the late-1790's, the tower had already been made fully-obsolete by innovations in the treatment of mental patients. Despite appearances, the « Narrenturm » was not an implementation of Jeremy Bentham's hypothetical panopticon, as the cells could not be monitored from a central post.

The tower's round shape is the source of the Viennese slang word « Gugelhupf » (a type of tall round cake) for mental asylums and psychiatric clinics.

When it was first built, the « Narrenturm » had a lightning rod (or « lightning catcher ») installed on the roof-ridge. 2 of the supporting fixtures can still be seen in the inner-chamber. In that time, Václav Prokop Diviš, a clergyman in Přímětice near Znojmo, had studied plant growth and healing with electrical currents present, publishing his findings to the medical community. He was not the only person who believed electricity to have health benefits - however, it is not known whether the lightning rod in the « Narrenturm », whose remnants are probably the oldest surviving pieces of such a device in the world, was used in the treatment of patients.

The tower is currently home to the Federal Pathologic-Anatomical Museum, founded by Emperor Francis II in 1796 as the « Museum of the Pathologic-Anatomical Institute ». It has been a national museum (« Bundesmuseum ») since 1974.

Parts of the former Electro-Pathological Museum, founded in 1936 by Stefan Jellinek, are housed here. Jellinek was forced to leave the country in 1939, but regained his old collection after the War. A new exhibition was created after Jellinek's death, in 1968, by his colleague Franz Maresch. In the 1980's, the « Technisches Museum Wien » took-over a large part of the collection, while its preserved human and animal exhibits were transferred to the Pathologic-Anatomical Museum.

### Brahms's darkest secret

Johannes Brahms played in Hamburg's water-front bars in his early teens. The prostitutes molested him. He was traumatized by the experience. It wrecked his relations with women. He told his story to Clara Schumann in his 20's. In middle-age, he told it to his surgeon friend Doctor Theodor Billroth. In old age, he told it to music-critics Hans Gal and Max Graf, to friend Max Friedlander - and to Max Kalbeck. (Jan Swafford)

...

In 1855, Johannes Brahms wrote the pianist Clara Schumann a naked cry of frustration :

« I can do nothing but think of you ... What have you done to me ? Can't you remove the spell you have cast over me ? »

The situation between them at the time was messy - very messy. Clara was 35, Brahms 21, she famous, he rather more infamous. She was married to the composer Robert Schumann, and the pair had 7 young children. On the other hand, for more than a year, Clara's husband had been in an asylum and Clara had not been allowed to see him. When Robert fell off the edge, Brahms had hastened to her side.

Now Brahms, Robert's « protégé » and discovery, was helplessly in love with Robert's wife. They had not expected it, didn't want it, and so on. Brahms loved and admired Robert. Shortly before jumping in the Rhine to escape the demonic Oratorios in his head, Robert had made the name Brahms known across Europe, declaring this student from Hamburg the coming saviour of German music.

Brahms, meanwhile, was living with Clara and the children - his bedroom on a separate floor, to be sure, but spending most of his time consoling her, helping with the children, and going nearly out of his mind with yearning.

In those years Brahms was slim, beardless and drop-dead handsome. Gossip was sizzling in musical circles. Clara was yearning mightily, too, but as with Brahms, her feelings were tangled-up with anxiety and guilt. Robert and Clara had been, after all, the supreme musical romance of the Romantic period. Clara was the love of Robert's life, his prime musical champion, the heroic force that had held together his splintering mind longer than anyone could have imagined.

There are more ironies in this first and greatest, if not precisely last, love of Brahms's life. If he would not marry Clara, neither would he marry anybody else - in his heart, he could never leave Clara, nor she him. For the rest of their lives, they would maintain their strange but inescapable connection. They spent holidays together. They hugged and kissed.

Their love may never have been consummated. This may seem absurd. But these were different times : no birth control, lots of disease. Proper women shunned affairs. In later years, Brahms told an acquaintance that he had never compromised a respectable woman, and for him, the definition of a respectable woman was Clara. He once described the aged Clara to a friend thus :

« Virginal as ever. »

It is hardly a question of Brahms or Clara being sexless. Brahms was famously devoted to prostitutes ; for his purposes, he seemed to relegate sex to the professional variety. During their marriage, Clara and Robert had maintained a kind of short-hand sexual diary, for medical reasons, which revealed that they were startlingly active throughout. Recall the 7 children. And some years later, Clara had a brief, unhappy affair with Theodor Kirchner, one of Brahms's best friends. The latter business did not emerge until recent years, and, as far as we know, Brahms never suspected. At one point, he wrote to Clara that Kirchner was talking about killing himself. Never mind, Clara replied, he says that all the time. We may presume this was after the love-affair.

In short, it was all a splendid mess. What seems to have motivated the rest of Brahms's life, Romantic and otherwise, was no more mess. He kept to a life of composing and performing, fought with his friends, tried with imperfect success

to keep women at bay, and fled real-life drama whenever it appeared. But the real mess, and a big one, lay inside Brahms himself, in his relations to women and to emotional life in general.

The chaos, the divided nature, likely started at a vulnerable time. At age 13, Brahms was already a phenomenon, with his teachers predicting great things. His parents were supportive, but they were also limited and naive. At some point, money was short, so the boy was sent to earn his keep playing piano in some water-front establishments where his father had worked in his own youth. Maybe these places had been something of a lark to the father. They were not to Brahms.

Popular with sailors, these joints combined the services of bar, restaurant, dance-hall and brothel. Brahms was delicately pretty and bad things happened to him in the bars. Mostly, he only hinted at what they were (to Clara among others), but for the rest of his life, he talked about it, with rage and anguish and sometimes with a fierce pride, for having survived. It steeled him, he said. And this is true. Brahms reached maturity tough as nails.

He said that these experiences ruined women for him. One night, in his cups, he broke-up a party by branding all women with a word so sordid that nobody would repeat it.

To the friend delegated to sober him up in the park, Brahms raved :

« You tell me I should have the same respect, the same exalted homage for women that you have. You expect that of a man cursed with a childhood like mine. »

In our terms, German culture at that time was thoroughly misogynistic. Brahms was more so. He relegated sexuality to prostitutes, joked constantly about lady musicians. One woman recalled watching him at a party, stroking his moustache and leering at the girls « as a greedy boy stares at jam tartlets » .

Yet, if you happened to be female and happened to have talent, there was nobody you would rather have in your corner than Brahms. To a number of women performers, he gave extravagantly of his time and money and influence. One was the teenage violinist Marie Soldat, whom he sent-off to study with his friend Josef Joachim.

When at 20, Soldat made a sensation in Vienna with his Violin Concerto, Brahms was heard shouting from the balcony :

« Couldn't she hold her own with 10 men ? »

Did he love Marie ? Probably. How did he squire her ? He took her to Vienna's « Prater » fun-fair for the merry-go-round and puppet-show.

So, Brahms was paradoxically divided about women, as he was about many things.

He fell in love periodically after Clara, usually with singers. With the first, Agathe, he exchanged rings, but then, sent

her a brutal note :

« I love you ! ... But I can't wear chains. »

Agathe was not the sort you wrote that to. She broke it off and grieved for years.

He admitted to friends :

« I have played the scoundrel with Agathe. »

Brahms understood himself and his divided nature with un-sentimental clarity. He was a classicising Romantic, a loner who was a creature of the musical main-stream, a backward-looking artist who anticipated and inspired the future of music. Brahms scorned women and loved them and fled from them, but inescapably needed them.

Whatever the chaos in Brahms's mind (« chaos » : his own word, describing his feelings as a teenager) , he negotiated his life with extraordinary discipline, common sense, integrity and honesty. The chaos of emotion shackled and subdued by a relentless sense of form and discipline : that is Brahms's art in a nutshell. Likewise, his life.

...

Brahms had a lifelong adoration of Clara Schumann, a succession of infatuations with young singers followed by broken marriage proposals, and habitual transactions with prostitutes. He was deliberately secretive about his life and feelings. He wrote almost nothing about himself, and what he did write he destroyed.

Life was hard in the slums of Hamburg. To increase the family income, Brahms's father found him jobs playing piano in the neighbourhood taverns. Slight, blond, and beautiful, the young teenager spent nightmare evenings at the piano, surrounded by drunken sailors and prostitutes who made him witness sexual and violent acts. They would even undress him and pass him around the room to be fondled as they pleased.

Brahms was profoundly affected by 3 years of these emotionally maiming experiences. Psychologically and spiritually wounded, he was sent to live with a relative in the country-side to recover. There, he discovered the beauty of nature and was able to bury the trauma. But he was left with emotional and physical scars : He remained small and under-developed into his late-20's. He had no facial hair and looked like a lovely blond boy, undoubtedly mortifying for a young man trying to make it in the world as a composer and pianist.

The profound psychological polarities in Brahms's personality and the traumatic experiences of his youth influenced his life choices. He could not reconcile his discomfort at being constrained by any system or relationship with having a bourgeois lifestyle, wife, children, and steady job. Despite the large amounts of money he earned, he was frugal to a fault. His home was modest. He ate in the cheapest restaurants and dressed like a vagrant, with a large safety-pin holding his coat together.

...

To supplement his income, Brahms, the teenager, played in taverns. His parents were an ill-matched couple and he frequently witnessed their violent arguments as a child. Brahms never married and seems to have resorted to prostitutes when the need arose.

In the 1880's, so the story goes, Brahms entered a somewhat dubious establishment and was accosted by a well-known prostitute with the greeting « Professor, play us some dance music. » , whereupon the great composer sat down at the piano and entertained the assembled company. Brahms sublimated his love and desire for women in his music.

Recognizing his awkwardness with women, he said :

« At least, it has saved me from Opera and marriage. »

...

Max Friedländer, an acquaintance of Brahms, attended a birthday party for the composer in 1880. After multiple glasses of champagne, the conversation turned to an admired woman known to everyone at the gathering. When Brahms was asked what he thought of her, he « broke-out into a horrible, coarse tirade against this lady, broadening out to include women in general, and actually ended by applying to them all an incredible, unspeakable epithet. »

The party quickly broke-up after this sobering outburst and Friedländer was tasked with walking the now heavily intoxicated Brahms back home. In their conversation, Brahms broke-out in another rant :

« You tell me I should have the same respect, the same exalted homage for women that you have ! ... You expect that of a man cursed with a childhood like mine ! »

Friedländer summarized how Brahms' father would « drag him from bed to play for dancing and accompany obscene songs in the most depraved dives » .

Brahms, recounting the horrors to Friedländer, continued :

« When the sailing ships made port after months of continuous voyaging, the sailors would rush-out of them like beasts of prey, looking for women. And these half-clad girls, to make the men still wilder, used to take me on their laps between dances, kiss and caress and excite me. That was my first impression of the love of women. And you expect me to honour them as you do ! »

Brahms was not only mentally affected by these events ; he lost weight, became anemic, developed insomnia, and severe and debilitating migraines. Although, later in life, Brahms described this time as character building, it no doubt had a lasting negative impact on him, precipitating his lifelong antagonistic views toward women. Instead of seeking-

out meaningful Romantic relationships, Brahms sought prostitutes to fulfill his sexual desires.

According to Eduard Hirschmann's 1933 article, « Brahms und die Frauen » :

« The objects of Brahms' sexuality were only girls of the people, mostly paid prostitutes. »

He treated the girls well and they returned his affection.

And Brahms was not shy about this fact. In his biography, Schauffler claims that Brahms was indeed « proud of never having broken-up households or seduced girls of good family » .

When hailed by a prostitute after a concert with friends, he turned to « Frau » Professor Brüll, the wife of the acclaimed Viennese pianist and close confidant Ignaz Brüll, and declared boastfully to have « never made a married woman or a “ Fräulein ” unhappy » .

...

After his death, when asked about his love-life, his house-keeper would only say :

« He was a very naughty old gentleman. »

### Brahms and Doctor Theodor Billroth

**Tuesday, 17 October 1876** : Letter from Johannes Brahms to Doctor Theodor Billroth :

« Dear friend,

(...)

I dislike writing too much, otherwise I would tell you in greater detail that in its form and manner, the invitation to Düsseldorf had to be most gratifying to me. The best men took the most sympathetic interest in it, and their letters were such that they had to silence any misgivings. My main reasons against it, on the other hand, are childish in nature and must remain unspoken. Maybe it's the good taverns in Vienna, the harsh, disagreeable Rhenish speech (particularly in Düsseldorf) and while remaining a bachelor in Vienna is not an issue, in a small-town, an old bachelor is a caricature. I no longer want to marry and, indeed, have reasons to fear the fair-sex.

In Karlsruhe for the Symphony, I do hope to see (Wilhelm) Lübke. My belated best thanks for your kind letter to Rügen. I did, meanwhile, hear about you occasionally through others. Were I to do what is proper for my body, I should probably run into you sometime ! Maybe in Karlsbad ! But now, good night and forgive the scrawl, I just had the desire to send you greetings, and now I ask you to also convey them to your wife and our friends.

Affectionately your,



J. Brahms. »

...

**Monday, 14 March 1881** : Private concert with Doctor Theodor Billroth, Johannes Brahms and Josef Hellmesberger senior.

As a surgeon, Theodor Billroth is generally regarded as the founding father of modern abdominal surgery. As a musician, he was a close friend and confidant of Johannes Brahms, a leading patron of the Viennese musical scene, and one of the first to attempt a scientific analysis of musicality.

...

Theodor Billroth lived in Zürich when he heard Johannes Brahms playing. The 2 men made friends rapidly. As Billroth lived in Vienna, he belonged to the closest Circle of friends of the composer. The lively correspondence between the 2 friends is published in parts and bespeaks their deep friendship. Richard Heuberger quoted in his memories of Johannes Brahms that Brahms was very cautious concerning the publication of confidential letters : Brahms told Heuberger that he had held Billroth's best letters back. They went together to concerts and, as Billroth was an excellent musician himself, Brahms regarded his opinion about musical matters as very serious. At Billroth's apartment on « Alserstraße » Number 20, Brahms's works were often performed for the first time during private concerts. They also went traveling with Billroth's family. Brahms took his first trip to Italy with the surgeon, for instance. In summer, they visited each other at their summer domiciles.

...

Theodor Billroth also had an appetite for music which he followed along with practicing medicine. He was a talented violinist and pianist and was close friend to the famous Viennese composer Johannes Brahms. Brahms used to send his compositions to Billroth for opinion before sending them for publishing. Billroth was a regular participant in rehearsals of Brahms's chamber works. They were also close to the famous Viennese music-critic Eduard Hanslick and the trio formed the core of musical conservatives. They thoroughly opposed the musical innovations of Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner and their conflicts are known as the « War of the Romantics » .

...

Theodor Billroth was a talented amateur pianist and violinist. He met Johannes Brahms in the 1860's, when the composer was a rising star of the Viennese musical scene. They became close friends and shared musical insights. Brahms frequently sent Billroth his original manuscripts in order to get his opinion before publication, and Billroth participated as a musician in trial rehearsals of many of Brahms' chamber works before their first performances. Brahms dedicated his first 2 String Quartets, Opus 51, to Billroth.

Billroth and Brahms, together with the acerbic and influential Viennese music-critic Eduard Hanslick, formed the core of the musical conservatives who opposed the innovations of Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt. In the conflict, known as the « War of the Romantics », Billroth supported Brahms, but was always fair and measured in his comments.

« Wagner was indeed a very considerable talent in many directions. », he wrote in 1888.

Billroth started an essay called « Wer ist musikalisch ? » (Who is musical ?), which was published posthumously by Hanslick. It was one of the earliest attempts to apply scientific methods to musicality. In the essay, Billroth identifies different types of amusicality (tone deafness, rhythm-deafness and harmony-deafness) that suggest some of the different cognitive skills involved in the perception of music. Billroth died before he could complete the research.

Excelling at both his vocation and his avocation, Billroth never saw science and music as being in conflict. On the contrary, he considered the 2 to complement each other.

He wrote in a letter :

« It is one of the superficialities of our time to see in science and in art 2 opposites. Imagination is the mother of both. »

...

Theodor Billroth not only had a steady hand and strong stomach, he also had a burning love for music. He was a talented amateur pianist and violinist and, during his stay in Switzerland, he served as the music-critic for the « Neue Züricher Zeitung » for 7 years. He also guest-conducted the Zürich Symphony Orchestra and tried his hands at composition. Yet, in the musical world, he is primarily remembered for his friendship with Johannes Brahms. Billroth came to Vienna, in 1867, on appointment from the Austrian Emperor Rudolf and he quickly thanked him by designing a maternity hospital, the « Rudolfinum », which today serves as a student dormitory. Brahms arrived in 1869 after having been rejected for a conducting post in his hometown of Hamburg, and he decided to make Vienna his home. Brahms had never gone to University (a fact he preferred to keep a closely guarded secret) and, as a result, always surrounded himself with highly-educated people. His friendship with Billroth, however, was genuine enough and lasted for decades. Much of Brahms's chamber music for strings was first performed in Billroth's home, with the surgeon participating as a musician in trial rehearsals. Brahms would frequently send Billroth his original manuscripts for evaluation prior to publication.

Of course, Brahms being Brahms, he happily kept ignoring all of Billroth's suggestions. Nevertheless, Brahms did dedicate the 2 String Quartets, Opus 51, to his surgeon friend who wrote :

« I am afraid these dedications will keep our names longer in memory than the best work we have done. For us, not very complimentary, but beautiful for humanity, which with the right instinct considers art more immortal than science. »

For 12 years, Brahms spent his summer holidays in the resort and spa-town of Ischl, which also served as the summer residence of Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria. Billroth was never far behind and, while Brahms was composing his latest Masterpiece, Billroth busily designed and build 5 stately houses in the nearby town of St. Gilgen. You can still visit and stay at one of his creations, the « Parkhotel Billroth » . On occasion, the 2 friends also shared a bit of laughter. Mathilde Wesendonck (once romantically entangled with Richard Wagner) sent a poetic text to Brahms, in 1874, in the hope that he would set it to music. The ode in question dealt with cremation, a highly-controversial subject at the time, and Brahms was asked to compose a Cantata for chorus and soloists. Brahms derived much amusement from her request, as did Billroth and a whole host of other friends who were privy to the « Cremation Cantata Project » . Towards the end of his life, Billroth attempted to apply scientific method to the subject of music, and drafted an essay entitled « Wer ist musikalisch ? » (Who is musical ?) . This scientific investigation of musicality (which was completed and published by the highly-influential music-critic Eduard Hanslick after Billroth's death) also received some pointers from Johannes Brahms.

Billroth specifically wanted to know what makes a melody beautiful.

« This morning, I spent 2 highly-interesting hours with Brahms. He spoke to me with great animation about the formation of melodies, and demonstrated the musical beauty of the Bach Sarabandes. In these moments, he can be so warm and amiable that one regrets that he is not always so. When I asked him about the indicators of beauty in a melody, he countered with a poem by Gœthe and provided the most interesting analysis. It all confirmed the opinion that I had already developed. As to the final cause of whether something is poetically or musically beautiful, one can make no assertion, because it is a case of individual perception. »

Brahms, however, clearly knew that beauty is not « in the eye of the beholder » , and that musical technique and specific artistic beauty are inseparably bound. Beauty, as we all know, is always apprehended by the mind, that is, it resides in an idea and not with a « feeling » . Surely, that is the reason why Brahms steered Billroth towards poetry in the first place ! Maybe it's time to follow Brahms's suggestion and read a bit more poetry ?

...

At the age of 19, the talented pianist Theodor Billroth had been persuaded by his parents to pursue medicine as a career instead. As it turned-out, Billroth devoted an equal energy to both his lifelong pursuits and credited music with providing him the inspiration and wherewithal for his remarkable scientific achievements. Throughout his furiously busy career as a surgeon, he made considerable time for his musical pursuits.

By the time he was in Zürich (1860-1867) , he had taught himself the violin and viola and had become proficient in both. He was sufficiently well-recognized as a musician to be offered to guest conduct the Symphony Orchestra in Zürich. This was also where he was introduced to the great Austro-German composer Johannes Brahms.

When Billroth moved to Vienna, at the age of 38, he immediately sought-out Brahms. Within a few months, Billroth had converted a large room in his home into an ornately decorated musical studio.

Several decades earlier, the same house was visited by Beethoven, and Billroth wrote in a letter to Brahms :

« It is interesting to me that Johann Peter Frank and Beethoven met in my house and that a similar relation (let us not be arrogant !) exists between you and me, 100 years later. Beethoven wandered in this direction : must not Haydn, too, have had rehearsals in this house ? What a noble triad : Haydn, Beethoven, Brahms ! »

For the next 3 decades, Billroth's home was the regular meeting-place of Brahms himself, together with Billroth and a few other musicians, who played together in a musical Quartet. Brahms would send his compositions first to Billroth for his comments, before considering it for performance - so great was his regard for his musician-surgeon friend. In deep appreciation, Brahms dedicated 2 of his 3 String Quartets (the A minor and C minor Quartets) to Billroth. They would also allow aspiring, talented artists to perform Brahms's compositions in the home studio - and it was said that if the performance was outstanding, champagne would be passed round (if less than overwhelming, beer was the standard drink !).

Toward the latter few years of his life, Billroth started work on a new investigation into the « Physiology of Music » and the book was published, posthumously, by his musician friends after his death.

Billroth, of course, is only one of several examples of scientists and surgeons who have found inspiration for their scientific work, in the arts and humanities. In a letter to his art historian friend Lubke, Billroth wrote :

« It is one the superficialities of our time to see in science and in art, 2 opposites. Imagination is the mother of both. »

...

Johannes Brahms' great friend, Doctor Theodor Billroth, was a distinguished professor of surgery on the staff of Vienna General Hospital where Sigmund Freud was studying cerebral anatomy.

Billroth's love of music was second only to his devotion to medicine. He had studied violin and he played viola with professional musicians in private performances of Beethoven's Quartets and Brahms' Sextets. He could play the piano, was a good sight-reader, and as a music-critic occasionally wrote for the newspapers.

In 1882, Brahms and Billroth went for a 3 week tour of Italy. By all accounts, Billroth was an extrovert, who loved life and was a great teacher. He had a tremendous wealth of knowledge not only of his own profession, but of music and literature as well. One wonders what the 2 men talked about.

« Good news, Brahms ! We've found a way to remove that tune stuck in your head ... »

When Billroth died in 1894, his funeral procession was attended by huge crowds of people, with Brahms among the on-lookers smoking his customary cigar.

Billroth's last words, written a few hours before his death, reveal his humanity as well as a deeply poetic nature :

« It is night and everything has been quiet for a long time, and now, I am very calm. My mind begins to wander. An ethereal blue sky envelops me. My soul soars upwards. The most beautiful harmonies of invisible choirs are audible - in soft undulations like the breath of eternity !

I also recognize voices and the gentle whisperings :

“ Come, tired man, we will make you happy. In the charm of these spheres, we will free you of the thoughts which may have been of the greatest joy or deepest sorrow. You have felt yourself as a part of the universe, now, be distributed throughout the universe and comprehend the whole. ” »

In the court-yard of the University of Vienna, there is a statue of Billroth to which few passers-by pay attention. He is buried in Vienna's Central Cemetery, not far from the graves of Beethoven, Schubert, and his great friend Brahms. A fitting monument to a man whose life was devoted to making music and relieving pain.

### Surgery and national identity in late-19th Century Vienna

For historians of medicine, professor Theodor Billroth of the University of Vienna was the leading European surgeon of late-19th Century and the personification of intervention by organ or body-part removal. For social and political historians, he was a German nationalist whose book on medical education heralded the rise of anti-Semitism in the Austrian public sphere. The following text brings together and critically re-assesses these 2 hitherto separate accounts to show how, in a period of dramatic social and political change, Viennese surgery split into 2 camps. One, headed by Billroth, was characterized by an alliance with the German educational model, German nationalism leading to racial anti-Semitism and an experimental approach to the construction of surgical procedure, which heavily relied on the methods of pathological physiology. The other, which followed a long Austrian tradition, stood for a clinically-oriented and strictly organized medical education that catered to an ethnically and socially diverse population and, simultaneously, for an anatomically-oriented surgery, largely of the « locomotor apparatus » . This study shows how, in a major centre of medical education and capital of a multi-ethnic Empire, surgical and national identities were forged together.

In 1876, Theodor Billroth, professor at the Vienna School of Medicine and Europe's leading surgeon, authored a book on medical education at German-speaking universities. This « cultural historical » study caused a scandal. The Liberal press savaged Billroth's manifest admiration for German academia and his derogatory remarks about the Jewish students, largely from the eastern provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. But student associations that by the mid-1870's had over-whelmingly embraced German nationalism and anti-Semitism hailed him as a hero. For social and political historians, the reception of Billroth's book has heralded the rise of anti-Semitism, which in the economic depression after the 1873 stock-market crash flourished across social strata. But while Billroth's book is mentioned in practically all histories of anti-Semitism in Vienna, we know little about how the political rifts played-out in medicine. In medical historiography, Billroth is known as a leading surgeon of the late-19th Century who pioneered bold procedures of

organ or body-part resection (removal) , while his political views are either not mentioned or treated as separate and secondary to his professional medical identity. By bringing together and critically examining these diverse accounts, I reveal deep divisions within the Viennese professoriate. The views on Galician Jewish medical students were part of much broader differences in the ways in which the professors argued about scientific research, university organization and education as well as, more generally, about Austrian identity, the future of the Empire and strategies for dealing with the growing nationalisms. Academic papers on surgical procedures and essays on educational strategies were, as I shall argue, as politically committed as party manifestos.

The article is organized in 4 sections. In the first, located around 1870, Billroth's early career is set against the background of the Vienna School of Medicine, in particular surgery, pathology and anatomy between the late-18th and late-19th Centuries. In the second section, I analyze what made Billroth's surgery innovative. The third section centres on Billroth's views about medical education, expressed in his controversial book, and their reception in professional circles, in particular by Billroth's counterpart at the first Surgical Chair, Johann von Dumreicher. Provoked by an apparent German intellectual invasion of Austrian academia, Dumreicher called for a return to an older model, in his opinion better suited for Austrian conditions. In the final section, I look at debates around the appointment to the surgical chair after Dumreicher's death in 1880. At the end of the Liberal era, each empty chair became an arena for embattled fractions that represented opposing orientations in national politics as well as in teaching and research.

While the study is set in the Viennese medical world between 1867 and 1881, I hope to draw some more general conclusions. First, I want to contribute to historical writing on nationalism, especially on the construction of an Austrian national identity. Its fragile existence has given rise to extensive scholarship. Historians generally agreed that Austrian identity was formed in opposition to German identity, tradition and values, but have diverged on which historical period, social group or process played the crucial role. While many aspects of social and political life have been examined to understand how « der Österreicher » was constructed, medicine and science have hitherto largely remained out of sight. But precisely because these fields were not explicitly engaged in national politics, they may offer interesting insights into how being Austrian or German informed seemingly neutral, non-political activities. Carl Schorske famously argued that, from the 1880's, the rise of nationalist mass-politics on the ashes of Liberalism forced the second generation of the Viennese middle-class to withdraw into the arts and literature and there to create an a-historical modernist culture, yet, his critics have warned how nationalism played a major role in the Liberal politics through its heyday in the 1860's and 1870's. I show how, in this period, conservative and Liberal professors mobilized nationalism to build competing programmes for teaching and research and how, by so doing, they split into 2 camps. Disintegrative processes within the professoriate were not an Austrian peculiarity : in Wilhelmine Germany, professors split into traditionalist mandarins, who sought to preserve their privileged but increasingly challenged position in the changing society by defending the traditional value of « Bildung » , and minority progressives, who embraced industrialization and modernization. While Ringer's study was based on humanities professors, geneticists were split along similar lines. As I shall show, division within the Austrian medical professoriate shared some features with the German case. Many in the « Austrian » camp stood for tradition and Monarchy, and in the « German » for modernization in medicine as well as politics. But the central issues in Vienna are ethnic differences and national identity.

Second, this is a history of surgery. The dominance of the anatomical view of the body was tightly connected with the social and professional rise of the surgeon in the 18th Century. Theories of disease aetiology that attributed the causes of pathological processes to circumscribed changes in bodily tissues, rather than imbalances of bodily fluids, came-out of the surgical approach. Surgical therapy, however, started to make serious inroads into the physician's domain of « internal diseases » only in the second half of the 19th Century. This was traditionally ascribed to technological innovations (anæsthesia and antiseptis/asepsis) but their uptake into clinical practice was more contested and protracted than is often assumed. Surgical invasion of the bodily interior had commenced before they became standard parts of the practice. The contribution of surgery in the rise of a medicine founded on pathological and histological observation and, in the making of experimental physiology in France around 1800, has been duly acknowledged. Yet, we need a stronger recognition of the role that new disciplines that flourished around the mid-19th Century (experimental and pathological physiology, but also those built primarily around the microscope, such as histology) played in the construction of operating procedures. Modern surgical history was recently divided into « anatomical » (1860's - early-20th Century) , « physiological » (World War I - 1950's) and « systemic » (1950's - late- 20th Century) periods. Here, « anatomical » (or localistic) surgery is characterized by removal of the diseased part and « physiological » by focus on the restoration of impaired function. My study argues that concerns about restoration of the function appeared as early as the 1850's. Billroth voiced the opinion of his generation of surgeons when he wrote that « surgery of the 19th Century in Germany owes its greatest upswing to the circumstance that it aims to unite all medical knowledge in itself on the basis of a sound anatomical and physiological foundation » (Billroth, 1876) . The juxtaposition of Billroth's approach with that of his counterpart at the other Vienna surgical chair should help explain the constitutive elements for this transformation. Finally, by relating these 2 approaches to educational manifestos, national politics and academic appointments, I hope to show how, in the heated atmosphere of the 1870's Vienna, the knowledge and practices that Billroth brought from Germany came to stand as « German » , in opposition to « Austrian » , surgery.

### Theodor Billroth and the Vienna School of Medicine

The 1867 appointment of Theodor Billroth to the 2nd Surgical Chair vacated by the death of Franz Schuh (1804-1865) was triumphal. After a successful 7 year stint in Zürich, the 38 year old came to Vienna with the reputation of the likely successor to the renowned Berlin professor Bernhard von Langenbeck. Apart from Billroth's professional merits, a perhaps even more attractive reason for medical professors and State administrators to hire him was his Prussian origin. In the aftermath of the Prussian 1866 victory at Sadova near Königgratz (Hradec Králové) , which cost Austria the leadership of and even participation in a unified Germany, winning the best young Prussian surgeon for Vienna was a sweet revenge. Within a decade, he would establish himself as the world's top-surgeon ; his operations in the neck, thoracic and abdominal regions, devised in collaboration with a circle of devoted disciples, would be accepted as standard procedures. While he would soon become a symbol of the Vienna Medical School, his educational and generational backgrounds were different from those of the majority of his colleagues.

The medical faculty that Billroth found in 1867 was unlike those he knew in Switzerland and Germany. First, most of his colleagues had obtained their professorships in the 1840's, so, by the late 1860's, were approaching retirement. The centre of the « Second Vienna School » , the influential pathological anatomist Carl Rokitansky (1804-1878) was 63 ;

his close clinical collaborator and ally, the professor of internal medicine Josef Škoda (1805-1881) 62, while even the younger ones, such as the dermatologist Ferdinand Hebra (1816-1880) and Billroth's counterpart at the first Department of Surgery, Johann von Dumreicher (1815-1880), were in their 50's.

Second, the laboratory revolution that would, by the 1870's, turn the Universities of Imperial Germany into world-leading centres of medical research, had less impact on the Habsburg capital. The close collaboration between the pathological anatomist and clinician, established by Rokitansky and Škoda in the 1830's, was still the dominant research model. From his modest institute in the General Hospital, Rokitansky presided over all hospital and forensic autopsies and distributed dissectible bodies to other chairs. Cadavers were the central research resource not only for normal and pathological anatomists, but also for gynæcologists, surgeons and obstetricians, who experimented on them and collated the results with those collected from numerous and compliant patients.

The long domination of pathological anatomy can be ascribed to the strong personal influence of Rokitansky, who between 1848 and 1875 occupied all important academic offices. The « Second Vienna School », or the compact group around him, was held together by not only generational also class and ethnic ties : they were all lower middle-class Czechs. But the pathological-anatomical view of the body also followed a longer tradition going-back to the late-18th Century, when, with the support of the utilitarian Emperor Josef II and capable organization by Gerhard van Swieten, Vienna became home to innovative medical institutions that catered to the diverse population of an expanding Empire. The university medical school received dissectible bodies from the gigantic teaching General Hospital (1784), while Josef's brainchild, the new military medical academy nicknamed the « Josephinum » (1785), was equally richly supplied with research and teaching resources : patients and cadavers from the nearby Military Hospital and a collection of wax anatomical models from Florence. Many of Josef's reforms were revoked in the conservative period between the 1790's and 1848, but medicine continued on the surgical-cum-anatomical path. The « Kaiserlich und Königlich Operateursinstitut » (Imperial and Royal Operators' Institute) (1807) provided 2 year theoretical and practical instruction at State expense to, initially, 6 of the best students.

Experimental disciplines were institutionalized in Vienna somewhat differently from the universities of other German lands. In 1849, Johannes Müller's student, the Brandenburg-born Ernst Brücke was appointed to the physiological chair created by the re-organization of the chairs of gross anatomy and of higher anatomy and physiology into the chairs of anatomy and physiology. Brücke's task was to promote a discipline deemed to be much more developed at German than at Austrian Universities. While the previous occupant was a morphologist, Brücke came from a group of young researchers who aimed to reduce the physiology of the living organism to physical laws verified in experiments on animals. His successful research career in Vienna spanned a variety of topics and collaborators, from digestion to speech physiology and from laryngologists to linguists. In 1855, the « Josephinum » hired Carl Ludwig (1816-1895), another successful physicalist physiologist of German origin, who also quickly became known as a superb teacher. Importantly, in the same period, the experimental approach found a home at surgery too. The second chair was established in 1842 (officially in 1849) and filled with Franz Schuh, who conducted animal experiments to construct a safe and precise procedure for opening pleural space to empty fluid produced in inflammation or trauma. Schuh's experimental direction was part of the reason why, 20 years later, Billroth would be invited for his successor.



But experimentalists received only limited support. Ludwig left for Leipzig after an argument with the « Josephinum's » director Karl Heidler Ritter von Egeregg, for whom the academy was a clinical training-centre, and thus, required little investment in pre-clinical disciplines. Salomon Stricker (1834-1898) was appointed in 1868 to the new university Institute (later Chair) of General and Experimental Pathology, to compensate for the lack of experimental training in Vienna created by Ludwig's departure and for the strongly anatomical orientation of pathology under Rokitansky. Stricker was a productive scientist and popular teacher, but struggled in the make-shift premises inherited from the « Josephinum ». And while in Vienna's chief-competitor, Berlin, in 1877, Émil du Bois-Reymond was granted a palatial institute in which all students could be trained in microscopy and experimental method, Brücke obtained nothing of the kind. Until 1904, his institute in an 18th Century ex-rifle factory consisted of « 1 lecture-hall, 1 room with 2 windows, 2 cabinets with 1 window each, and 2 hall-ways that had only indirect light from the corridors ». While in 1886 anatomy got an imposing new building, physiology had to wait until 1904. This lack of material support for experimental medicine is indicative not only of Austria's stagnant economy but also of the ambivalent place these subjects occupied in the school's informal hierarchy.

Yet, by the late-1860's, the power relations in the faculty had started to change. This was partly a result of political relaxation in the 1860's, with newly-proclaimed freedoms of association, religion and movement for all ethnic groups. Moreover, the « Josephinum » was closed around 1870, so, many professors were taken-over by the medical faculty. Finally, 1867, like 1849, was in Austria-Hungary a year of reflection, of taking stock after tumultuous events, of choosing a future direction. It is no coincidence, then, that on both occasions talented Prussians were hired in the medical faculty.

Theodor Billroth certainly brought some fresh air. He was born in 1829 on the island of Rügen in Western Pomerania as the son of a protestant pastor, but moved to Greifswald with his family at the age of 5 after his father's death. Billroth started his medical studies there before leaving for the famous University of Göttingen. With his close friend Georg Meißner, he worked on the histology of nerve endings under the supervision of the famous morphologist, Rudolph Wagner. But while Meißner stayed in Göttingen to complete his dissertation on nerve receptors (on the strength of which he got the Basel professorship in anatomy and physiology), Billroth moved in 1851 to Berlin. For his medical dissertation, he chose to work on « Nature and cause of pulmonary affections arising from the dissection of the vagus nerve » under the supervision of Ludwig Traube (1818-1876). During his research, he conducted 28 animal experiments, on dogs, rabbits, doves and ducks.

Billroth's mentor, Traube, shared with his Berlin contemporary and colleague Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) the notion that pathology must be reformed as an experimental science in order to become the foundation of medicine. But they diverged on the questions of what is the place of the experiment in a pathological study; how such a study should be constructed; and what indeed counts as an experiment in pathological research. 2 kinds of animal experiments were recognized in pathology of the period. In one, « the pathological-anatomical experiment », the artificial production of disease was followed by sacrificing the animal to observe the effects on the organs macro- and microscopically. In the other, « the pathological-physiological experiment », these effects were first observed in living animals, using complex methods and instruments for registering physiological functions. Only at the end would animals be subjected to pathological-anatomical examination. Virchow primarily relied on the first type of the experiment;

furthermore, the results obtained experimentally had to be further supplemented by those collected through clinical observation, pathological autopsy and accepted physiological knowledge. By contrast, for Traube, observation of the lesion in a sacrificed animal counted little : the experiment on the living animal was the quintessence of pathological research. The results of an experimental series often led to more experiments that aimed to distinguish the « real » from « possible » causes of diseases, never accepting analogy as an option and always looking for the firm confirmation of a hypothesis exclusively through the experiment on the living organism. These 2 pathologists differed not only in their approaches but also in their academic successes : while Virchow's career in the 1840's and 1850's went from strength to strength, Traube's Jewish background closed the doors of German academia before him.

Working with Traube greatly influenced Billroth's idea of research in pathology and in practical medicine. Although upon graduation, he accepted the position of « Assistentarzt » under Langenbeck, he continued to work in pathological physiology and histology in his free-time and to keep an eye on academic posts in pathology. He had hoped to be offered the job that, in 1856, went to Rudolf Virchow, but when invited to a pathological anatomy post in Greifswald, in 1858, he declined because of the low-salary and institute budget. In the same year, Billroth published « Contributions to pathological histology » (« Beiträge zur pathologischen Histologie ») , a summary of his research on microscopical appearances of and differences between inflammations and tumors. He cited extensively from Virchow's recently published « magnum opus » , yet, criticized him for being too reductionist, for focusing on localized lesions and failing to take into account changes in the organism. These criticisms should be read in the context of Billroth's strongly pathological physiological approach developed under Traube's mentorship.

In 1860, he was called to the chair of surgery in Zürich. The new and fairly small university managed to attract an unusually dynamic and ambitious faculty by being politically Liberal and unafraid to take a risk by employing an inexperienced or controversial hand. Zürich gave Billroth space and visibility so that he caught the attention of the Vienna Faculty who, after Schuh's death in 1865, invited him to introduce to Vienna the innovative approach of the Langenbeck school. Langenbeck had built-up a remarkable reputation in the 1840's and 1850's as one of the first to conduct planned operations under narcosis. Anæsthesia created conditions for surgeons to invade parts of the body hitherto largely in the province of internal medicine, notably the thorax and abdomen. But how to move from the surface into the interior of the body was not obvious. The cadaver was the traditional educational and research tool for surgeons, but, to Billroth, it failed to offer an adequate platform for the construction of invasive procedures : compared to animal experiments, it provided little information on how removal of an organ affects the organism and how to restore the function of the organ.

Billroth's approach differed greatly from that of Johann von Dumreicher, the professor at the first Surgical Chair. A member of the « Second Vienna School » , he was an aristocrat who made an unusual career choice by becoming a surgeon rather than a military officer or diplomat. He worked within the pathological-anatomical tradition and on « traditional » surgical problems such as traumas and conditions of the « locomotor apparatus » . Still, Dumreicher's clinical assistant and successor Eduard Albert (1841-1900) studied, with Stricker, patho-physiological problems of surgical interest : causes of infectious diseases, blood pressure and volume replacement by saline or blood. Albert's experiments had practical application to surgery : he supported Louis Pasteur's theory of microbes as specific causes of infection and, consequently, was the first in Vienna to introduce Joseph Lister's antiseptics into his operating theatre. Yet,

these experiments were not directed towards innovation in operative methods. The thrust of surgical research and practice at the first Chair remained within « traditional » surgery : from amputations, fracture treatment and other classical trauma surgery, towards, using bio-mechanical calculations, a new discipline of orthopædics. The strict division of domains between physicians, who reigned over the interior of the body, and surgeons, who remained on the outside, may have been re-inforced in Vienna by the close professional and social ties among the members of the Second Vienna School. Billroth, an outsider, had far less to lose.

While Billroth's approach differed greatly from that of his first Chair counterpart, it did follow-on from the tradition established by his predecessor at the second Chair, Schuh. But Billroth's surgery encompassed much more than occasional experiments. Its novelty lay in the consistently central place that experimental physiology and pathophysiology had in all aspects of surgery. I shall show, in the next sections, surgeons had to think like physiologists, be trained like physiologists, and construct their procedures as physiological experiments.

### Surgical education, operative procedures and animal experiments

In the history of medicine, Billroth stands for the era of bold surgical intervention by organ or body-part resection. He constructed and successfully performed a range of procedures for removing diseased organs. His invasion of the abdomen was an audacious step when few dared to cross the peritoneum. In Zürich, Billroth followed the British surgeon Thomas Spencer Wells in performing human ovariectomies. In Vienna, where treatment of the female genital tract fell within the remit of the gynaecologists, Billroth focused on the neck and upper-abdomen, extirpating parts or all of the thyroid, œsophagus, larynx, and then, in the 1880's, developing innovative procedures for resection of the stomach, operations that were named Billroth I and Billroth II. Yet, he did not mean to focus narrowly on the lesion : how both the organ and the organism functioned post-procedure was of great significance. Using the example of one of the earliest procedures invented by Billroth's Vienna surgical team, of larynx extirpation and its replacement with an artificial organ, I will show how experimental methods were applied to construct the procedure, and how surgeons worked with physiologists, clinicians and instrument-makers to restore the lost function. Training young surgeons in the spirit of « physiological surgery » was of primary importance. Surgical candidates were selected on the basis of scientific talent and, as postgraduate trainees, experimented extensively on animals before trying-out the procedure in the operating theatre.

Upon arrival in Vienna, Billroth found at the institute a group of 6 trainees selected by Schuh, but he went on to hand-pick his closest circle. Not only did he bring his own assistant from Zürich, he also hired a young doctor after hearing him lecture on physiology. Vincenz Czerny had no surgical experience, indeed, no plans to become a surgeon. On the contrary, he enrolled in the medical school intending to become a scientist and spent every afternoon microscoping and experimenting, first in the physiological laboratory where he worked on histology and physiology of the eye ; then, at ophthalmology, investigating eye pathology ; and finally, in the experimental pathology laboratory, on anatomy and physiology of the spleen.

The way that Billroth selected indicates the talents he reckoned indispensable for a good surgeon. Downplaying the importance of manual skill in favour of medical knowledge, clinical judgment and patient management was

characteristic for the rising surgeon from the 18th Century on, but Billroth went beyond that, appreciating Czerny's understanding of and interest in scientific research. His « job interview » may be compared to the process of recruitment in anatomy in Vienna in the same period. Around 1869, the anatomist Josef Hyrtl was alerted by his institute attendant to an unusually dexterous young student who made beautiful preparations. The student, Emil Zuckerkandl, was soon appointed an anatomical Demonstrator (student-instructor) , and later, became professor of anatomy in Graz (1881) and Vienna (1888) . By contrast, Carl Langer, professor of anatomy at the « Josephinum » (1856-1870) and the first occupant of the second Anatomical Chair (1870-1888) , invited the first year student Adolf Lorenz to become a demonstrator after hearing him explain osteology to his fellow-students. Josef Hyrtl was famously conservative both in his anatomy and in his politics. The younger Langer, by contrast, believed that anatomy should aspire to the standards of « Wissenschaftlichkeit » proposed by experimental physiologists. At the « Josephinum » , Langer closely collaborated with Carl Ludwig and conducted research in the field of physiological or mechanical anatomy. Billroth's methods of recruitment were obviously closer to Langer's than Hyrtl's.

By 1870, Billroth succeeded in re-organizing the « Operateursinstitut » by adding the scientific study of surgical problems to the instruction in surgical theory and practical exercises to develop operating skills. Tellingly, he called the students « assistants » rather than « operators », because « the term “ operator ” is unintelligible to the reader of medical literature in the German Empire » . Perhaps, more than any of his Viennese contemporaries, Billroth surrounded himself with a close-knit group of disciples who, working together on new procedures, developed a common approach. 9 of his assistants went on to occupy surgical chairs across German-speaking Europe.

The first big project of the Billroth school in Vienna was the surgical treatment of laryngeal carcinoma, a disease that had hitherto fallen within the remit of laryngology. The field had a strong tradition in the Austro-Hungarian Empire : much of the innovation in physical examination of the throat was produced in close collaboration between clinicians and physiologists within the Vienna - Prague - Budapest triangle. Johannes Czermak (1829-1973) is today credited with opening the fields of speech physiology and laryngology by applying a version of the laryngeal mirror, pioneered by the English voice coach and music professor Manuel Garcia, to look into the throat. Yet, laryngologists were limited by how far they could reach into the mouth, and by what they could see using reflected light.

In 1870, Czerny published a paper on laryngeal extirpation in 5 dogs in the leading local medical journal, « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » (Czerny, 1870) . The laryngological literature had previously repeatedly asserted that tumours could only be controlled by removing the whole or half of the larynx. No surgeon had tried to tackle this operation, so Czerny, only a few years into his training, decided to attempt it on animals. The procedure was simple : the dog was tied on its back, the larynx and trachea exposed from the front and separated first from the soft tissue and muscles, and then, from trachea and epiglottis, and finally, a rubber tube was inserted to secure respiration.

In Czerny's article, most of the discussion is devoted to the restoration of the physiological functions (respiration, swallowing and voice production) after total laryngectomy. An artificial larynx had already been constructed by Czermak in 1859, for a patient with laryngeal stenosis who had undergone tracheotomy. Czerny's device with 2 tubes, one for inspiration and the other for expiration and sound production, expanded on the original model.

The animal model offered an obvious advantage to a physiologically minded surgeon : while dogs had different anatomical topography from humans, they could nevertheless provide answers on general physiological processes : bleeding, healing, scarring ; or those more specifically related to the organ in question, such as voice production or respiration. The first human operation soon followed. In 1874, another Billroth disciple, Carl Gussenbauer, reported on laryngeal extirpation and artificial larynx implantation in a 36 year religion teacher with epithelial carcinoma (Gussenbauer, 1874) . The report was first presented at a meeting of the German Surgical Society, and then, published in the « Archiv für klinische Chirurgie » , a journal established in 1860 by Langenbeck and his former students Billroth and Ernst Gurlt as a forum for German-speaking surgeons, who had hitherto published in general clinical periodicals. The procedure and minor ensuing complications were described in more detail than in Czerny's article. Importantly, an equally detailed discussion was dedicated to the restoration of laryngeal functions. Respiration could easily be secured by a simple rubber tube connecting mouth and trachea, in place of the larynx ; swallowing, even in the absence of epiglottis, could be learnt by the patient who would teach himself to draw-back the base of the tongue to prevent the food from slipping into the wrong hole. But how to repair speech was a challenge that brought together surgeons, physiologists, laryngologists and instrument-makers. Brücke, with the instrument-maker Josef Leiter, and then, the laryngologist Carl Störck with the instrument-maker Heinrich Reiner produced an instrument which the patient would insert directly into their mouth when they wished to speak. Gussenbauer deemed this device impractical and constructed, with the instrument-maker Thürriegel, a version of Czerny's T-shaped tube. While information on Thürriegel and Reiner is scarce, Josef Leiter (1830-1892) was a leading European medico-surgical instrument-maker, who would later earn international fame for his endoscopic apparatus. So, the project of laryngeal functional replacement brought together the world-leading authorities in laryngeal pathology and therapy, speech physiology (Czermak had died in 1873) , instrument-making and surgery.

An anecdote tells of how Billroth, upon arriving in Vienna, was shocked to find a cadaver, left from student operations, on the table in the operating theatre. This has been interpreted as directed against the danger of infection that such a practice would entail. Yet, as mentioned earlier, Billroth, for a long time, did not fully-subscribe to Pasteur's theory of microbial disease causation and accepted Lister's antiseptics reluctantly and late. Here, I propose that Billroth's abhorrence of the cadaver in the operation theatre did not result (exclusively) from his disgust with Viennese hygiene, but also his disagreement with the research methods. The cadaver, although an indispensable tool for surgical education, symbolized anatomy, but Billroth worked in a physiological paradigm. Looking back from the vantage point of the 1920's, his student Anton von Eiselsberg might have seen surgery of the 1870's and 1880's as the era of « ignorant assaults » (« ahnungslose Übergriffe ») , but his own approach (indeed his interest in the epitome of physiological surgery, organ transplantation) owed much to his early training with Billroth.

### Medical education and the State

In 1876, Billroth authored a book on the history and future of medical education at the German Universities (Billroth, 1876) . It had an enormous impact : controversial for its politics, it nevertheless became an important source on German tradition of medical education. In 1924, almost 50 years after its publication, William Henry Welch, one of the leaders of American medical educational reform in the early- 20th Century, translated it into English as « The medical sciences in the German Universities : a study in the history of civilization » . In the preface to the translation, Welch

briefly, mostly neutrally and in places sympathetically, referred to the book's controversial political stance. Yet, at the time of original publication, Billroth's politics, for a period, over-shadowed his surgical activity. Here, I contrast them with those of Johann von Dumreicher, to show how, in this era of radical social, political and demographic change, conflicting views on education were tightly linked to opposing views on relations between the University and the State, and on the identity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the Austrian nation.

Economic growth and constitutional freedoms in the late-1860's attracted a wave of immigrants to Vienna, mostly Czechs from Bohemia but also Jews from Galicia and Bukovina. Most worked in factories or ran small businesses, but some, especially in the second generation, used the university as a social ladder. As the city population increased, students not only grew in number but also diversified ethnically and socially. Medicine was equally attractive to the middle-class Viennese interested in academic posts, rural Slavs looking forward to a career in the military or in local health bodies, and Jews from the East to whom private medical practice offered a lucrative and respectable alternative to the still inaccessible state jobs. Yet, economic growth was cut short by the crisis that followed the 1873 stock-market crash. As unemployment grew and wages fell, anti-Jewish feelings, dormant for some decades, re-emerged with full-force. This time, racial anti-Semitism replaced old attitudes grounded in religious intolerance. Rapid assimilation and conversion to Christianity now mattered little.

The university and the medical school were not isolated from the social turmoil. With the transfer of the « Josephinum » staff to the university and a wave of retirements (and deaths) , most chairs gained new occupants by mid-1870's. The pressure on the lecture-halls, still in over-crowded make-shift premises to which the university had been condemned after 1848, was at least partially relieved by completion of the university reform. The reform based on the German model, which had begun in the heady post-revolutionary days of 1849, unified medical and surgical degrees, transformed the faculty from a corporate into a State institution, and introduced teaching and learning freedoms. Yet, State politics and inter-faculty conflicts delayed its completion until 1872, when examinations were finally reformed and compulsory lecture attendance abolished. By the mid-1870's, the reform was criticized for having failed to produce satisfactory results. The attendance and examination results were poor and a fall in the standards of medical practice was feared. At the same time, ethnic German students from Austria and Bohemia became increasingly out-numbered by Jews, Slavs and Magyars, so nationalist feelings heightened and student associations closed to all ethnic non-Germans.

It was probably this atmosphere of change, interpreted by some as a crisis, as well as the space opening by Rokitsky's retirement, that inspired Billroth to publish his book. Subtitled « a cultural-historical study » , it was a combination of Billroth's own views on medical education (the curriculum, regulations, examinations, students, teachers, the relationship between the University and the State, the place of scientific versus clinical subjects) and some rather detailed historical and contemporary information on these topics, mainly focused on the University of Vienna but enriched with comparative data on other German-speaking universities. Billroth was a staunch advocate of the German educational model and, in particular, of the freedoms of teaching and learning : lack of compulsion in the order, choice and duration of studies other than that imposed by examinations ; free student migration between universities ; and the strong position of natural sciences in the curriculum. In 1876, his book read as an affirmation of the recent university reform.

Billroth responded to the critics who proposed to limit radically the share of natural sciences in the curriculum because « physicians do not need to be scholars, since their first business is to learn to treat the sick » (Billroth, 1924) , arguing that those who were not trained to think analytically and scientifically would make poor medical practitioners (Billroth, 1924) . Moreover, physician had to represent the culture, to be the best-educated member of his community.

« To neglect the education of these leaders, to lower their intellectual and scientific standards, to educate them in such a way that the people will regard them as of their own kind - as just so many more artisans, like the cobblers, tailors and comb-makers, that, in my judgment, would mean the repression of our whole national cultural development. » (Billroth, 1924.)

The other important criticism related to the learning freedoms, students' right to arrange their own studies. It was argued that more discipline was needed, but Billroth believed that disciplinary measures appropriate for teenagers in « Gymnasias » would not be useful, indeed would harm students' self-respect.

« I do not believe that marked talents are hampered or stifled in their development by a strict discipline such as formerly existed at several German Universities, especially if the students have the means to carry-on their scientific work as they please after completing their professional studies. But neither do I think it possible to make energetic, industrious, intelligent physicians out of slack, lazy, stupid students, by means of school-like discipline at the universities. » (Billroth, 1924.)

So, if the educational model was faultless, why were the examination results not better and future medical practitioners more competent ? For Billroth, the answer was clear : the students.

Unashamedly elitist, he believed that :

« Higher scientific education demands not inconsiderable financial means, so that only the propertied, well-to-do classes of the population can gain it. » (Billroth, 1924.)

The estimated cost of educating a physician was, according to Billroth, considerable :

« During 5 years of study in Vienna 1,000 Florins per year ; for the examination year and for travel in the interest of science, 2,000 Florins ; for 2 years of practical work at a hospital, 1,000 Florins per year ; for the first 6 years of his independent practice, 500 Florins per year. Altogether, for 14 years, he needs 12,000 Florins, or 24,000 Marks. This is certainly the minimum and it is based on the assumption that the student will not early in his career commit the folly of marrying a poor girl. » (Billroth, 1924.)

That Billroth's standards were high may be shown by the fact that a demonstratorship, the job offered only to the best students and regarded benevolently by the university authorities, occupied every afternoon through the academic year and paid only 200 Florins in 1872, raised to 300 in 1877, a sum considered luxurious by poor, self-supporting

students.

Yet, money did not suffice to produce a good student, and then, a good doctor ; the other compulsory element was breeding. German students from « respectable homes » with university-educated fathers were raised in an atmosphere that prepared them for the university, even when they were financially not well-off. Billroth himself enjoyed elite culture : he cultivated close friendship with the famous composer Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) , with whom he shared not only passion for music (Billroth almost studied piano instead of medicine) but also the social experience, as Brahms too was a Northern German who permanently settled in Vienna in 1868. Several among Billroth's disciples came from aristocratic families : Alexander von Winiwarter, Johannes (« Jan ») von Mikulicz-Radecki and Baron Anton von Eiselsberg. And while Vienna had « a large and constantly growing group of very well-bred and well-trained young men » , it also had « undesirable elements, larger in proportion than anywhere else » (Billroth, 1924) . These were young, mostly Jewish, men from Hungary, Galicia and Bukovina, with hardly a Florin in the pocket, who relied on the large and dynamic Viennese job market to help support them through the medical school. They, wrote Billroth, « have absolutely nothing and have conceived the insane idea that they can earn money in Vienna, by teaching, through small jobs at the stock-exchange, by peddling matches, or by taking employment as post office or telegraph clerks in Vienna or elsewhere, and at the same time study medicine » (Billroth, 1924) . These poor students from the eastern provinces, he continued, who spoke inadequate German, had inferior up-bringing and education and lacked the money needed to support themselves through university, should stay away from medicine.

« Such empty-headed strivers, with their purblind eyes, hands like lead, and brains like clay, with a dictionary knowledge and pathetic incompetence are to be found in large numbers, especially among these poor medical students. They tremble when they are spoken to during examination and lose their mite of intelligence completely when one looks at them. They often understand so little German that they can grasp neither the language nor the sense of the questions, and are quite incapable of expressing their thoughts either in German or in any other tongue. Are academic freedom and the scientific method of instruction to be held accountable for failing to make good physicians out of such material ? » (Billroth, 1924.)

Many contemporaries and historians interpreted this as racial anti-Semitism. Assimilated Viennese Jews were strongly offended and Liberal newspapers attacked Billroth for what they saw as a travesty of Liberal ideas. By contrast, students gathered around the « Leseverein der deutschen Studenten » (from 1871) warmly applauded Billroth when he entered the lecture-hall. With Jewish and other Austrian students outraged, surgical lectures turned into a series of protests and brawls between opposed camps. Billroth, however, felt misunderstood. Not only would he never express similar views, but, in 1892, he would become a founding member of the « Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus » , a society composed of prominent Christian personalities who opposed anti-Semitism. Historians who present Billroth as a racial anti-Semite usually do not comment on this conversion or simply state that he changed his mind. I agree with Boyer for whom Billroth was « more a socio-cultural elitist than an anti-Semite » , who wanted to exclude Hungarian Jews because of their poverty, urgent quest for social mobility and low educational level. This reading would explain why he distanced himself from anti-Semitism when it became an acceptable political stance, and even publicly crossed to the other side.



Billroth's most active opponent in the faculty was his counterpart, Johann von Dumreicher of the first Surgical Chair, author of a booklet « On the necessity of educational reforms at the medical faculties of Austria » (Dumreicher, 1878). He agreed that the school was in crisis, manifested in inadequate results at final examinations : poorly prepared students made incompetent physicians, and therefore, endangered the health of the population. But, for Dumreicher, the problem was the educational system that failed to meet the needs of a varied student body and equally diverse population. Introducing « Lern- and Lehrfreiheiten » was wrong and so was the increased emphasis on experimental disciplines. Dumreicher tried to push his ideas through official channels, first by organizing a committee that submitted a proposal for reform of the final examinations, then, requesting permission to submit another memorandum when the first was only partially accepted. In the end, he addressed this pamphlet to the public.

So what were, in Dumreicher's opinion, the Austrian circumstances and what kind of medical education did they require ? Students from Galicia, Istria, Dalmatia and Transleithania received poor « Gymnasium » instruction in mathematics and natural sciences and spoke inadequate German. Once at the university, they had only 4 years to master medicine, because 1 year was spent in the military service. Even these 4 years were not entirely free, as many students had to support themselves. Demands of the curriculum loaded with difficult and often redundant science subjects ; the liberties secured by the reform ; the high-cost of Vienna life - all this made students limit their studies to the few compulsory courses and then cramming before the examinations. There were good reasons, argued Dumreicher, behind the traditionally clinical-practical orientation of Austrian medical education and they were grounded in the nature of the empire and of its population. A fixed curriculum, compulsory lecture attendance and low-ratio of non-clinical to clinical subjects were the answers : a version of the « Josephinum » , not the University of Berlin, was what Austria needed.

The main-point of divergence between Dumreicher and Billroth was the role of the University and its relationship with the State. Dumreicher's booklet is brimming with mentions of « responsibility » and « duty » : for him, the University was first and foremost to serve the (practical) needs of the Empire. The duty of medical faculties was not just to advance science ; not even to educate future practitioners : implicitly, their duty, to the State, was to provide education as a means of social mobility to the hitherto underprivileged classes and ethnic groups, however poorly they were prepared.

For Billroth, by contrast, this was extremely problematic. He reviewed the history of the University of Vienna to show how, until the 16th Century, the State had expressed limited interest. Only after the turmoils of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, which saw Lower-Austria going back and forth between the 2 religious camps and the University becoming a centre of Protestantism, did the State begin to occupy the combined positions of financial sponsor, regulator, administrator and curriculum supervisor.

« But who is the State ? What is the State ? Why should the State alone be considered stable in an eternally changing world ? » , asked Billroth, arguing, on the example of Metternich's Austria where « it went so far as to prescribe to the teachers at the Universities precisely from what book or notes they had to “ read ” , i.e. “ lecture ” , that the State's close supervision of the University was a sign of its weakness. » (Billroth, 1924 ; page 96) .

He quoted, in full-agreement, the words of an unnamed Viennese professor and State minister :

« The University remains a State institution in the sense that it is supported, protected and supervised by the State. It must, however, administer its most important and intimate affairs altogether autonomously. The University must, therefore, have neither an ecclesiastical nor a governmental colouring, but must be purely scientific in character. »  
(Billroth, 1924.)

While Dumreicher's call for a return to the older model was not accepted and Austrian medical education remained organized according to the German model, the teaching styles of professors in the « Austrian » and « German » camp diverged. I have already mentioned personnel selection ; lectures offer another good example. The talent to educate, entertain and charm undergraduates, who were not only unsurprisingly uninterested but often could not quite understand the lecturer as their German was too poor, was traditionally held in high-opinion by Viennese professors and administrators. The anatomist Josef Hyrtl built much of his reputation on captivating lectures that combined theatrical performance with demonstration of artistically prepared objects. By contrast, Billroth's lectures were dry and uninspiring. The surgeon Adolf Lorenz unfavourably compared Billroth's lecturing style with that of Dumreicher's successor Eduard Albert, stating that while Albert's technical skill was admittedly inferior to Billroth's, he filled his auditorium while Billroth often spoke to empty benches. When, post-1872, the student attendance across the school fell to its all-time low, Billroth was said to have advertised his course in vain, as no one showed-up. Albert's lecturing skills, by contrast, were compared to those of Hyrtl. Interestingly, the other Prussian in the faculty, Ernst Brücke, had an equally bad reputation as a lecturer ; in the post-reform years, students were there only if they had not obtained old lecture notes (« Skripta ») , as he was a notoriously harsh examiner. In anatomy, a chair that came to be divided along the same lines as surgery, the « German » Carl Toldt was notoriously dry, while the « Austrian » Emil Zuckerkandl was so well remembered for his lectures that his sculpture, produced 15 years after his death, shows him gesticulating to convey his animated lecturing style.

Divisions between 2 emerging camps, then, stretched far beyond the surgical departments and into educational politics. Billroth subscribed to what he and his Viennese contemporaries saw as German values : of academic excellence, pursuit of science (or more broadly, « Wissenschaft ») without the burden of practical application, and German culture. Dumreicher, by contrast, sought to recover an Austrian tradition, in which medical schools were educational rather than research institutions, dispensing knowledge democratically to all social and ethnic groups of the Empire. In the year von Dumreicher published his pamphlet, the Berlin congress bestowed Bosnia on the Empire, and thus, both cemented its political orientation to the European south-east and increased the share of non-Germans in the Austrian half. In 1879, the Liberals fell from power and opened an era of unstable and short-lived governments, with the court balancing between Slavs, pan-Germans and conservative Austrian Parties. In 1882, the University of Prague, historically closely linked to Vienna, split into Czech and German parts.

### Politics of professorial appointments

In November 1880, von Dumreicher suddenly died and the faculty had to find a new occupant for the prestigious chair. 2 names immediately came-up : Albert, now professor of surgery in Innsbruck, and Czerny, by then professor in

Heidelberg. The « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » , Billroth and his circle supported Czerny, while the group in the faculty previously close to Dumreicher favoured Albert. Billroth's group argued that Czerny was a superior researcher and surgeon ; Dumreicher's friends that Albert represented the Austrian school of surgery. But how to assess the quality and suitability of the candidates and what, in fact, the Austrian school of surgery was, became matters of contention. Just 2 years after Dumreicher's book, in the politically turbulent era of unstable governments and rising nationalist movements, the appointment to a prestigious chair came to signify the direction that the school would take. Both candidates were approaching their 40th birthday ; both came from Bohemian lands ; both were educated in Vienna ; both had published widely ; and both gained their first professorship just after they had turned 30. But this is where the similarities stop. The surgeries they practised, the educational strategies they represented and the national politics they supported were dramatically different.

Vincenz Czerny (1842-1916) was born into a middle-class pharmacist's family in Tratenau (Trutnov) in Bohemia. In spite of their Czech-sounding name, the Czernys were Germans, settled in Bohemia since at least the 17th Century. Czerny's recollections of his early life closely follow the canons of the 19th Century scientist's memoirs : the idyllic childhood, early interest in exploration of the natural world (in his case, stimulated by the family's habit of spending afternoons collecting herbs for the pharmacy) and reading books on nature. But, unusually, the text is heavily interspersed with references to the increasingly tense relations between Czechs and Germans. And while Czerny did not declare himself opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, it is obvious that neither he nor his father were zealous church-goers, as the father preferred to send his son to a State school in a Czech town than to a monastery establishment in a German town. This, however, did not mean that Czerny's Czech ever improved beyond « küchenböhmisch » (kitchen Bohemians) : in the 1850's, instruction in State schools was in German, the language of all official communication. By 1860, when Czerny arrived in Prague to study medicine, tensions were palpable ; not feeling at home, he decided to transfer to Vienna. As described earlier, after graduation, he obtained a surgical assistantship, whence on Billroth's and Rokitansky's recommendations he moved to the chair of surgery in Freiburg. At the time, Freiburg was a small, strongly Roman Catholic university unpopular with Northern Germans and relatively neglected by the Baden government who favoured Heidelberg. Still, it proved a good spring-board, as Czerny, in 1877, moved to Heidelberg and successfully continued his work in experimental surgery of the neck and abdomen, increasingly focusing on cancer.

By contrast, Albert (1841-1900) came from a poorer background. He had worked as a house tutor (« Hauslehrer ») before enrolling in the medical school in 1861. In contrast to Czerny, he was a native Czech speaker, and indeed, one who remained in touch with his native country and culture his entire life : he even translated poems from Czech into German. After graduation, he had first worked as Dumreicher's assistant, and then, took-up the surgical professorship at the new University of Innsbruck. As mentioned earlier, he worked closely with Salomon Stricker on the causes of wound fever and was an enthusiastic and early supporter of antiseptic surgery. While as the professor of general surgery, he had to perform a full-range of operations, his own interests were in the field of joint mechanics and conditions such as congenital hip dislocation, scoliosis and acquired diseases of the joints and bones. It was Albert's non-invasive, generally conservative approach to the treatment of osteological conditions that influenced the distinctive direction in orthopaedics, of so-called bloodless, non-operative surgery of Adolf Lorenz.

Speculations and discussions on who would succeed Dumreicher started immediately after his death. In early December, the medical faculty elected a committee to form a Terna, a list of 3 candidates in order of preference. The committee consisted of professors of surgical disciplines : general surgery, urology, ophthalmology and gynaecology with obstetrics, chaired by the dean Eduard Hoffman, professor of forensic medicine. Yet, after a month of deliberations, they failed to agree : Hoffman, a Czech, supported Albert and the rest Czerny. The decision was then returned to the faculty to vote at its meeting on 15 January 1881. Czerny won with a small majority, but instead of proposing him as the first choice candidate (« primo loco ») and Albert as the second ranked (« secundo loco ») , the faculty decided to go with Czerny as the only (« unico loco ») suggestion. But the final decision lay with the Minister of Religion and Education and the Emperor Franz-Josef.

All the while, the « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » cheered for Czerny. It was said that Albert had been trying to leave Innsbruck for a bigger centre for a while : with Prague University splitting he was considered for its first Surgical Chair, yet, he was « too Czech for Germans, too German for Czechs » . Then, he applied for a high clinical position in the General Hospital, but, while still under consideration, Dumreicher died and Albert became a candidate for the Vienna professorship. He enjoyed the reputation of a true heir to Dumreicher school, an excellent teacher (« the Hyrtl of surgery ») who had full lecture-halls and wrote popular text-books, « Diagnostik der chirurgischen Krankheiten » (1876) and « Lehrbuch der Chirurgie und Operationslehre » (1877-1880) , the latter the first text-book based on the use of antiseptics. But the « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » was critical of all Albert's supposed recommendations and talents.

He could not represent Dumreicher's school, they argued, because « Von Dumreicher was known as an opponent of antiseptic methods ; Albert belongs to those surgeons who since their acquaintance with them have held Lister's flag high, and he never fails to explain his operative successes with it. »

Albert, the journal conceded, was a talented and competent surgeon, but he could not stand comparison with a genius such as Czerny. He, they continued, did not possess such breadth of surgical knowledge ; this was confirmed in the review of his « Lehrbuch in the Centralblatt für Chirurgie » , which, while sympathetic, did not conceal the errors.

These speculations were cut short by the ministerial decision. The report to the Emperor opened with a brief discussion of the decisions of the faculty and a comparison of the candidates' recommendations for the job. Both were deemed perfectly suitable, but the minister supported Albert. The direction pursued by Czerny was already represented in Vienna by Billroth, he recalled. The Vienna surgical department should not focus itself exclusively on big and difficult operations, he argued further, but also on the so-called « small surgery » , procedures that were perhaps scientifically less interesting but were of large practical importance. Dumreicher believed that the first task of the medical school was to educate students in the needs of practising physicians ; and he himself saw Albert as his best student and most qualified successor. And Albert had already proved himself as a good professor : in the short time he spent in Innsbruck, he managed not only to practise and publish but also to create a small but active group of young surgeons. The Emperor approved the ministerial proposal and appointed Albert.

Albert's appointment had multiple consequences. It has been argued that trauma surgery was a « Cinderella of modern

surgery » , because the progress of modern surgery pushed this traditional surgical field of injury management to the side-lines. Only compulsory medical insurance brought accident victims back to surgical clinics. In Vienna, this foreseeable course of events was cut short by a political decision. With Albert at the first Chair, the traditional surgical domains were given a firm institutional footing that helped them not only resist but transform into new fields. By the early-20th Century, Vienna was a leading centre for orthopædics.

Albert's appointment also had significance in the 1880's when the conflict between « German » and « Austrian » culture, between elitism and populism, deepened across diverse spheres of public life. Christian-Socials, who came to power in Vienna in the late-1890's as the first mass political Party in the Empire, owed much of their success to the skilful use of populist rhetoric. Famously, the journalists close to them criticized the music of Billroth's friend Brahms for its lack of popular appeal and supposedly excessively rational nature, while praising the emotional and inspiring qualities of the Symphonies written by the (Austrian-born) Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) (Notley, 1993) . In the medical faculty, surgeons were the first but certainly not the last to divide. With Albert's appointment, the « Austrian » camp received a strong boost as he tirelessly campaigned to appoint young Austrians of his political, educational and research bent every time a chair was vacated. But his success was mixed and depended on external circumstances. In pre-clinical disciplines, Vienna had little to offer established or ambitious Germans, so Austrian candidates faced almost no competition. Immediately upon his appointment, he started lobbying to fill the 2nd Anatomical Chair, vacated for various reasons for years, but his candidate, Emil Zuckerkandl, lost to the Austrian-born but German-oriented Carl Toldt. Yet, as soon the first Chair came-up for appointment in 1888, Zuckerkandl got another chance : the minister conceded that the candidate proposed by the « German camp » , Gustav Schwalbe, was probably a superior researcher, but as an institute director and lecturer Zuckerkandl was a better fit for Vienna. The 2 characteristics that went into his favour were his Austrian nationality and his education with Hyrtl, so that the minister conceded that he could not justify « giving preference to a foreigner over such a distinguished representative of the school that brought fame to the Vienna School of Medicine » . When Albert opposed the appointment of the famous German professor of internal medicine Hermann von Nothnagel, he was accused of irrational hatred of Germany and Germans.

« Why should we not call a German professor ? Are we perhaps at war with Germany, or do we not consider the German Empire as the most loyal friend and ally of Austria ? Should we not be allowed to trust such a loyal ally enough to be able to allow its established teachers to teach our university students ? » (« Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift »)

The conflict between the 2 camps came to a head in 1894, after Billroth's death. The committee, chaired by Albert, agreed that they wanted a successor who would continue Billroth's approach to teaching, practice and research and so drew-up a list composed exclusively of his former Viennese assistants who had built illustrious careers elsewhere. A Terna was produced and Czerny came top of the list, ahead of Johann von Mikulicz-Radecki, professor at Breslau, and Carl Gussenbauer, professor at Prague. Czerny initially accepted, on condition he received a new building for his surgical clinic. He paid a short visit to Vienna during which he negotiated immediate commencement of the building works based on plans prepared by Billroth ; a 5,000 Florin annual salary ; the title of « Hofrat » ; and, at least, another 20 years in service. Yet, immediately upon his return, he changed his mind, claiming that he realized that he would be facing constant opposition from « Albert and his party » : during Czerny's visit to Vienna, Albert left the city

and returned only after his colleague's departure. The conflict was partly explained by Albert's jealousy, as he had expected to obtain a new building first, but partly had much longer and deeper roots. The minister eventually appointed Gussenbauer.

The divergence between the 2 chairs developed, in the 1870's, around different styles in surgery and different views on medical education, but now, against the background of rising nationalist movements, it increasingly corresponded with ethnic divisions. Towards the end of the Century, ethnic Germans increasingly turned away from the Habsburgs and Roman Catholicism, while the governments survived by forging alliances with Slavs and the Church. Adherence to the old Imperial ideals was the political choice for Jews, Czechs and other non-Germans who did not subscribe to secessionist or Zionist ideas. In the university lecture-halls and surgical theatres, this political split took the form of 2 surgical orientations : the « German » , more invasive and focused on the bodily cavities, especially the abdomen, and the other more conservative, focused on the « locomotor » system.

## Conclusion

In 1858, Billroth criticized Virchow for restricting his attention to localized lesions and failing to take into account changes in the organism. Yet, later medical historiography would perceive Billroth, the pioneer of bold procedures that removed organs and body-parts, as the surgical embodiment of the reductionist approach. I have argued that this view of Billroth is incomplete. Starting with his early training under Traube that taught him to solve his research problems through series of (pathological) physiological experiments, Billroth remained focused on the functional effects that both a disease and a surgical intervention produced in the living organism. This is evident from his research interests, the educational demands he placed on his students and his commitment to an experimental approach to surgical innovation. The example of the procedures of laryngeal extirpation and replacement with an artificial device illustrate his interest in restoration of the function. It was under the influence of the training with Billroth, I argue, that the generation of surgeons practising around 1900, headed by von Eiselsberg and Mikulicz-Radecki, would produce innovations in the areas of transplantation, shock, blood circulation and asepsis. Looking closely at how surgeons were trained and the resources they used to construct surgical procedures may help us build a richer picture of both 19th Century surgery and of the relationship between the laboratory and the clinic.

Billroth was invited to Vienna to continue the experimental approach of Franz Schuh at the 2nd Surgical Department. Although the research programmes of the 2 Viennese surgical chairs diverged as early as the 1840's, it was only with Billroth's appointment in the late-1860's that they came to be seen as scientifically, educationally and politically opposed. The surgical and political identities of « Austrians » and « Germans » were mutually dependent and defined in opposition to each other. Billroth's surgery (a physiologically based approach that invaded bodily cavities and favoured elitist education) came to be identified with the German educational model and German values only in a constant conversation and comparison with the more conservative and inclusive model that positioned itself as the direct successor to the long and glorious Austrian tradition. This process should be regarded in the broader context of the growing nationalisms, disintegration of the middle-class and construction of the Austrian identity. The latter evolved in a continuous negotiation with the model of German identity across the border. What counted as Austrian differed from one field to the next, yet, certain common characteristics emerge across diverse areas of human activity. One was

a strong bond with the longer Austrian history - in the case of surgery, exemplified by Dumreicher's and Albert's focus on orthopedics and bio-mechanical research building upon long pathological-anatomical tradition. The other was the commitment to a broader appeal. To be great, one had to be popular ; restricting the accessibility of one's work risked its failure. This applied equally to Bruckner's Symphonies, Christian-Social political rhetoric and Dumreicher's vision of medicine suited for the Empire.

### A « thaler » for a beer

**Before Sunday 20 February 1881** : A performance of the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) was planned in Cologne by Doctor Hans Kleser but failed due to Ferdinand Hiller's disapproving attitude.

The « Romantic Symphony » (originally composed in 1874 but much revised) was not performed until 7 years had elapsed. This time, the famous Hans Richter was conducting. He held a prominent position in Vienna as Opera and Concert director, and he did a great deal for Anton Bruckner, although he was not among his closest friends. The composer often complained that Richter did not do enough for him. But when this authority actually conducted the work, Bruckner happily demonstrated an extreme degree of devotion for him during the rehearsals.

After the last rehearsal of his 4th Symphony, the well-meaning Bruckner tipped the conductor Hans Richter who related :

« The “ thaler ” is the memento of a day when I wept. For the first time, I conducted a Bruckner Symphony, at rehearsal. Bruckner was an old man then. His works were performed hardly anywhere. When the Symphony was over, Bruckner came to me. He face beaming radiant with enthusiasm and happiness. I felt him press a coin into my hand and said :

“ Take this, and drink a mug of beer to my health. ” »

Richter, who did not want to hurt the naive old soul, accepted the coin (an Empress Maria Theresa « thaler » - a 3 Mark piece) and wore it on his watch-chain ever after.

**Sunday, 20 February 1881** : Concert of the Vienna Philharmonic sponsored by the Wagner Society in favour of the German School Association.

Programme :

Ludwig van Beethoven : Piano Concerto (Hans von Bülow, soloist) .

Hans von Bülow : Chamber work (Hans von Bülow, piano ; Hans Richter, viola ; Josef Sulzer, cellist) .

Anton Bruckner : 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) ; world-premiere.

Are present : Organist Johann Lohr from Budapest, Marie Lorenz. Music-critics Theodor Helm, Wilhelm Frey, Eduard Hanslick, Doctor Franz E. Gehring, Hans Paumgartner, Eduard Moucka, Max Kalbeck, Eduard Schelle, Ludwig Speidel, Eduard Kremser. (Hugo Wolf was probably also there.)

After the concert, Bruckner was called-out for a bow after each movement. Richter put this work on the same level as Beethoven's Symphonies. Josef Weilen presented Bruckner with the libretto for an Opera. This premiere actually drew praise from some quarters of the Viennese press. This was by no means universal, but Bruckner was overjoyed to be understood at all. Soon afterwards, he began work on the « Te Deum » .

### Rudolf Krzyzanowski's sister-in-law

**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) .

### « Prater » : May Wine Festival

**Sunday, 1 May 1881** :

Anton Bruckner goes with Amand Loidol to the « May Wine Festival » which takes place at the « Prater » park. Back home (on the same day ?) , he plays his « Te Deum » (WAB 45) to Loidol at the piano.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1881)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelclassse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(4 Zöglinge.)

Emil Lamberg, Carl Luze, Anton Scholz. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelclassse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :



(3 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Ritter Lorenz.

II. Jahrgang : Adolf Veith, Hermann Vergeiner. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(5 Zöglinge.)

Franz Bauer, Carl Luze, Ernst Pollak, Anton Scholz. »

Und ...

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(9 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Paul Caro, Ludwig Fronz, Carl Last, Moriz Kremer Moriz.

II. Jahrgang : Franz Brischar. »

Adolf Veith und Hermann Vergeiner haben mit diesem Schuljahr ihr Hauptfach Orgel absolviert, worüber sie ein Diplom erhalten. Vergeiner wird mit der Gesellschafts-Medaille ausgezeichnet.

### Weimar : Franz Liszt's accident

Throughout his life, Franz Liszt had been an extraordinarily healthy man in spite of his style of life.

**Saturday, 2 July 1881** : Franz Liszt had a terrible accident at the Hotel Hofgärtnerei in Weimar. He fell-down the hotel stairs and was not able to walk for 8 weeks. Though friends and colleagues had noticed swelling in his feet and legs when he had arrived in Weimar the previous month (an indication of possible congestive heart failure) , he had been in good health up to that point and was still fit and active. His body retained the slimness and suppleness of earlier years.

He was left immobilized for 8 weeks after the accident and never fully-recovered from it. A number of ailments manifested themselves - dropsy, asthma, insomnia, a cataract of the left eye and heart-disease. The last-mentioned eventually contributed to Liszt's death. He became increasingly plagued by feelings of desolation, despair and

preoccupation with death - feelings which he expressed in his works from this period.

As he told Lina Ramann :

« I carry a deep sadness of the heart which must now and then break-out in sound. »

...

Liszt's biographer Alan Walker documented that his « decline into the infirmities of old age can be traced » from 2 July 1881 :

« The accident seemed to trigger a number of ailments that until then had been lying dormant within him - including dropsy, asthma, insomnia, a cataract of the left-eye, and chronic heart-disease. This latter illness would kill him within 5 years. »

His symptoms included « swelling of the ankles, loss of appetite, feelings of nausea in the mornings, a serious open wound in the right-thigh ... 2 fractured ribs with the possibility of bruising of the lungs, and pleurisy » .

### A copy of the 6th Symphony

**After Saturday, 3 September 1881** : Bruckner's Vienna copyist Franz Hlawaczek makes a copy of the 6th Symphony (WAB 106) which is dedicated to Anton Ölzelt junior.

### Leopoldine Werndl

**Thursday, 15 September 1881** : Anton Bruckner offers an autographed picture to Leopoldine (« Leo ») Werndl.

### WAB 95/2 : The « Sierninghofen » tavern

**1850** : Anton Bruckner wrote the motto « Des Höchsten Preis » (« The Most Sublime Prize ») (WAB 95/2) for the Liedertafel Sierning who always rehearsed and performed at the « Sierninghofen » tavern - today, « Freisitz Wahlmühle » , located on « Steyerstraße » Number 41, in the Upper-Austrian district of Steyr-Land.

Des Höchsten Preis, des Vaterlandes Ruhm,  
Der keuschen Minne zartes Heiligtum,  
Der frohen Lust, des herben Leides Drang  
Verkündet laut der deutschen Männer Sang.

Secular cantata (17 bars) in C major for 4 part « a cappella » male-choir (TTBB) (« Wahlsprüche » (motto) Number 2 ; Volume XXIII/2, No. 22.

Composed in Linz, the work is based on the German text « Des Höchsten Preis, des Vaterlandes Ruhm » (« The Most Sublime Prize, the Glory of the Fatherland ») by Andreas Mittermayr (1808-1880) .

Better-known as the older « motto » of Sierning Singing Society, in the complete edition, this one was dated at « 1868 at the latest » . But, according to a report in the « Linzer Tagespost » , of 29 October 1896, Bruckner is said to have written the composition « as the first motto for Sierning Singing Society, in Sierninghofen, in 1850 » . Hans Poscher published this « motto » , as Number 89, in his edition « Wahl- und Sängersprüche, SängergriÙe, Fest- und Trinksprüche » . The autograph is lost, but a copy by Altman Kellner can be found in the Austrian National Library.

G/A (August Gllerich / Max Auer) : III/2 (1930) , page 159.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Smtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, dition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinhaller, Vienna (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , page 92.

...

The « Walhmull » was mentioned for the first time in 1456, as a noble residence, in the book of King Ladislaus Posthumus, when the Welzer brothers (Moritz, Hanns and Andres) were the owners.

In 1485, Hanns Welzern von Kaufweg sold the property to Hanns von Hohenegg.

In the 17th Century, the « Walhmull » was the property of the Spindler family.

In 1653, Johann Paul Spindler von Hofegg sold the « Walhmull » and the « Spiegelhaus » to Heinrich von Hchau and his wife Sophia (born Rohrbach) .

In 1657, Hanns Adam von Hoheneck sold the property to Hagenberg von Steinbach and his wife Susanna (born von Gera) .

In 1668, Leonhard Leichtmayr and Pflieger von Riedau bought the « Walhmull » and the « Spiegelhaus » .

Another owner was the Schmidtauer family from the « Oberwallsee » .

The engraving by Georg Matthus Vischer taken from his 1674 « Topographia Austrie superioris moderne » shows the « Freye Wallmihl » as a fortified site with a residential wing, a clock-tower, an inner-courtyard, a palisade fence, and a fruit garden.

In 1699, King Leopold I granted to the Jobst brothers (Christoph and Georg) and the Ehrenreich brothers (Christoph and Tobias) the honourable country estate with full-jurisdiction.

Christoph Jobst von Schmidtauer set-up a tavern here. This led to conflicts with the Losensteiner (from Losenstein) and Gschwendt families.

The « Wahlmühle » is a 2 storey building, in which a brewery was operated. The hook-shaped construction is equipped with wrought-iron window baskets. The year 1699 can be seen above the entrance-gate.

After the death of Christoph Jobst von Schmidtauer, in 1701, the family property passed to Hanns Jörg Füger von Erbweg who was married to Eva Maria Spindler von Hofegg (a sister of von Schmidtauer's widow) .

In 1741, the Gschwendt family became the sole owner of the « Walhmull » and the tavern of Carl Franz von Auersperg (owned by the Losenstein and Gschwendt families) .

The tavern, and later also the castle, were subsequently leased to breweries - and eventually sold.

In 1767, the owner was Johann Paul Krößwang. In 1792, the owner was Johann Nepomuk Wagner.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1881-1882

#### Wednesday, 21 September 1881 :

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

6) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof-Organist (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.) »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören Sigmund Auspitzer (« aus Brünn, 20 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier I. , I. Sprache. ») , Ciro Cavalieri (« aus Triest, 17 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , Ferdinand Czerwenka (« aus Tyrnau, 29 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») , Rudolf Dittrich (« aus Biala, 20 Jahre - Orgel A. II. ») , Ferdinand Foll (« 14 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Ludwig Fronz (« 22 Jahre - Komposition A. I. , Kontrapunkt II. ») (trat am 3. Dezember 1881 aus) , Carl Führich (« aus Jamnitz, 16 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Franz Höfer (« aus Baden, 19 Jahre - Fagott A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Franz Johnscher (« 16- Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Moriz Kremer (« 17 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») , Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 19 Jahre - Orgel A. I. ») , (hat einen 2. Eintrag, oder Namensvetter :) Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 19 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Carl Last (« 18 Jahre - Komposition A. I. , Kontrapunkt II. , I. Sprache, P. und M. ») , Carl Luze (« aus Altenmarkt, 17 Jahre - Orgel A. I. ,

Kontrapunkt I. ») (verließ das Wiener Konservatorium am 13. Januar 1882 « wegen Disziplinarvergehen ») , Josef Meyer (« 14 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Wilhelm Prantner (« aus Partschins, 20 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Lorenz Ritter (« aus Mariazell, 17 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. , Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. ») , Anton Scholz (« aus Waydhofen an der Ybbs, 21 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») und Sigmund von Tucher (« aus Nürnberg, 35 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle : Ernst Décsey (« aus Hamburg, 11 Jahre - Violin V. II. , Klavier I. ») , Robert Erben (« aus Troppau, 19 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Kontrapunkt. ») , Ludwig Grandé (« aus Teltsch, 16 Jahre - Klavier V. II. , A. M. , französische Sprache. ») , Ferdinand Hellmesberger (« 18-jährig - Violoncello V. III. (Rept.) , Klavier III. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 12 Jahre - Violin V. I. ») , Guido Peters (« aus Graz, 15 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. ») , Marie Pohoryles (« aus Tarnopol, 13 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») , Theodor Schwendt (« aus Winzendorf, 16 Jahre - Violin A. III. ») , Charlotte Steutter (« 17 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») , Josef Venantius von WöB (« aus Cattaro, 18 Jahre - Komposition A. III. , Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. ») und Heinrich Wottowa (« 14 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») .

Von den 10 Orgelschülern gehören 5 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 3 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 3 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, 11 Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 109 und Kontrapunkt von 24 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelklassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 23.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelklassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 18.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

### Bruckner's dream

**Friday, 23 September 1881** : Anton Bruckner set-down his first ideas for the 7th Symphony. Apparently, the Symphony's wonderful opening melody came to Bruckner in a dream : the conductor Ignaz Dorn, a friend from Bruckner's younger days, appeared to him and played the theme on a viola, with the words :

« This will bring you success. »

As it turned-out, the first performance of the 7th Symphony (significantly, not in conservative Vienna, but in the much more progressive city of Leipzig) was one of the greatest successes of Bruckner's life.

### Bruckner is welcomed at the « Riedhof »

**After Thursday, 15 September 1881** : Pocket calendar entry (undated) by Anton Bruckner :

Physician Doctor Carl Rabl (from Wels) introduces his friend Anton Bruckner to the round-table of eminent physician Doctors at « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant (« Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus ») located at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schloßelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

## Vienna : « Gasthaus zum Riedhof »

The « Riedhof » (House of « Herr » Reid) was initially a popular Beer-Hall (with a beautiful and exceptionally large garden with a glass-veranda) particularly frequented by physicians, officers and officials ; especially, in the 1860's and 1870's.

The house was named after its builder, the grocer and inn-keeper Josef Ried (1817) . Until 1850, the « Riedhof » was a small-inn, where you could hear a drummer playing during the Sunday dances. In 1850, the renowned « restaurateur » Johann Benedickter took-over the « Riedhof » and transformed it into an elegant Hotel. For the next 25 years, it welcomed high-ranking Officers and Officials on Emperor Franz-Josef's birthday (18 August) . Other major festive events were held there ; among them, the International Agricultural and Forestry Congress of 1890 ; the International Road and Small Train Congress of 1894. Members of the Viennese Medical School regularly visited the « Riedhof » as did the later mayor of Vienna, Baron Cajetan von Felder, who recalled in his « Memoirs » that the « Riedhof » Hotel as a political meeting-place for the citizens of « Josefstadt » . Austrian composer Anton Bruckner and one of his personal physicians, the eminent surgeon and friend Doctor Theodor Billroth, were frequent guests on official and un-official occasions. A student of Billroth, Baron Anton von Eiselsberg (author of « From the diary of a surgeon ») , and Professor Adolf Lorenz, nicknamed the « bloodless surgeon of Vienna » (author of the autobiographic novel « I was allowed to help ») were also regular visitors.

In the 19th Century, Vienna had lured many foreign doctors during the so-called « Second Medical School » period. At the time, the City bore the title of « Mecca of Medicine » . Relations between physicians of the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were intense and well-documented. At the time, Johns Hopkins University was represented by « 4 Great Icons » , namely : gynecologist Howard Atwood Kelly, pathologist William Welch, surgeon William Halsted, and Canadian-born Sir William Osler. Although all of them worked in Vienna, the 4 months spent by the internist Osler at the General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus » , or AKH) , in 1874, produced the famous article, « Back in Vienna after 34 Years » , published in the Journal of the American Medical Association. The popular meeting-point of the medical profession was the « Riedhof » Hotel, near the Hospital ; therefore, courses were offered in English. But the members of the Faculty complained to the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Health of a serious lack of financial resources on their part. In 1879, Ernst Fuchs, professor of ophthalmology, arranged such extraordinary lectures in his internal clinic on the « Alserstraße » side of the Institution.

The « Riedhof » Hotel was finally demolished to make place for the « Therese-Schlesinger-Hof » : a modern urban housing-estate of 84 apartments (originally planned for 90 apartments) supervised by Therese Schlesinger based on plans by architect Cesar Poppovits. It was erected between 1920 and 1930. The pure design of the façade corresponded to the new architectural style (« Wiener Werkstätte ») of the time.

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Since the beginning of the 1880's, Anton Bruckner took part with great curiosity in Doctors' round-tables. Sitting beside the famous anatomist Doctor Carl Rabl (whom he had met in Wels, and for whose sister he always proposed

marriage without any success) , he was considered a very special-guest at the « Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant in the District of « Josefstadt » which was located near Vienna's General Hospital. He was surrounded by eminent members of the University Faculty of Medicine but also by visiting-professors of national and international renown : they all represented the main « clientèle » of the place.

There was not much talk about music. Bruckner really wanted to learn everything about the topics that were on the agenda : for him, it was a fantastic and exclusive opportunity to explore the human body from within the organic functions ... and malfunctions. He never stopped asking questions on their history. When the doctors started to share their personal frustrations, defeats and limitations facing diseases and death, he deeply mourned with them. But, in his case, Bruckner prefer to receive objective information then morbid diagnostics. If someone adressed other scientific fields, such as electrical engineering, he was as passionate. He basically kneeled in front of the high-priests of « Science » like a shy and devout follower. But this did not prevent him from taking 10 or 13 large Bavarian « Seidel » glasses of « Pilsner » beer (one of the largest glasses made for beer, and as such, is good for lower-gravity beers ; the handle helps the drinker hold the large glasses without dropping them or spilling) , even wine, because he stayed as late as 10 o'clock in the evening.

The Bavarian « Seidel » are the massive 1.5 litre large mugs which were made famous by « Oktoberfest » celebrations. They now exist as thick glass, but are descendants of simple krugs (the « Maßkrug » made of earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, glass, silver and pewter ; with or without hinged lid, originally to keep-out the flies) that were used since the 15th Century as drinking-mugs. As glass-cutting and forming techniques became more advanced in the 19th Century, round dimples or other patterns began to show-up in these tanks. Almost obviously, these Classic mugs are reserved for session beers such as Pilsners, Helles, Märzen, Vienna and, of course, « Oktoberfest » beers.

(At that time, in « cafés » and taverns, beer glasses began to replace terra-cotta mugs, which gave more importance to the appearance of the product. Limpidity and colouring became essential factors.)

Altogether, Bruckner had mixed feelings : he was ashamed but also anxious about his present physical condition, the doctors (in whom he put all his confidence) placed him against his excesses and their bad consequences. Hearth problems was in the making but, for now, the lecturer of Harmony and Counterpoint was essentially interested in being part of this « élite » group of geniuses.

Bruckner never got drunk, but many observers believe too much beer precipitated the attack of his illness. When the doctors forbade all these harmless little pleasures, he complained bitterly. These were the only joys in life the modest fellow had left.

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The « Völkischer Beobachter » (the newspaper of the National-Socialist German Workers' Party) contributors provided a number of anecdotes to fill-out the picture of Bruckner as a naively « völkisch » genius, some of which involved



descriptions of his drinking habits. According to Josef Stolzing, the composer « definitely had one weakness : he loved to drink » . But the National-Socialist cultural critic did not seem to consider this much of a problem ; indeed, in one instance, he wrote without reservation about Bruckner vomiting after drinking excessively, complete with details about the nearby devotee who kept as a memento of this brush with « völkisch » genius a set of clothes which had been splattered by the composer.

### « Doctores medicinæ » : Doctor Alexander Fränkel tells us about Bruckner

Anton Bruckner wanted to be part of a circle of « real » doctors ; his project took an almost « institutional » proportion. He finally succeeded but still considered these people as « aliens » : they are of the Doctors in Medicine (« Doctores medicinæ ») .

In 1881, the Upper-Austrian compatriot, the anatomist Doctor Carl Rabl, introduced Anton Bruckner to the round-table of doctors which met regularly at the Restaurant of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » (run by inn-keeper Johann Benedickter) located near the Vienna General Hospital.

It is not surprising to see Bruckner in company of physicians discussing macabre and horrible topics like corpses and skulls. In this regard, he was able to obtain all the information he wanted from the medical profession. However, what Bruckner gained on the scientific level from these evenings at the « Riedhof » was small compared to the social benefit which he could draw from them.

One of the physicians, Doctor Alexander Fränkel, gave a detailed account of the importance that Bruckner gave to his friendly relationship with the doctors :

« On the other hand, the reason why Anton Bruckner was attracted to our Society table was not for academic reasons but for the pleasure of sharing an exquisite “ Pilsner ” beer (which was not a futile reason for him) . In terms of personal exchanges with Bruckner, it became more and more obvious that the human aspect was of the utmost importance. I believe that he was quite reluctant to oppose professional musicians (except when he was in company of his few loyal disciples who already admired him at that time) . Again and again, in his position as teacher, he insisted on the great satisfaction of exchanging with his young students, which he nicknamed his “ Gaudeamus ”. When sitting at our table, he embarrassed everyone with his great modesty ; again and again, he considered himself privileged, as a “ poor musician ”, to rub shoulders with kind, considerate and friendly educated people like us. He listened attentively to our medical discussions with most anxiety and sympathized with emotions with the people whose diseases, operations, etc. , were exposed. (...) When he sought medical instruction, Bruckner was, by no means, satisfied with light answers ; he wanted to be thoroughly informed, and so, illustrations were used most of the time to help, especially when it came to the anatomy. When we gave him the opportunity to explore inside of the human body, we opened-up a new world of which he had no clue ; however, Bruckner expressed a lively interest not only in our medical discussions (even if they were strictly academic) but also sought enlightenment in this sphere, he demonstrated great interest in all facets of knowledge ; to stay level, he asked us, erudite “ Areopagus ” (as we were often called) , many questions about the various intellectual issues of the day. That Bruckner had only a modest degree of what is

commonly called “ education ” must be readily admitted. His years of training did not had much to his intellectual development. But whoever knew him better soon realized how much intuitive and adaptive his mind was. Of course, he was not a writer ; but he was capable of understanding the outside-world, and what he could, as it were, learn peripatetically, he did so with great ease. Even though the sum of his knowledge was of no great importance, his intelligence was far superior to the average. »

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Original German text :

Anton Bruckners Bedürfnis, sich in den Kreis von « lauter Doktoren » aufgenommen zu sehen, nahm beinahe « institutionellen » Charakter an, sofern es ihm nämlich gelang, sich einer bestimmten species von Doktoren zu integrieren, die für ihn und für die er wahrlich « fachfremd » war : die « doctores medicinæ » . Im Restaurant « Riedhof » in der Josefstadt traf sich regelmäßig eine Tafelrunde von Ärzten, in die Bruckner 1881 von einem oberösterreichischen Landsmann, Doktor Carl Rabl aus der Anatomie, eingeführt wurde. Bruckner in einer solchen Gesellschaft zu finden, überrascht jedoch nicht mehr allzusehr, wenn man weiß, wie sehr ihn Makabres, Horribles, Anatomisches, Leichen, Totenschädel ... zu bannen vermochten. Diesbezüglich konnte er sich im Kreise der Mediziner jegliche Information verschaffen. Der wissenschaftliche Ertrag aus den Abenden im « Riedhof » war aber gering im Verhältnis zum gesellschaftlichen Gewinn, den Bruckner aus der Ärztterunde schöpfen konnte. Einer von ihnen, Doktor Alexander Fränkel, berichtet ausführlich und analysiert trefflich, was der freundschaftliche Umgang mit den Ärzten für Bruckner bedeutete :

« Was andererseits Anton Bruckner an unseren Tisch und diese ihm im Ganzen doch recht ferne stehende Gesellschaft anzog, war, ganz abgesehen von den recht banalen Motiven des ihm auch sonst angenehmen Lokales, in dem wir uns zusammenfanden, und der vielgerühmten Vorzüglichkeit des dort verzapften Pilsner-Bieres (das spielte ja bei Bruckner keine untergeordnete, ja eine nurallzugroße Rolle) vorallem der akademische Charakter der Gesellschaft, die er dort vorfand. Es erwies sich im intimeren Verkehr mit Bruckner immer deutlicher, einen wie großen Wert er in seinem Umgang gerade darauf legte. Ich glaube, daß er mit Berufsmusikern (die wenigen Jünger, die schon damals in verehrungsvoller Treue zu ihm hielten, ausgenommen) nur recht ungern verkehrte. Immer wieder betonte er die große Freude, die ihm seine Stellung als Lehrer an der Universität bereite und der Verkehr mit der akademischen Jugend, seinen “ Gaudeamus ”, wie ersie nannte. Er war als unser Tischgenosse uns gegenüber von einer geradezu peinlichen Bescheidenheit ; immer wieder glaubte er hervorheben zu müßen, daß er es sich zur großen Ehre anrechne, als “ armer Musikant ” von so “ gelehrten ” Herren so freundlich, rücksichtsvoll und freundschaftlich aufgenommen zu sein. Unseren medizinischen Gesprächen lauschte er mit gespanntester Aufmerksamkeit und mit rührendem teilnahmsvollen Interesse um die Menschen, von deren Krankheitszuständen, Operationen, etc. wir sprachen. (...) Bruckner gab sich, wenn er medizinische Belehrung suchte, keineswegs mit leichthin gegebener Auskunft zufrieden ; er wollte gründlich unterrichtet sein und so mußte oft genug, zumal wenn es sich um anatomische Information handelte, auch die Illustration helfen. Der ihm auf diese Weise vermittelte Einblick in den Bau des menschlichen Körpers eröffnete ihm förmlich eine neue Welt, von der er bis dahin auch nicht eine Ahnung hatte ; Bruckner bekundete aber nicht nur für unsere medizinischen Gespräche (auch dann, wenn sie streng wissenschaftlicher Art waren) lebhaftestes Interesse und

suchte auf diesem Gebiet in unserem Kreis Aufklärung, sondern war für alle Zweig edes Wissens von größter Aufnahmefähigkeit, und da er uns schon für seinen gelehrten Areopag hielt, waren wir oft berufen, so gut wir es eben konnten, gegenüber manchen Fragen Stand zu halten, die er den verschiedensten Zweigen der zeitgenössischen geistigen Bestrebungen entnahm. (...) Daß Bruckner über das, was man gemeinhin " Bildung " nennt, nur in bescheidenstem Maße verfügte, muß ohne weiteres zugegeben werden. Soweit Bildung mit Angelerntem identifiziert wird, konnte er ja seinem ganzen Entwicklungsgang nach nicht viel davon besitzen.

Wer ihn aber näher kannte, dem wurde es bald klar, wie sehr enweiterungsfähig sein geistiger Horizont und wie anpassungsfähig sein Intellekt war. Ein Büchhenssch war er freilich nicht ; er nahm aber verständnisvoll auf, was die Außenwelt seinen Sinn zuführte und was er gleichsam peripatetisch erlernen konnte, das eignete er sich mit großer Leichtigkeit an. Wenn auch die Summe des Wissens, das er mit sich führte, kein großes Gewicht hatte, so war seine Intelligenz eine die Durchschnittsbegabung weit überragende. »

### University of Vienna : Medical Faculty

As the founding member of the « Alma mater Rudolphina » (University of Vienna) founded in 1365, the Medical Faculty was already widely renowned in medieval times as an authority in medicine. Faculty records from as far back as 1399 document its mediation in disputes between barber surgeons, mid-wives, and local land-owners. During the reign of Maria Theresia, Viennese medicine first attained international significance. The Habsburg Monarch summoned the Dutch physician, Gerard van Swieten, to Vienna. He, in turn, laid the foundation for the Vienna Medical School and paved the way for other leading figures. Anton de Haen, Maximilian Stoll, Lorenz Gasser, Anton von Störck, and the discoverer of the percussion technique, Leopold Auenbrugger, all taught and conducted research in the Imperial City. Based on long-standing traditions, what now is referred to as « bedside teaching » also became the paradigmatic educational method during this period.

When the Vienna General Hospital opened in 1784, physicians acquired a new facility that gradually developed into the most important research centre. During the 19th Century, the « Second Viennese Medical School » emerged with the contributions of physicians such as Carl Rokitansky, Josef Škoda, Ferdinand von Hebra and Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis. Basic medical science expanded and specialization advanced. Furthermore, the first dermatology, eye, as well as otolaryngology clinics in the world were founded in Vienna.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Viennese Medicine belonged to the first-class internationally. Clemens von Pirquet defined the concepts of « allergy » and « serum sickness » , Ernst Peter Pick conducted significant experiments on the chemical specificity of immunological reactions, and the Vienna School of Dentistry (founded by Bernhard Gotlieb) reached its zenith in the 1920's. All 4 Nobel Prizes, which were granted to (former) Viennese physicians during the next decades (Robert Bárány (1914) , Julius Wagner-Jauregg (1927) , Karl Landsteiner (1930) , and Otto Loewi (1936)) were the result of work undertaken at this time. The excellent tradition and research extended well into the First Austrian Republic. Under the auspices of the Medical Association of Vienna, which was founded in Vienna, well-received post-graduate courses for doctors world-wide were organized into the 1930's.

With the annexation of Austria by National-Socialist Germany (« Anschluß ») , on 13 March 1938, the darkest phase in Viennese medicine began. More than half of the University medical instructors, mostly those of Jewish descent, and 65 % of Viennese physicians were dismissed. Many renowned researchers, physicians, and students were forced to emigrate or died in concentration camps and under other tragic circumstances.

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The Vienna Faculty of Medicine has been in existence since the foundation of the University in 1365. It was in the reign of Maria Theresia that it first achieved world-wide significance. It attracted Boerhaave's pupil Gerard van Swieten from Leyden to Vienna, and it was he who reformed the teaching of medicine and laid the foundations of the « First Vienna School of Medicine » . It was home to such distinguished figures as Anton de Haen, Maximilian Stoll, Lorenz Gasser, Anton von Störck and Leopold von Auenbrugger - the inventor of (anatomical) percussion. From this time on, particular importance was attached to bedside teaching.

...

The quality of medical training attracted students to Vienna from all over Europe, whether already established figures or unknowns such as the young Arthur Conan Doyle who came to improve his knowledge of ophthalmology. All flocked to the city to seek inspiration from the world's greatest specialists and attend daring and innovative surgery.

In 1841, the German physician Carl August Wunderlich reported :

« There was always something to learn in Vienna ; you saw things there that you would have looked for in vain elsewhere. »

The image of Viennese excellence leap-frogged frontiers, in particular into France where the physician Théophile de Valcourt published his « Impressions of a traveling physician » in the « Gazette Médicale de Paris » :

« Every educated Frenchman should prepare for the future by learning German and getting to know Germany ; in our current circumstances, should we not be giving preference to the “ Vienna School ” and requiring French students to undertake part of their training there ? »

Although this view was somewhat one-sided, in so far as both Paris and Berlin could claim to challenge the hegemony of the « Vienna School » , it reflected the historic rise of the capital of « Mittel-Europa » that, within a few decades, had become a mandatory stop on every aspiring physician's career trajectory.

### Illustrious pariah : Franz Anton Mesmer

While the Academy showered some physicians with honours, it cast others into the wilderness for their novel and anti-conformist ideas. The history of Viennese medicine is also that of the celebrated pariahs whose names remain as intimately associated with the Imperial Capital as those of their glorious colleagues, along with a strong whiff of

scandal. Franz Anton Mesmer remains without doubt the most scandalous of these physicians. On his death in 1815, at the dawn of the 19th Century, he left behind the foundations of a new discipline, at the interface between the science of the occult and psychology, which was to spread across the whole of Europe.

Before becoming the disruptive prophet of magnetism and the darling of Paris salons, Mesmer had made every effort to obtain the recognition of his peers. When he defended his doctoral dissertation at Vienna University's Faculty of Medicine, on 27 May 1766, he did so before a committee chaired by the celebrated Gerard van Swieten, the Dutch physician whom Empress Maria Theresa had brought in to re-organize medical education. Mesmer, thus, placed himself under the protection of the father of the « First Vienna School », obtaining the seal of his scientific authority for the ideas expounded in « De planetarum influxu in corpus humanum » (On the influence of the planets on the human body) . This physico-medical work on the influence of the planets heralded his subsequent research direction, but it wasn't until the end of the Century that Mesmer established the doctrine of animal magnetism, stating that « man possesses properties similar to that of magnets » .

This prompted his break from the « Vienna School » whose physicians poured scorn on his miracle cures and compared his treatments to conjuring shows. Mesmer was deeply bitter in 1777 on leaving faithless Vienna for libertarian Paris.

2 years later, on looking-back over this painful period in his « Mémoire sur ses Découvertes » , he described himself as the victim of jealous colleagues :

« The first cures achieved in some patients regarded as incurable aroused envy and even produced ingratitude, ... such that many physicians banded together to bury or, at least, pour scorn on the discoveries that I made in this field : I was accused on all sides of being an impostor. »

Mesmer was to spend his life trying to achieve scientific status for his doctrine, and continued to express his need for recognition by presenting himself as a « Doctor of Medicine from the Faculty of Vienna » .

### The « Mecca » of Medicine

Viennese medicine reached a pinnacle in the 19th Century. It was the embodiment of the Habsburg Empire and drew its strength from the Empire's multi-cultural base. Its leading figures (those writ large in its history) converged on the capital from the 4 corners of the Empire to endow the School of Medicine with international influence.

Jean-Paul Bled summed-up the concentration of minds in his « History of Vienna » :

« Bohemia and Moravia contributed the pathologist Carl Rokitansky and the internist Josef Škoda. ... The obstetrician Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis came from Hungary, and Józef Dietl from Galicia. ... The great surgeon Theodor Billroth arrived from Prussia 1 year after Sadowa ; the psychiatrist Theodor Meynert, a precursor of Sigmund Freud, came from Dresden. »

...

The Vienna General Hospital, which was opened in 1784, together with its various clinics gradually became the most important centre for medical research in Vienna. The many great figures who worked here established the world-wide reputation of the « Second Vienna School of Medicine » in the 19th Century.

Particularly important were the following :

Carl Rokitansky (1804-1878) , Josef Škoda (1805-1881) , Ferdinand von Hebra (1816-1880) , Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis (1818-1865) , Ludwig Türck (1810-1868) , Johann Nepomuk Czermak (1828-1873) , Leopold von Dittel (1815-1898) , Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) , Hermann Nothnagel (1841-1905) , Rudolf Chrobak (1843-1910) , Adolf Lorenz (1854-1946) , as well as the winners of the Nobel Prize for Medicine Karl Landsteiner (1868-1940) , Robert Bárány (1876-1936) and Julius Wagner-Jauregg (1857-1940) .

(Original lithograph in the Archive of the University of Vienna.) The Professors of the Vienna Faculty of Medicine (1849-1850) :

Portraits of some of the most important professors of the Vienna Medical School of the 19th Century.

From left to right, seated : Dumreicher, Škoda, Rokitansky, Rosas, Schuh.

Standing : Dlauhy, Hebra, Helm, Oppoltzer, Brücke, Haller, Unger, Redtenbacher, Sigmund, Hyrtl.

The University of Vienna achieved world-wide recognition in this period in the area of medical research. Almost all of those portrayed here were of influence in the school.

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The Vienna of the time exerted un-precedented influence as the embodiment not only of the artistic « avant-garde » , but also of scientific progress, thanks to its renowned University. Its star shone with a special brightness in medicine, to the extent that none other than the Berlin anatomist Rudolf Virchow labeled it the « Mecca of Medicine » . The pagan « Mecca » , visited by pilgrim physicians from all over the world, played host to a succession of the most eminent practitioners of modern medicine.

...

In the 19th Century, the heart of medical science beat strongest in Vienna, described by the anatomist Rudolf Virchow as « the Mecca of Medicine » . Its University exerted international influence thanks to talent drawn from all corners of the Habsburg Empire. This period was the high-point of the « Second Vienna School » , personified by Carl von Rokitansky and Josef Škoda, who drilled the Imperial Capital in the doctrine of « therapeutic nihilism » . Their approach sought to re-invent medical knowledge from the bottom up. It went hand in hand with a distrust of the pharmaceutical remedies available at the time, which they dismissed as ineffective. Although they attracted criticism and were accused of favouring science over their patients, Rokitansky and Škoda were the key-contributors to the School's

renown, along with Theodor Billroth who laid the foundations of modern surgery in the city. But Vienna offered little welcome to certain other innovators, forcing Franz Anton Mesmer, the inventor of animal magnetism, into exile, attacking the work of Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, and driving Ignaz Semmelweis, the founder of hospital hygiene, to an early death. Spanning the spectrum between light and darkness, Viennese medicine was also an inspiration to writers and artists, in particular to the former doctor Arthur Schnitzler, and a recurrent reference for the paintings of Gustav Klimt. Pioneering, bold, and riven by scandal, the « Second School » made Vienna the scientific capital of « Mittel-Europa » .

...

The Viennese medicine of the 19th Century excelled not only in its technical prowess and innovations, but also in its ideology, which became so characteristic of its practitioners that it served as their signature. Known as « therapeutische Nihilismus » (therapeutic nihilism) , the method defined the « Second Vienna School » under the leadership of Carl von Rokitansky and Josef Škoda. The « First School » had laid the foundations of the method at the end of the 18th Century thanks to the reforms of Gerard van Swieten and the emphasis on diagnosis. The influence of Schopenhauer's « Naturphilosophie » was also visible in the deep skepticism expressed by the Viennese physicians toward the pharmacological treatments available at the time. Instead, they advocated non-intervention, trusting in Nature's powers of recovery. This shifted the therapeutic vocation of medicine temporarily into the background, in favour of an over-riding concern to first understand how the human body worked before seeking to heal it.

The words of Józef Dietl, a pioneer urologist and fervent advocate of therapeutic nihilism neatly sum-up the change in emphasis :

« While the “ old school ” carried on therapy before engaging in research, the “ new school ” began researching in order to be able to understand therapy. ... Our strength lies in knowledge, not in action. »

Up until the « Age of Enlightenment » , diagnosis had been based mainly on Hippocratic signs and symptoms. In the 19th Century, it was dethroned by the modern science of morbid anatomy that introduced radical change by shifting the physician's gaze from the bedside to the autopsy-room. Rokitansky was said to have performed around 85,000 autopsies by 1844 when a chair of morbid anatomy was established in Vienna.

The names of Viennese physicians live on in eponymous conditions such as « Mayer-Rokitansky-Küster-Hauser » (MRKH) syndrome (« Müllerian agenesis ») in gynecology.

But at the time, they were celebrated primarily for their doctrine of therapeutic nihilism, as described by William M. Johnston in « The Austrian Mind » :

« By 1850, skepticism toward traditional therapy had so taken root that the only medicament used in the General Hospital was cherry brandy. For fear of distorting symptoms, doctors refused to prescribe any remedies. »

It may be surprising that the most eminent specialists should have concentrated less on the patient than on building

up a body of knowledge, but their approach served the purpose of medical progress as it sought to shake-off the traditional remedies that had been in use for Centuries with nothing but un-questioning belief in their favour :

« A profusion of clinical evidence, including the rarest maladies, encouraged Vienna's physicians to exploit observation as a tool for exploding medical myths. »

However, even in the 19th Century, the proponents of therapeutic nihilism themselves came under attack, in particular from 2 celebrated figures : the biologist Ernst Hæckel and physiologist Hermann Helmholtz.

The latter was scathing in his criticism of the cruelty of Josef Škoda, whom he accused of instrumentalizing patients for the greater good of science :

« And one degraded the patient who was, after all, a human being, and disgraced him, as if he were a machine. »

Even foreign observers were taken aback by his insensitivity, as shown in the « Journal de Médecine, de Chirurgie et de Pharmacologie » published by the Brussels Society of Medical and Natural Sciences in 1858 :

« Rarely, if ever, has medicine seen as absolute or as fervent a doubter. ... On the 28 sick in his care (or rather on his long-suffering patients) , he deploys a succession of all the most traditional and vaunted medicines, and do you know to what end ? ... With the sole intention of demonstrating to his students that all these medicines are in every case completely ineffective. »

Although therapeutic nihilism came to be called into question in the second half of the Century, it remained intimately associated with the « Vienna School » , characterizing the fields not only of clinical medicine and morbid anatomy, but also of surgery, whose undisputed champion was Theodor Billroth.

According to the « Father of modern surgery » :

« Reliance on excising a diseased part accorded with stress on pathological anatomy and skepticism toward drugs. »

Billroth was a pioneer in the history of surgical science, performing the first total laryngectomy and undertaking a number of cancer resections that had never previously been attempted, such as partial cystectomy via a supra-pubic approach. His prodigies on the operating table helped push-back the frontiers of human knowledge and caused the « Vienna School » to shine evermore brightly in the scientific firmament.

### Illustrious pariahs : Freud and Semmelweis

Sigmund Freud offers a similar instance of the mixed attraction and repulsion aroused by the city of Vienna in someone faced with the hostility of his peers. The Austrian capital may well pride itself today on having been the birthplace of psychoanalysis, but it was not always so welcoming to Freud's theories and showed its hostility on several levels :



« In infancy, it was Vienna that dragged him away from the green paradise of Freiberg ; in adolescence, it exposed him to anti-Semitic hostility ; during his engagement, it kept him back from Martha in Hamburg ; during his years of research, it withheld the scientific recognition he craved. »

Freud was at University in the second half of the 19th Century in an era when the Medical School was personified by Škoda, Rokitansky, and Billroth. Although he too went through a period of therapeutic nihilism in his youth while training in the various departments of Vienna's General Hospital, he was to develop his approach to the treatment of mental disorders in opposition to the prevailing orthodoxy. At a time when psychiatric patients were condemned to trepanation or to confinement in the « Fools' Tower » (« Narrenturm ») , Freud's preference for a talking-cure over the trephine led to him being outcast by his colleagues.

His fate bears astonishing resemblance to that of Franz Anton Mesmer in that it was in Paris that he too sought refuge from the sustained hostility. In Vienna, Freud's professor Theodor Meynert, who headed the department of psychiatry, looked down on his work, whereas in the Parisian medical world, Freud found fresh prospects beckoning. In 1885, he trained in hypnosis under Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière Hospital and began translating his works for the benefit of his compatriots. Yet, when he returned to Vienna the following year and presented a report on male-hysteria to the Society of physicians, he found himself, once again, the butt of criticism and ridicule. As a man of science, he experienced frustration on 2 levels : not only were his innovative theories treated with scorn, but he was kept pinned down to the post of « Dozent » , unable to advance higher up the university ladder. Freud also took it as evidence of the anti-Semitism rife throughout the Medical School, scathingly portrayed on stage by Arthur Schnitzler in « Professor Bernhadi » , and that was eventually to drive him into exile in 1938.

Freud managed to survive Vienna and his colleagues' hostility, but not everyone in the 19th Century was so lucky. Despite revolutionary discoveries that were to transform clinical practice and the history of medicine, Ignaz Semmelweis fell victim to the City. His fate was sealed in 1846 when, as a young Master of surgery, he joined Professor Johann Klein's department of obstetrics at the Vienna General Hospital. He was astonished to observe that the mortality of young mothers was much higher in this department than in the adjoining department of Professor Bartsch. He eventually worked out why. After various experiments, he established that it was the medical students training under Professor Klein who were passing fatal infections on to the patients : by going straight from the autopsy-room to the labour-ward, they were spreading the puerperal fever that caused the young mothers to flee the hospital, sometimes even to deliver in the street. By making the students wash their hands in chlorinated lime solution, Semmelweis significantly decreased the mortality rate. Yet, his colleagues remained skeptical and maintained that his hand-washing protocol was too restrictive in practice. But, in reality, just as with Mesmer and Freud, Semmelweis was challenging the doctrine of therapeutic nihilism, thereby, blocking all hope of future promotion. Even the support he received from his fellow-Hungarian, Josef Škoda, proved of no avail in preventing his disgrace.

Following this bitter failure, Semmelweis left Vienna for Budapest, entrusting his colleague Professor Ferdinand von Hebra with the job of publishing his research in the « Journal de la Société Impériale et Royale de Médecine » , which the professor duly did, not without some errors. It was only in 1861 that Semmelweis himself put pen to paper to lay the foundation of modern aseptic technique in his book « Die Ätiologie, der Begriff und die Prophylaxis des

Kindbettfiebers » (Etiology, concept and prophylaxis of child-bed fever) .

In 1862, in an open-letter to professors of obstetrics in Vienna, he gave vent to his anger and bitterness :

« I would be committing a crime if I kept silent any longer and did not publish the results of my experience. I have the intimate conviction that, since 1847, thousands of women and children have died who would still be alive had I not kept silent. »

Semmelweis succumbed to depression and mental illness before dying in 1865 at the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Bründlfeld ») located on « Lazarettgasse » (« Landes-Irren-Anstalt in der Lazarettgasse ») . Modern history books often refer to Semmelweis as a « Viennese obstetrician » , but it is important to remember that he paid for this title with his life.

### Vienna : General Hospital

#### For the benefit and comfort of the sick

Based on the model of the French central hospital « Hôtel Dieu » in Paris, which Josef II had come across in the course of his travels, the poor-house in Vienna was now to be rebuilt as a General Hospital. In fact, the construction of a large-scale hospital was hotly debated at the time. The high-risk of infection and the « hospital fever » , of which many patients in the Paris Central Hospital died, alarmed the Viennese doctors, and, for this reason, they argued repeatedly for small hospitals. The « Hôtel Dieu » , at that time, could accommodate 5,000 sick people in some 1,200 beds, which meant that 3 or 4 people had to share so-called « large beds » . Josef II, who was aware of these circumstances, was concerned to ensure that each patient had his or her own bed. When the General Hospital was opened in 1784, there were 2,000 beds available for patients. The General Hospital was, therefore, one of the largest and most modern hospitals in Europe.

With this medical institution, the transition was completed in Austria from the fragmented church and civic provision to a system of health-care organized centrally by the State. The hospital was open to all, and the payment of sickness benefit led to social differentiation into a 1st, 2nd and 3rd class of patient. For the last of these, a minimum level of hygiene was guaranteed. The General Hospital, on its central site, now incorporated 5 divisions : the General Infirmary, the Maternity and Foundling Home, the Asylum, and the Houses for Incurables, which were a type of quarantine station designed to protect the population from infectious diseases and possible epidemics.

...

A stroll through the Vienna's Old General Hospital is a journey through more than 200 years of medical history. Almost all the greatest medical discoveries took place at the « General » . Anonymous births were also possible here since the opening of the hospital in the 18th Century.

The Old General Hospital is a unique ensemble of 10 court-yards and gardens, built between the 17th and the 19th Centuries. In 1993, its last medical wards moved into the « new » General Hospital. Both hospitals are in Vienna's 9th District, the traditional « medical and hospital District » of the city.

In 1988, the city of Vienna, owner of the old hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus », or AKH), presented it to the Austrian State provided that it was preserved and restored. After years of renovation, the « Allgemeines Krankenhaus » has recovered its former splendour and white faces, while its wards and medical departments were turned into lecture-rooms, libraries, and institutes. The dedication by Emperor Franz-Josef, « Saluti et Solatio ægrorum » (« To the healing and alleviation of the sick »), still hangs over the arch of the Classical front-gates. These open on the main-yard where an impressive statue of Doctor Theodor Billroth, Vienna's most famous surgeon of the 19th Century, welcomes visitors. His famous clinic was located at court-yard Number 1.

The old « Allgemeines Krankenhaus » now also hosts shops and restaurants, including a small brewery and typical « Schanigarten » serving wine and beer. It is an excellent example of reuse of a disused hospital as well as an addition to the city's unique and prestigious medical heritage.

### Wisconsin : Michael Ruckengruber

In the 19th Century, the city of Milwaukee was called « German-Athens » because of the many people who came from Germany and also Austria to live in the state of Wisconsin. Of course, they brought with them not only their beer but also their culture and music, including a knowledge of Anton Bruckner.

In St. Florian, Anton Bruckner got to know a priest from Upper-Austria who had been living in the state of Wisconsin since 1866. Bruckner probably asked the priest, whose name was Michael Ruckengruber, to establish contacts in the United States on his behalf, and Ruckengruber duly obliged.

Ruckengruber wrote about the possibility of publishing or performing Bruckner Symphonies in Milwaukee.

Back in Wisconsin, Ruckengruber wrote :

« Therefore, I went at the first opportunity to one of the leading music businesses in Milwaukee in order to discuss your Symphonies. The name of Bruckner was already well-known to the owner of the music-shop. »

**Before Tuesday, 8 November 1881** : Letter from Michael Ruckengruber to Anton Bruckner :

Ruckengruber recalls their meeting in St. Florian during last summer (Thursday, 25 August to Thursday, 1 September 1881) .

Publisher William Rohlfing had already known about Bruckner through one of his pupils, a certain Walker.

Ruckengruber asks Bruckner to send him one of his scores and also newspaper articles about the « Musikverein » . He will encourage « Musikdirektor » Eugen Luening to perform it.

Ruckengruber informs Bruckner that music doctorates are granted by the University of Philadelphia.

Emil Knotzer, the editor of the Milwaukee « Seebote » (Messenger) newspaper, who also knew from Bruckner, will be informed in this respect after November 8 (Election Day) .

What can be learnt from this special letter ?

It is a very good example of how much information such a document can contain. It has prompted a study of musical life in Milwaukee in the 19th Century, which was dominated by the German inhabitants. There were also close contacts between the diocese of Linz and Milwaukee. Friedrich Katzer, the third Archbishop of Milwaukee, was born in Upper-Austria. This letter shows that there are probably more documents in existence in the United States and elsewhere.

There were no performances of Bruckner's music in Milwaukee until 1897, one year after the composer's death, when the « Musikverein » performed his « Te Deum » (WAB 45) .

According to the « Süddeutsche Zeitung » newspaper (7 November 2000, page 2) : since 1845, « Election Day » took place on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

William Rohlfing (1830-1908) , from Osnabruck, established his Milwaukee music-publishing firm in 1878 and published both Classical and Salon music by American and European composers. Milwaukee composers such as Hugo Kaun, Eugen Luening, Christoph Bach, Joseph Clauder, and Charles K. Harris were all represented in the Rohlfing catalog.

Rohlfing's firm had strong connections to European music-publishers. It is common on a Rohlfing publication to see a second imprint, particularly from a Leipzig music-publisher, indicating that the music was simultaneously published and distributed in Germany.

### Anton Meißner at the University

**December 1881** : Anton Meißner meets Anton Bruckner at the University of Vienna.

### The « Ringtheater » fire

**Thursday, 8 December 1881** : Anton Bruckner witnesses the greatest incendiary catastrophe in the history of the city of Vienna. And he probably thanked the « Providence » , despite the post-traumatic effect !

Thursday is a day of celebration : the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. In the evening, the Opera of the Court is presenting the second performance of « The Tales of Hoffmann » by Jacques Offenbach. The night before,

Johann Strauß (aged 56) had attended the premiere.

Sigmund Freud has tickets for tonight's performance.

Bruckner also holds 2 tickets but rather decides to stay home. He doesn't feel well enough (migraine ?) , and also dislike the work. So, he changes his mind at the last minute.

(As Bruckner will later tell his sister, Rosalia Hueber, he did not go to the Theatre as planned because of the program change.)

Shortly before the beginning of the Opera, fire breaks-out on stage.

From his window at the « Hôtel de France » next by, Bruckner sees the stage collapsing in the blaze.

A striking entry in his diary describes the scene with choking horror :

« On both sides, numerous corpses. Most between the second and third floors. »

At **7:00 pm**, the collapse of a wall forces to suspend the operations of debris removal.

Among the dead are Heinrich Nachod and his wife, an uncle of Mary Vetsera, aunt and uncle of Arnold Schönberg (aged 7, at the time) . Their 2 children will be adopted by the Schönbergs.

A Red Cross wagon carries corpses and body parts. At this point, Bruckner comes down to take a closer look at the relief operations and the clearance of the dead.

At **7:05 pm**, the first fire-fighters arrive with their ladders and manage to save a large number of persons. Drapes are stretched under the windows. More than 60 people jump from the third floor.

More horse-drawn fire-wagons arrive at full-speed and crush several citizens who are part of the large crowd surrounding the Theatre.

Some fire-fighters try to get inside. Since the doors open inward, they must first remove bodies that are blocking the exits. These victims have suffocated during the commotion without being able to escape.

Many of those who were injured could have been saved, but ultimately died of their burns and of smoke intoxication because no medical aid was available at the scene of the fire.

The fire brigade also realize very quickly the need to protect the neighbouring buildings - like the Vienna Stock-Exchange on the « Ringstraße » (« Schottenring » Number 16) . On his part, Bruckner is very worried about all his

musical manuscripts (his only treasure !) laying inside the apartment.

Between 386 and 436 deaths, of which 180 by defenestration.

The bodies are laid-out in the court-yard of the Main Police Station on the « Schottenring » nearby.

Later, municipal workers transport them to the Vienna General Hospital in horse-drawn carriages and on stretchers. The number of family members is so great that the soldiers and the police must ensure public order.

At the time of the tragedy, Emperor Franz-Josef is at his summer residence in Gödöllő, Hungary. Learning the news, he rushes back to Vienna. The city now enters a great period of mourning.

Living alone, Bruckner is fortunate that 2 of his pupils, who came from his own part of Austria, went to see him and stayed until morning. One of them is Josef Vockner's brother-in-law, Richard Schönberger.

« I shall never, ever forget it ! » , he would say whenever speaking of the horror of that night.

The next day, with a child-like mixture of fear and curiosity, Bruckner goes to the mortuary at the police station and views the dreadfully maimed victims. He becomes « abnormally over-excited » ...

**Between Thursday, 8 December 1881 and Monday, 12 December 1881** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) :

The correspondence essentially focuses on the tragedy of the « Ringtheater » .

**Friday, 9 December 1881** : Anton Bruckner visits the corpses at the police station.

**Sunday, 11 December 1881** : Letter (correspondence-card) from Anton Bruckner to his brother-in-law Johann Hueber :

Due to the proximity of his apartment, Bruckner tells his brother-in-law that he is still horrified by the tragedy.

After that inferno, Bruckner was afraid of fire. He would no longer use a petroleum lamp for fear of an explosion, and would only burn candles. When going-out in the evening, he would put the candle out very carefully and dash back into his room a couple of times to check that the wick had stopped smouldering. It took a longish period of recuperation in St. Florian to restore his equanimity.

...

The « Ringtheater » was a popular theatre in Vienna. It was located at « Schottenring » Number 7, on the northern stretch of the « Ringstraße » in the 1st District. It was destroyed in a fire, in 1881, and, today, the site is the federal

headquarters of police for Vienna.

The « Ringtheater » was built between 1872 and 1874 by Heinrich von Förster, following plans by Emil Ritter. It opened on January 17, 1874, under the direction of Albin Swoboda senior as an « Opéra-Comique », antithetical to the « seriousness » of the Vienna State Opera, then called the Court Opera (« Hofoper »). However, in September 1878, the focus was shifted to spoken plays, German and Italian Opera and variety, and the name was changed to the « Ringtheater ».

Given that the foot-print of the theatre was small (and the theatre was intended to hold an audience of 1,700), the architect was forced to build high, but with disastrous consequences. On December 8, 1881, a fire broke-out shortly before a performance of Jacques Offenbach's Comic-Opera « Les Contes d'Hoffmann ». The so-called « Ringtheaterbrand » (« Ringtheater » Fire) totally destroyed the theatre, and killed at least 384, according to official figures. (The following year, a new law was passed, regarding the outfitting and safety provisions, including safety curtains, outwards-opening doors and fire-proofing of the set.)

A so-called « Sühnhaus » was built on the site of the « Ringtheater », out of the Emperor's private funds; it was a private residence, which supported worthy causes. This was badly damaged, in 1945, and eventually fell-down, in 1951; between 1969 and 1974, an office block was erected on the site, in which the federal headquarters for police, in Vienna, and the general inspectorate of the federal security guards, and the now police commandos are housed. The fire is commemorated on a plaque situated on the west-side of the Austrian Federal Police Headquarters, Vienna section (« Bundespolizeidirektion Wien ») built from 1969 to 1974. The Attic style statues, which had stood on the pilasters, are now in the « Pötzleinsdorfer Schloßpark ».

...

The « Ringtheater » was unveiled on January 17th, 1874, as the « Wiener Theater », an « Opéra-Comique », providing a counterpoint to the seriousness of the « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofoperntheater » (later called, the « Wiener Staatsoper »). In September 1878, however, the artistic focus of the « Wiener Theater » shifted to spoken plays, German and Italian Opera, and Variety, and it was renamed the « Ringtheater ».

Given that the foot-print of the « Ringtheater » was small and that the building was intended to hold an audience of 1,700, the architect Emil von Förster (1838-1909) was forced to build high and narrow, but with disastrous consequences. On **December 8, 1881**, a fire broke-out shortly before a performance of Jacques Offenbach's Comic-Opera « Les Contes d'Hoffmann ». Known, thereafter, as the « Ringtheaterbrand », it gutted the building within a few hours, killing at least 384 people in the process.

The cause of the fire remains a mystery, although it is known that the stage lamps were lit at 6:45 pm, while the curtain was still down, in readiness for the performance to begin. Perhaps, one of these lamps, which could raise the temperature of wooden stage scenery to 70 C° (Celsius) was to blame? For reasons unknown, the safety curtain was not lowered and the flames burst quickly out into the front seats. In the ensuing panic, the theatre's telegraph system

was not used to summon the fire brigade, nor were the water taps on the stage activated.

At this point, what began as a manageable accident turned quickly into a human catastrophe. So, as not to quicken the spread of the fire, the management switched-off the flickering gas jets, which were used for illumination in theatres, at the time. The emergency oil lighting, in the narrow and windowless hallways, which led to the theatre's 4 galleries, had been left inoperable after recent repair work. Those trying to escape the flames were consequently plunged into darkness.

Whilst most of the performers were able to make their escape through the back of the building, the terrified theatre-goers stumbled « en masse » towards the exit on « Schottenring » . Here, they became trapped, since the main-doors only opened inwards. The scene was horrific, as recorded later in gruesome detail by the world's press. With the doors firmly closed and the fire raging behind them, those that didn't succumb to the flames were soon asphyxiated.

Within an hour, the building was like a furnace, fuelled by the lavish internal decorations that were made of highly-combustible light wood and « papier-mâché » . The upper-most gallery, containing the cheapest seats, had no windows opening directly outside, so rescue by ladder was impossible. By contrast, some 50 people from the more exclusive first floor gallery were saved by their jumping from the windows onto sheets held-out by the fire brigade, on the pavement below. Here, a surreal scene was unfolding as bodies slowly piled-up and it began to snow.

By 11:30 pm, only the outside walls of the theatre remained standing. By this time, those still unaccounted for had undoubtedly been reduced to cinders. Bizarrely, the ornate façade of the theatre, with its confident statues of theatrical muses, was still intact. It is a little-known fact that these Classical-style statues were later taken-down and used to adorn the « Pötzleinsdorfer Schloßpark » , where they can still be found today.

As the « Ringtheater » burned, Emperor Franz-Josef I was at his Hungarian summer residence, in Gödöllő. Upon hearing the shocking news, he rushed back to Vienna and the city went into a period of deep mourning. In the immediate aftermath of the fire, the pioneer of modern forensic pathology, Eduard von Hofmann, a professor at the University of Vienna, was brought in to examine the bodies. His autopsies deemed carbon monoxide poisoning to be the primary cause of many of the deaths.

Those who had lost family members were offered financial assistance, and a considerable amount of money was raised at the city's Stock-Exchange (« Börse ») , which stood almost directly opposite the burned-out ruins. The Imperial family also contributed and, in time a so-called « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement) was built on the former theatre site at the Emperor's expense. Used for charitable purposes, it was demolished in 1951, after being damaged during the Second World War, and was replaced by Vienna's Federal Police Headquarters (a plaque commemorating the « Ringtheater » fire can be seen on the building, today) .

Blame for the failure to halt the « Ringtheater » fire and for not saving more lives was laid at the feet of 2 men. One of them, the « Ringtheater's » newly-ennobled director, Franz Jauner, was held responsible for the lack of emergency oil lighting and for failing to keep the theatre's fire buckets filled. The Emperor stripped him of his title



(awarded for directing the « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofoperntheater » , between 1875 and 1880) and had him thrown into prison for 3 months. Returning to the theatre, in later life, Jauner eventually shot himself after falling victim to financial mismanagement.

The second potentially guilty party was the Austrian Prime Minister and chief of secret police, Count Eduard von Taaffe. Ironically, he had ordered an investigation into the safety of all Vienna's theatrical venues, following the burning of the « Théâtre Royal » in Nice (France) , on March 1881.

That particular fire, which had been caused by a faulty gas main, had claimed the lives of 92 people. Von Taaffe's report concluded that existing building and fire regulations in Vienna were woefully inadequate. Numerous urgent improvements were deemed necessary : emergency exits should be clearly marked and fitted with emergency oil lighting, in the event of the gas supply being switched-off ; the wire-mesh safety curtain (made today of iron) separating the stage from the auditorium should be lowered at all times, except during rehearsals and performance ; separate gas mains should be used for the stage and for the auditorium ; and all doors serving as exits for the audience should open outwards. By the time of the « Ringtheater » fire, it was clear that not all of these improvements had been instigated.

Von Taaffe's recommendations finally became law, in 1882, and were emulated in theatres around the globe. At the same time, Vienna's network of fire alarms and water-hydrants was improved, and outward opening-doors became common-place in all buildings accessible to the public, from the grandest of theatres to the most modest of corner-shops. To some of today's visitors from outside continental Europe, this author included, outward swinging-doors are still quite a novelty to behold.

The effect of these new regulations was felt quickly. On 16th May 1884, for example, the « Wiener Stadttheater » set alight and its interior was gutted. A proposal to rebuild a theatre on the same site was refused by the Lower-Austrian authorities, on the basis of the new fire regulations : in this case, the access to the site was not deemed good enough. Consequently, in March 1887, the ruin was sold to Anton Ronacher, who built an eponymously-named concert-hall and ball-room, on the site, with tables where the theatre stalls had once been. Similarly, when Vienna's « Volkstheater » was unveiled, in 1889, the new regulations were clearly reflected in the architecture of the building, which was given an isolated site and exhibited a clear structural separation between auditorium and stage, which were given separate roofs. The « Volkstheater » also featured a fire-proofed iron stage and electric lighting.

By 1908, the improved situation in Europe even warranted an article in the « New York Times » , bemoaning the fact that the cities of the « New World » were suffering more fires each month than those of London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in 6 months. Regarding Vienna, it stated the following :

« There is no case known in this city where a conflagration has extended beyond the building in which it originated, and even hardly any cases are known where a fire extended beyond the floor on which it originated. This is prevented by the solidity of the buildings, by strict fire regulations, and by a pretty well-trained Fire Department.

“ Why Should America Have So Many More Disastrous Fires Than Europe ? ” »

(« New York Times » , 1908.)

It would be another 3 decades, and the appearance of Allied bombers in the skies over the city, before well-built Vienna and its well-trained firemen would again face the threat of destruction by fire.

### Eduard von Hofmann

A short distance past the station « Schottentor » , a memorial plaque at « Schottenring » Number 7, on the left-hand side of the « Ring » , commemorates one of the great fire catastrophes of the 19th Century. In the « Ringtheater » that once stood at this spot, on 8 December 1881, shortly before a performance of Jacques Offenbach's Comic-Opera « The Tales of Hoffmann » , a fault in the electro-pneumatic ignition system for the gas lighting started an appalling fire. The number of dead was estimated at over 400. In identifying the corpses, the forensic doctor Eduard von Hofmann (under whom Viennese forensic medicine achieved a leading position in the world) used modern methods such as examining the teeth of the victims. The charred head of a victim of the « Ringtheater » fire is still kept today in the Museum of Forensic Medicine, in Vienna, and a further one is exhibited in the Crime Museum in the « Leopoldstadt » . Hofmann's suspicion that, in many cases, the victims of a fire die through poisoning by smoke rather than burning could be proved through these corpses. He also succeeded in proving the existence of carbon monoxide (CO) in the blood of the victims. For forensic medicine, this was a most important discovery. In the case of a murder after which the body of the victim is burned, it could now be proved that, if there was no carbon monoxide in the blood, the victim had already been dead before being burned, or, on the other hand, if carbon monoxide was found in the blood then this showed that victim had been burned while still alive. This catastrophe brought with it a new awareness, not just for the field of forensic medicine. In addition to changes to the building regulations concerning Theatres and Opera Houses - the fire curtain and emergency lighting became compulsory items and, since then, entrance doors always have to open outwards the shock caused by this disaster led to the establishment of the « Wiener freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft » (Viennese Voluntary Rescue Society) .

...

The Austrian physician Eduard (Ritter) von Hofmann was born on 27 January 1837 and died on 27 August 1897 in Opatija. A native of Prague, he was a pioneer of modern forensic pathology.

In 1861, he earned his medical doctorate at Charles University, in Prague, and, in 1869, became a professor of « Staatsarzneikunde » (State Medical Research) at the University of Innsbruck. He obtained this position with assistance from Carl Rokitansky (1804-1878) . In 1875, he became a professor of forensic medicine at the University of Vienna.

Hofmann is remembered for his diligent work in development of forensic medicine as a separate scientific entity. He is credited for introducing and expanding methodologies such as microscopy, spectroscopy and laboratory animal experimentation into forensic medicine, at Vienna. He wrote 2 important books : « Lehrbuch für gerichtliche Medizin »

(Textbook of Forensic Medicine) ; and « Atlas der gerichtlichen Medizin » (Atlas of Forensic Medicine) ; both of which have been translated into different languages.

Hofmann was instrumental in autopsy studies of the nearly 400 victims who perished at the Viennese « Ringtheater » fire which happened on December 8, 1881, where carbon monoxide poisoning was deemed to be an underlying cause of death. Also, he conducted the report on the controversial death of Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria (1858-1889) at Mayerling.

With Hermann Reinhard (1816-1892) , Eduard von Hofmann was one of the founders of forensic entomology.

...

Following the example of Vienna, a chair for State pharmacology was established at the University of Innsbruck. The first holder of this chair was the future Director of the Vienna Institute, Eduard von Hoffmann.

**1875** : A chair for hygiene was established upon the opening of a dedicated Institute of Hygiene, in 1908, on « Kinderspitalgasse » .

Eduard Hofmann (Head of the Institute from 1875 to 1897) .

Investigated the death of Crown Prince Rudolph, on 30 January 1889.

Investigated the over 400 victims of the « Ringtheater » fire, on 8 December 1881 :

first time identification was made using dental records.

Smoke inhalation was the cause of death.

Demonstrating that the presence of carbon monoxide (CO) is evidence that someone was burned alive.

**1878** : First publication of Hofmann's « Text-book for Forensic Medicine » . For a long period of time, this was the standard reference book for forensic medicine and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

Removal of forensic medicine specimens from the pathology association collection and transferred to its own, independent collection.

Forensic medicine and hygiene separated : Post-mortems ordered by the Court and health authorities were linked to the Director of the Institute for Forensic Medicine from 1875 and, from this time on, forensic medicine was no longer part of pathological anatomy.

...

One of the most remarkable works belonging to Austrian literature concerned with the termination of pregnancy is a text-book of juridical medicine, from 1878, with special regard to Austrian and German legislation (« Lehrbuch der Gerichtlichen Medizin mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichischen und deutschen Gesetzgebung ») . It was written by Austrian physician and pioneer of modern forensic pathology, Eduard Ritter von Hofmann, and provides exhaustive insight into methods of traditional and main-stream medical practice. This work was repeatedly reprinted and it was translated into several languages. It is significant not only because of its focus upon relevant German and Austrian law, but also because of the information it provides regarding forbidden methods of intervention entirely missing from gynecological literature of the day. Hofmann earned high-honours at the Vienna University for continuing the tradition of the « Vienna School of Forensic Medicine » . He directed an open and modern institute that attracted individuals from all over the Empire. He introduced microscopy and animal experimentation to forensic medicine. He was also renowned for identifying the casualties of Vienna's « Ringtheater » fire, as well as his autopsy of Crown Prince Rudolf. He was decorated with innumerable medals for his accomplishments, achieved knighthood, and was laid to rest in an honorary grave in Vienna's Central Cemetery.

### Doctor Jaromír Mundy

The Austrian physician, army officer and philanthropist Doctor Jaromír Mundy was born on 3 October 1822 in Eichhorn Castle, Moravia (today : Burg Veverří, Czech Republic) . Founder of the ambulance service called the Vienna Volunteer Rescue Association (« Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft ») . He pioneered a humanistic therapy for the mentally ill.

Jaromír was the youngest of 4 sons of the wealthy cloth manufacturer Baron Johann von Mundy and Countess Isabella Kálnoky von Köröspatak, and was the grandson of Wilhelm von Mundy. During his childhood, he was able to flirt with the medical profession, reporting at every opportunity to a voluntary medical service during the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1838. He was a permanent assistant to the resident physician in case of accident or disaster.

Jaromír Mundy received an autocratic education. His parents forced him to study theology at the seminary of Brno (Brünn) and attain priesthood. He accepted with reluctance, and soon left. Angered, his father ensured that he entered the Imperial-Royal Army as a cadet. He served for many years (participating as an officer in the 1848 and 1849 campaigns) and occupied himself with medical science in his spare time. During his stationing at the Alser barracks (« Wiener Alserkaserne ») , he spent most of his spare time at the Vienna General Hospital (« Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhaus ») where he studied medicine. In 1852, he was promoted captain, and, in 1855, he turned his back on the unloved army career.

At the age of 33, he completed his medical degree in Würzburg. In 1857, he was admitted for the doctoral examination after only 4 semesters ! He wrote his dissertation thesis on the topic « About the Family Treatment of Insane In the Lunatic Settlements » (« Über die Familien-Behandlung von Irren in Irren-Kolonien ») . From 1859, he devoted himself to the study of neurology, psychiatry and forensic medicine and gained practical experience in

Heidelberg, Leipzig and Berlin to improve the treatment of mentally ill people.

Endowed with a technical aptitude, he conceived a humanistic first-care service for the wounded. As a military doctor on various battlefields, he distinguished himself by a self-sacrificing willingness to help on the front-line, providing the logistical provision of medical instruments, activating assistance, assuring primary care and organizing transport of the wounded. Mundy fought for an improvement of the conditions on the battlefields during the late-19th Century, which were mostly characterized by poorly-organized rescue operations. His longtime friend surgeon Doctor Theodor Billroth described Mundy as « one of the greatest practical humanists of his Century » .

In 1859, Mundy was summoned to Piedmont by a former military superior, Count Franz Chulai, to serve as a physician on the battlefield during the Sardinian War. Since that time, he has been continuously practising different martial arts. On June 24, 1859, he met the Swiss businessman, Henry Dunant, in the battle of Solferino with thousands of dead and wounded. As a privileged eyewitness, Dunant experienced the inadequate care of the wounded, and, since that time, has been committed to humanism during wartime. He is considered the originator of the Geneva Convention, founded in 1864, whose basic idea is to improve the care of wounded and prisoners of war. Dunant was the founder of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement.

In the 1860's, criticism of the traditional medical care of the insane and of the asylum institution grew stronger. Among the alternatives proposed to the closed institutions, « oubliettes » in which those in need of a cure were left to die, the family care system became strongly advocated by reformists. After the Sardinian War, Mundy traveled to the small Flemish town of Gheel in Belgium to look at the then famous lunatic settlement composed of 1,500 patients. The insane were living among the population, hosted by foster families, under a medical and governmental supervision. There, patients were living among the citizens, showing the efficiency of a logic of integration of madness rather than its exclusion : soon, Gheel became a symbol of « anti-asylum » . For Mundy, this was the most dignified form of treatment.

In the conflict opposing traditionalists, defending the asylum institution and therapeutic constraint, and reformists, believing in « boarding-out systems » , Doctor Mundy stands-out. This physician of noble ascent became the strongest advocate of the private dwelling system, which he relentlessly and passionately defended across the continent. From 1860 to 1867, he gave lectures on this subject in different European capitals while visiting numerous mental hospitals. He gained international fame as a representative of the reform of the lunatic health system and of a modern lunatic legislation.

During the Austro-Prussian War (7 Weeks' War) of 1866, Mundy volunteered for the first time as rescue aid (paramedic) at the field hospital of Pardubice (Pardubitz) , in Bohemia. During the battle of Königgrätz, he worked on the improvised ambulance-trains that brought wounded soldiers from Bohemia to Vienna. Back in Vienna, he was named deputy-chief of the military hospital based in the « Prater » . After 1866, his main goal was to reorganize the medical system in the Austrian army.

At the Paris World Exhibition of 1867, Mundy had a model-house built at his own expense to demonstrate the practice

of decent and liberating lunatic treatment. As an Austrian delegate of the Ministry of War, he took-part in congresses and commissions, participating the same year in the first Red Cross conference in Paris, which discussed the application and implementation of the Geneva Convention, and advocated the implementation of Dunant's wishes and the improvement of care to the wounded. Technically very gifted, Mundy constructed during this period different stretchers, ambulances and completely equipped medical trains to ensure the proper transport of the wounded. These were ground-breaking innovations in the medical field. Catastrophic, undignified emergency transports were the topic of the day, in which patients continuously died. Together with engineer Hugo Zipperling, Mundy also developed the equipment for ambulance-trains. In 1870-1871, Mundy worked in Paris hospitals and organized the ambulance service. He particularly affected the debates among the French psychiatrists, thus, giving new elements on the history of 19th Century psychiatry.

From the middle of 1870 until the end of 1872, Mundy participated as « neutral » physician in the Franco-Prussian War, more exactly in the besieged city of Paris. This way, he ensured human medical assistance to the wounded. For his implication, he was the first foreigner to receive the French military medal for Bravery. In 1871, he met local volunteering sisters from the Paris Jesuit community in an ambulance-car. Thanks to his efforts, the community decided to establish itself in Vienna, in 1873, at the « Rudolfspital » located in the 3rd District.

From 1866 to 1870, Doctor Jaromír Mundy gave numerous lectures as associate-professor in different prestigious Viennese institutions (University of Vienna, Vienna General Hospital, « Josephinum » Academy, Academy of Sciences) on the topics of psychiatry, forensic medicine, health education and military ambulance service. He was finally appointed full-professor at the University of Vienna in 1872 on the topic of military ambulance service.

When he returned to Vienna after the Franco-Prussian War, Mundy was frustrated at the lack of medical progress in his own hometown. At that time, he lived at « Harmoniegasse » Number 3, in the 9th District.

His many years of efforts, his numerous proposals and « memoranda » directed to the public authorities went unheeded. Therefore, he concentrated again on the promotion of voluntary assistance during wartime.

At the Vienna World Exhibition of 1873, Mundy commissioned the French Society of the Red Cross to build a prototype of ambulance-train based on his own blue-prints. Together with Doctor Billroth, he organized an « International Congress for Welfare during Wartime » without any support from the public authorities.

From 1875, Mundy began to work tirelessly, as general chief-physician of « The Order of Malta » , on reforming the public and military medical systems in Vienna, and also to set-up a First-care network - but he failed again.

He served (on the Serbian side) during the Serbian-Turkish War of 1876-1877, but also organized the « Red Crescent » Association in Constantinople. Then, he served in the Turkish-Russian War of 1877-1878. When the ambulance-trains of « The Order of Malta » started to run, he remained at the front until the end of the evacuation operations.

Mundy wrote a number of important works between 1875 and 1882.

With his friend Theodor Billroth, Mundy contributed to the founding of the « Rudolfinerhaus » in Vienna.

In June 1870, the Austrian Parliament decreed that the responsibility for fire-fighting be transferred to the regional municipalities, each with its own police force and fire chief. The Lower-Austrian fire brigade federation was founded 1 year later and, in 1873, Vienna's first steam-powered fire engine (« Dampf-Spritzenwagen ») was demonstrated at the World Exhibition in the park of the « Prater ». Despite such readiness, however, some of Vienna's buildings remained perilously unprepared for a fire.

On 8 December 1881, the tragic fire of the « Ringtheater » in Vienna made around 400 victims. This unprecedented disaster clearly showed the weaknesses of the national public health system and its harsh transport methods. So, the next day (December 9th), Doctor Mundy founded the « Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft » (Volunteer Rescue Society of Vienna) together with Doctor Billroth, Count (Johann Nepomuk) Hans Josef Wilczek (1837-1922) and Count Eduard Lamezan-Salins (1835-1903; lawyer and judge, president of the municipal court). Lamezan was elected President, Wilczek was elected Honorary President (he was not available because of a planned expedition to the North Pole) and Mundy, General Secretary and Chief-Physician. In January 1882, the Founding Committee of 12 members wrote an official letter to the Emperor arguing that the city of Vienna needed an institution providing first-aid by physicians and medically trained personnel anywhere - in the streets, in offices, in homes and in ambulance-cars on the way to the hospital. Franz-Josef gave his full support. 1 month later, the Lower-Austrian Imperial-Royal Chancellery approved the articles (constitution) of the newly-created entity.

On April 1882, the ambulance service started its operations in Vienna. The wealthy land-owner Count Hans Josef Wilczek who financed the creation of the society offered rooms of his villa on « Herrengasse » becoming the acting headquarters.

On November 1882, Volunteer Rescue Society's chief-surgeon Albert Moseitig of Moorhof started holding national lectures on the training of medical personnel.

On 1 May 1883, opening of the first emergency station (consisting of 2 rooms) located at « Fleischmarkt » Number 1. Direct phone-line to police. Telegraph line. Hospitals reported the number of available beds (via telegraph) twice daily. 4 ambulance-cars. Access to 97 medical students, 36 non-medical practitioners who provided their services as paramedics. Doctor Mundy himself worked as a physician or a paramedic (sick carrier or coach-man) depending on the situation.

1885-1886 : Doctor Mundy participated (on the Serbian side) in the Serbian-Bulgarian War.

1889 : Opening of the first real headquarters with 4 physicians, 8 emergency medical technicians, 4 coach-drivers available 24/7; and 17 ambulance-cars. The society dispatched well-equipped medical teams to disasters.

1890-1900 : The Volunteer Rescue Society of Vienna helped to establish similar societies in various cities in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (Linz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg, Prague, Brno, Lemberg, Krakow, Budapest, Czernowitz, Trieste) but

also in other countries (Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Frankfurt-am-Main, Johannesburg, Kiev, Helsinki, Odessa, Reichenberg, São Paulo, St. Petersburg, Warsaw) . These societies were the first emergency medical services in the world.

The Vienna society was financed by donations and charity events. Mundy who never married and lived in moderately priced hotels, tirelessly continued to raise funds, until his own house could finally be built near the Aspern Bridge (« Aspernbrücke ») .

Because of his family connection with Carl Sacher (1849-1929) , Jaromír Mundy lived for many years at the « Hotel Central » located at « Taborstraße » Number 8, a few minutes' stroll from St. Stephen's Cathedral. An educated and well-read man, he spoke 12 languages and met with many interesting personalities. He was admired in his circles as a brilliant colleague, who also liked (when in a good mood) to sing arias from Operettas or Operas.

Invoking « bad health » , Doctor Mundy resigned as Secretary of the society on March 5, 1892. The board refused his resignation, but gave him « leave until he has restored his health » .

Mundy was physically drawn by age because of severe asthma and abdominal problems. After a water-cure stay at « Bad Tüßer » , he spent the last months of his life at Carl Sacher's « Curanstalt Helenenthal » (Helenenthal Spa Clinic) located on the outskirts of Baden, on the edge of Vienna Woods.

(Today, the « Sacher Hotel Baden » enjoys a beautiful setting in the picturesque Helenenthal Valley. First opened in 1881, this hotel kept its unique old world charm. It is set among lovely gardens. The property also features a quaint outdoor coffee-shop and « café » , and a restaurant. There is also a ball-room where guests can hold events and parties. Leisure activities available on-site include sauna and spa facilities.)

On 6 February 1894, his long-time friend and companion Doctor Theodor Billroth died. During a phase of depression, Mundy put an end to his life by drowning himself on 23 August of the same year. His grave is located at the Central Cemetery in Vienna. The « Mundygasse » was named after him in 1932. Today, a bust of Doctor Jaromír Mundy (created by sculptor Teresa Feodorowna Ries) stands in front of the headquarters of the Vienna Rescue Service located on « Radetzkystraße » in the « Landstraße » District (3rd) .

## Works

« Beiträge zur Reform des Sanitätswesens in Österreich » , Gerold, Wien (1868) .

« Studien über den Umbau und die Einrichtung von Güterwaggons zu Sanitätswaggons » , Seidel, Wien (1875) .

« Die freie Behandlung der Irren auf Landgütern » , Seidel, Wien (1879) .

« Die Militärsanität der Zukunft » , Vortrag, Seidel, Wien (1882) .



« Der Transport von Kranken und Verletzten in großen Städten » , Reisser, Wien (1883) .

« Kleiner Katechismus über die Nothwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer radicalen Reform des Irrenwesens » , Verlag der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungs-Gesellschaft, Wien (1884) .

« Eine Denkschrift über die Irrenfrage in Mähren » , Selbstverlag, Wien (1887) .

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During a presentation of « The Tales of Hoffmann » by Jacques Offenbach on the evening of 8 December, 1881, a terrible fire broke-out at the « Ringtheater » of the City of Vienna. There was an audience of 1,760 people at the theatre on that evening. The fire was caused by a gas-lamp hanging-over the stage. While the singers were able to escape to safety through the stage exit, the audience was engulfed in deadly chaos. When the theatre lights went-out, the chaos grew even worse, and the panic-stricken audience was trapped in the pitch-dark theatre, groping frantically for the exit. The main theatre exit, however, was constructed to open towards the inside only. Therefore, the first ones to reach the entrance could not open the doors against the giant crowd of people pressing forward behind them. Many fell and were trampled to death or suffocated.

As a result, those fleeing from the fire were unable to get outside to save themselves and the firemen were unable to overcome the wedge of trampled corpses and get inside the burning theatre. Some of those trapped inside hurried-out to the balcony, desperately crying for help, or jumped-down in panic to the Vienna « Ringstraße » , the street below, to escape. The raging fire, however, had already reached the « Ringstraße » . Most of those who jumped were either killed or severely injured. Those who remained in the theatre were soon completely surrounded by flames, without even a slim chance of survival.

The entire city of Vienna was panic-stricken by that devastating fire, which claimed as many victims as a major battle. Many of those who were injured could have been saved, but ultimately died of their burns and of smoke intoxication because no medical aid was available at the scene of the fire.

The bodies were laid-out in the court-yard of the Main Police Station on the « Schottenring » nearby. Later, municipal workers transported them to the General Hospital in horse-drawn carriages and on stretchers.

While the city of Vienna was still in a state of fear and shock, Doctor Jaromír Mundy knew it was time for his long-coveted dream of a medical ambulance service to become reality. On 9 December 1881, 1 day after the fire, he founded the « Volunteer Ambulance Service of Vienna » together with Count Hans Wilczek (1837-1922) and Count Eduard Lamezan (1835-1903) . Mundy had gathered a great deal of experience on various battlefields all over Europe, where he had worked as a care provider for the military, constantly striving to expand the radius and to improve the quality of care. Mundy's immense experience was an enormous advantage for the new civilian ambulance service.

Mundy was born on 3 October 1822 at Eichhom Castle in Moravia, a province of today's Czech Republic. He was the

youngest son of Baron Johann von Mundy and the Hungarian Countess Isabella Kalnoky von Korospatak. His mother doted on him, but his relationship with his father, a harsh and tyrannic man, was not close at all. It was Mundy's father who forced him to study theology. Before long, however, Mundy decided to leave boarding-school in Brno, where he was supposed to be studying theology and attain priesthood. To Mundy, whose love and interest were devoted to medicine, the idea of spending life as a priest was not attractive at all. His enthusiasm for medicine had become obvious during his boyhood, when he had loved nothing more than accompanying the country doctor and learning from him on his patient rounds. Enraged by that, Mundy's father forbade him to study medicine. Young Jaromír protested vehemently, but in vain - his father enrolled him as a cadet with the 49th Infantry Regiment at the Alser Barracks in Vienna.

Not even his father's decision could stop Mundy from devoting his interest to medicine. During his stay in Vienna, he paid regular visits to the clinics of the General Hospital. In 1848, after 5 years with the military, Mundy became Imperial First Lieutenant in Italy. He spent every minute of his spare time on medical research.

In early 1852, he became Imperial First Captain of the 6th Infantry Regiment. After the Crimean War in 1855, and 12 years with the military, Mundy decided to end his military career. At the age of 33, he fulfilled his greatest wish in life and began studying medicine. He moved to Würzburg, where several famous scholars were teaching at that time. One of those scholars was Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), who discovered the importance of cellular changes for the development of diseases. Mundy was very much impressed by the fact that Virchow was not only a physician and a scientist, but a politician and social reformer as well. Virchow's opinion that physicians should be advocates of the poor corresponded perfectly with Mundy's intent and initiative to help the poorest of the poor, the sick.

His talent and diligence as well as his years of experience and research with the military enabled Mundy to graduate from medical school after only 4 semesters. In those days, to work as a physician was frowned upon in aristocratic circles. Therefore, Mundy always remained an outsider in the eyes of his fellow-aristocrats.

He left Würzburg shortly after his graduation from medical school on 23 March 1859. After increasing his knowledge in Heidelberg and Leipzig, Mundy moved to Berlin, where he focused his interest on the therapy of mental diseases. Additionally, Mundy repeatedly returned to his former unit as an Imperial Captain. He worked as a physician on several battlefields, including Solferino, where he met the Swiss writer Henri Dunant on 24 June 1859.

In those days, Solferino on Lake Garda in Italy belonged to Lombardy, which was under Austrian rule. Napoleon III of France had instigated the Lombards against the Austrians. After an ultimatum had expired, the war finally broke-out. Approximately 190,000 men on the Austrian side were fighting approximately 180,000 men on the Italian/French side. Slowly but surely, the battle escalated into a massacre. Chaotic mismanagement and conflicting orders worsened matters even more. In the end, 42,000 men had fallen or been severely injured in the terrible Battle of Solferino and were left lying helplessly on the battlefield.

Henri Dunant (1828-1910), who was in Solferino of his own accord and as a newspaper correspondent, became an eyewitness to the goriest battle of the 19th Century and to the greatest failure and lack of care for the injured. He

saw how they were left behind on the battlefield, helpless prey to thieves and looters.

In his « Recollection of Solferino » , published in 1912, Dunant wrote :

« (...) lamenting, screams of fear and pain, and heart-rending calls for help rang-out in the dead of the night. Who could ever describe the agony of that horrible night. »

The Solferino experience marked the beginning of Dunant's fight for humanity during wartime. He became the force behind the Geneva Convention, which convened on 22 August 1864 to improve the situation of injured soldiers and prisoners of war. Moreover, Dunant became the founder of the International Red Cross. On 10 December 1901, Henri Dunant was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace.

As an Austrian delegate, Mundy took-part in the Paris Conference, held on the occasion of the Paris World Exhibition to discuss the realization of the Geneva Convention. He was a mesmerizing speaker and did everything in his power to support Dunant's cause and to improve social aid for the injured.

While Mundy was on an educational journey through England, the Austro-Prussian War broke-out on 7 July 1866. Mundy immediately contacted the Ministry of War to volunteer as a physician. He treated injured soldiers in the Battle of Königgrätz and supervised their transport to Vienna. The injured were bedded on straw and transported back to Vienna from the battlefield in cattle cars without any medical care at all. They were brought to the « Prater » park grounds, where a casualty clearing station had been set-up under Mundy's supervision. Almost as many soldiers died during transport as on the battlefield. Mundy realized that the means of transport were unsatisfactory and racked his brains how to improve this intolerable situation. Thanks to his initiative, freight-cars were equipped with shock-proof stretchers and the trains began carrying physicians and nursing personnel as care providers en route for injured soldiers.

Moreover, Mundy worked on the constructing of stretchers, ambulances and giant spotlights for the transport of injured soldiers from the battlefield in the dark. Again and again, Mundy criticized the municipal medical aid in Vienna, because he believed that all patients transported from the scene of an accident should be accompanied by medical personnel and because there was no such thing as medical personnel trained to deal with potential disasters. All his warnings had been ignored, however, until the great fire broke-out in the Vienna « Ringtheater » .

An action committee was founded at a meeting on 10 December 1881. Wilczek was made President of Honour, Lamezan President and Mundy Secretary and Chief-Physician of the Ambulance Society.

On 2 January 1881, Wilczek and Lamezan submitted their « most humble plea for shelter and protection and for gracious expedition of the official decrees » to Emperor Franz-Josef I. One month later, the Imperial Governorship of Lower-Austria certified the statutes and the Volunteer Ambulance Society of Vienna officially took office. Wilczek donated the funds for the Ambulance Society and repeatedly provided financial support in the following years.

The foundation of the « Volunteer Ambulance Society of Vienna » marked the birth of an institution providing first-aid by physicians and medically trained personnel anywhere - in the streets, in offices, in homes and in ambulances.

Almost at the same time, Jaromír Mundy, Hans Wilczek and the surgeon Theodore Billroth founded the « Rudolfinerhaus » under the protectorate of Crown Prince Rudolph. Though at first, it was merely a small hospital pavilion with wooden barracks to accommodate the patients, the « Rudolfinerhaus » was soon to become famous. Mundy insisted that Billroth, who was quite reluctant initially, join the « Rudolfiner » Society. That marked the foundation of the first Classic nursing-school for the laity in Austria. Nurses were trained directly at the operating-table by surgeons. Billroth's supervision and expertise led the institution to international fame. During the First World War (1914-1918) , the « Rudolfinerhaus » became a Red Cross Hospital and thousands of injured soldiers were treated there. After the war, the hospital faced serious problems for many years, and more than once, it was in danger of being shut-down completely. Today, the « Rudolfinerhaus » is Vienna's leading private hospital.

The first outpatient service for the patients brought in by ambulance opened its doors in Wilczek's private villa. Since volunteers for the day-shifts were difficult to find at first, the Ambulance Society decided to recruit medical students for the work.

The citizens of Vienna were encouraged to support the new institution, both financially and personally. Even the Emperor made a donation to the Society. Over the years, several charity balls and other events were organized for the benefit of the new institution for the sick and injured. The famous composer Johann Strauß wrote the « Freiwillige vor » (volunteers forward) march for the Ambulance Service and the « Jakob Lohner Company » built 3 electrically powered ambulance-cars according to Mundy's own blue-prints.

On 1 May 1883, the first ambulance-station was established on the « Fleischmarkt » in the heart of Vienna. Its car-park included 4 ambulance-cars, 3 horse-drawn carriages, 2 cars for the mentally ill and 2 cars for contagious patients. The Ambulance Society was called directly or telegraphically, and later via a direct telephone line to the police. In August of 1889, the Main Ambulance Station moved into a new facility at « Stubenring » Number 1. It had its own coach-house with stables for the horses and the number of cars increased to 17. In July 1894, 10 more supervising physicians were engaged so that 4 physicians could be on duty around the clock. In response to every call, 1 physician and 2 medically trained assistants (comparable to today's emergency technicians) drove to the scene of the accident.

Mundy, who had been suffering from depression for many years, committed suicide on 23 August 1894. He walked down to the bank of the Danube Canal under the « Sophien » Bridge and shot himself in the head with his own pistol. Apparently, Mundy had hoped he would tumble head over heels into the Danube Canal and drift down-stream. Instead, he fell backwards into a bush. Shortly thereafter, a woman found him there with his feet dangling down into the water, his face and beard covered in blood from the shot wound behind his right-ear. She hastened to call a policeman, but neither he nor any of the onlookers had any idea who the dead man could be. Later, a man who lived nearby was able to identify Mundy for the police. He had seen the Baron several times at accidents and fires and even knew his first name, Jaromír. The embroidered initials J.M. were found on the dead man's clothing. The City of

Vienna provided a grave of honour, and he was buried at the Central Cemetery.

In 1897, the Ambulance Service had to clear its facility on « Stubenring » to make room for the new subway. Emperor Franz-Josef I designated a piece of land on « Radetzkystraße » for the erection of a new Central Ambulance Station, which has remained at that location to this day.

Following the example of the Volunteer Ambulance Society of Vienna, other ambulance societies were founded by several European cities including Prague, Crakow, Trieste, Lemberg and Budapest. The Vienna Ambulance Service also supported similar organizations in Czemowitz, Johannesburg, Kiev, Odessa, St. Petersburg and Warsaw, as well as volunteer ambulance departments in the Austrian cities Linz, Klagenfurt and Salzburg.

The Society also trained its own emergency technicians. The curriculum included 8 x 2 hours lectures on anatomy, physiology, so-called « sudden illnesses » , first-aid for intoxications, correct handling of hemorrhage, fractures, contusions, sprains and dislocations, transport of accident victims, nursing and hygiene.

On 1 February 1905, the Vienna Ambulance Service opened a second office at « Mariahilfer Gürtel » Number 20. On that same day, the first automobile ambulance went into use.

The Vienna Ambulance Service dispatched well-equipped medical teams to disasters far beyond the city limits of Vienna, such as the earthquake in Ljubljana (1895) , the flood in Prague (1897) and the earthquake in Sicily (1908) . During World War I, the Ambulance Service equipped a hospital-train with 138 beds and organized transportation from the railway stations to the hospitals, so that injured soldiers could not only be transported directly from the front to the hospitals, but also treated « en route » the entire way. At the age of 77, Count Wilczek took command over the hospital-train, which was under the authority of the Ministry of War.

After the Nazis took power over Austria in March 1938, Jewish physicians were forbidden to serve in the Ambulance Society. Because of the Society's financial problems and needs, the Fire Brigade of the City of Vienna took-over in September of that same year. Shortly thereafter, the Society was integrated into the Ambulance Service of the City of Vienna under the authority of the Municipal Department of Health. At that time, there were 5 Ambulance Stations and 7 ambulances for the entire city of Vienna.

On Christmas Eve 1944, the ambulance responded to 42 calls to people who had attempted to commit suicide with carburetted hydrogen because of the war. By the end of World War II, most of the ambulance stations and cars had been destroyed. Reconstruction progressed with the help of the Allies and the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, which provided ambulance-cars.

Today, the Vienna Ambulance Service has roughly 650 employees, including 70 physicians. Doctor Alfred Kaff has been in charge since 1984.

Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft

Die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft war die 1. Rettungsorganisation in Wien. Sie wurde 1881 auf Privatinitiative gegründet und war bis 1938 tätig. In der Folge wurden ihre Aufgaben von der Stadt Wien übernommen.

An die Spitze der neuen Organisation traten die 3 Gründer :

Johann Nepomuk Graf Wilczek als Ehrenpräsident.

Eduard Lamezan-Salins als Präsident.

Jaromír Mundy als Generalsekretär.

Unterstützt wurden sie von einem neunköpfigen Aktionskomitee.

Während Jaromír Mundy die Statuten ausarbeitete, überreichten Wilczek und Lamezan bei einer Audienz Kaiser Franz-Josef I. eine Denkschrift und baten ihn um Schutz und Protektion für die Rettungsgesellschaft, die dieser auch gewährte.

Die am 9. Jänner 1882 bei der Kaiserlich-Königliche niederösterreichischen Statthaltereie eingereichten Statuten der Gesellschaft wurden bereits am nächsten Tag genehmigt. Unverändert angenommen wurde auch der von der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft gemachte Vorschlag zum Verhältnis der Rettungsgesellschaft zu den verschiedenen Behörden.

Zwecks Mitgliederwerbung wurden in der Stadt Plakate mit der Aufforderung, der Rettungsgesellschaft beizutreten, affiziert und in Wohnhäusern Formulare zur Beitrittserklärung verteilt. Die Zahl der Beitrittswilligen blieb jedoch hinter den Erwartungen zurück. Zu den neuen Mitgliedern des freiwilligen Sanitätsdienstes zählten vor allem Mitglieder der Freiwilligen Feuerwehren aus den (zehn Jahre später eingemeindeten) Vororten Wiens (150 Mann) , Angehörige verschiedener Ruderklubs (80 Mann) und 60 Turner des 1. Wiener Turnvereins.

Zur 1. Versammlung der fast 400 angemeldeten Mitglieder am 18. Mai 1882 erschienen 232. Bei einer weiteren Sitzung am 21. Oktober im Akademischen Gymnasium fand sich niemand, der bereit war, zur Tageszeit Dienst zu tun, und lediglich ein Mann war bereit, seinen Sonntag zu opfern. Von dieser Personalnot gezwungen, rief die Rettungsgesellschaft Medizinstudenten dazu auf, sich am Dienst in den zukünftigen Rettungsstationen zu beteiligen.

Ab November 1882 hielt Albert Mosevig von Moorhof als Chefchirurg der Rettungsgesellschaft die österreichweit 1. Samaritervorträge zur Ausbildung von Sanitätspersonal für die Rettungsgesellschaft.

Im Dezember 1882 wurde mit dem Kaiserliche und Königliche Reichs-Kriegsministerium eine Vereinbarung über die Unterstützung der Militär-sanitätspflege und am 12. Jänner 1883 ein weiteres Abkommen mit dem Kaiserlich-Königliche Handelsministerium über die Hilfeleistung bei Eisenbahnunfällen getroffen. Im Rahmen dieser Vereinbarung wurden den Bahnhöfen Wiens kostenlos 100 Tragbahnen zur Verfügung gestellt.

Nach der erfolgten Ausbildung der I. Samariter wurden im Haus Fleischmarkt Nummer 1 (Ecke Rotenturmstraße, nahe dem Schwedenplatz) im 1. Bezirk 2 Räumlichkeiten angemietet und darin die 1. Sanitätsstation eingerichtet. Erstmals besetzt wurde diese Station am 1. Mai 1883, erstmals wegen eines Unfalls in Anspruch genommen wurden die dort stationierten Sanitäter am 2. Mai. Zur Erleichterung der Alarmierung erhielt die Sanitätsstation später auch eine direkte Telefonverbindung mit der Polizeidirektion.

« Am 8. December 1881 dem Tage nach dem furchtbaren Brande des Ringtheaters bei welchem viele hunderte von Menschen zugrunde gingen, wurde von dem Kaiserliche und Königliche wirklichen Geheimen Rathe HANS GRAFEN WILCZEK die WIENER FREIWILLIGE RETTUNGS - GESELLSCHAFT gegründet. Dieselbe eröffnete in diesem Hause am 1. Mai 1883 die 1. Sanitäts-Station, durch welche bei Tag und bei Nacht bis zum 1. Mai 1889 mehr als 25.000 Hilfsbedürftige den 1. Beistand fanden. Am 20. Januar 1884 geruhten seine Kaiserliche und Königliche Apostolische Majestät Kaiser FRANZ-JOSEF I. und am 2. April 1884 seine Kaiserliche und Königliche Hoheit Erzherzog CARL LUDWIG die Sanitäts Station mit ihren allerhöchsten Besuch zu beglücken. Am 1. Mai 1889 verließ die Gesellschaft dieses Haus um ihre erspriesslichen Thaetigkeiten in ihrem eigenen Heime 1. Bezirk, Stubenring Nummer 1 fortzusetzen. »

(Text der Gedenktafel im Haus Fleischmarkt Nummer 1.)

Eine 2 Sanitätsstation wurde im Haus Giselastraße Nummer 1 (heute Bösendorferstraße ; Ecke Kärntner-Straße, nahe der Wiener Staatsoper) , ebenfalls im 1. Bezirk, eingerichtet und am 20. Mai 1885 eröffnet.

Trotz des Wohlwollens, das Kaiser Franz-Josef I. und andere hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten, beispielsweise Kronprinz Rudolf, Erzherzog Rainer, Erzherzog Wilhelm, Erzherzog Karl Ludwig, die deutsche Kaiserin Augusta, Ismail Pascha, König Milan von Serbien und der japanische Kronprinz, der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft entgegenbrachten, wurde diese immer wieder in ihrer Entwicklung behindert. Von der Gemeinde Wien etwa wurde nur in der Gründungszeit eine niedrige Subvention gewährt, die später gänzlich eingestellt wurde. Teile der Ärzteschaft sahen in der neuen Organisation zunächst eine Konkurrenz, die den eigenen Interessen schadete.

Ab 1886 wurden an 20 belebten Orten der Stadt Tragbahnen für den öffentlichen Gebrauch aufgestellt, um im Notfall für plötzlich Erkrankte oder Verunfallte rascher Transportmittel zur Verfügung zu haben.

1889-1896 : Zentralsanitätsstation Stubenring.

Steigender Platzbedarf in den beiden Rettungsstationen am Stubenring und in der Giselastraße sowie die steigende Belastung durch die Mietzinse führten schließlich zur Errichtung der 1. Rettungszentrale.

1889 wurde die Zentralsanitätsstation am Stubenring Nummer 1 (dem späteren Bauplatz des Kaiserliche und Königliche Kriegsministeriums) eröffnet. Sie wurde nach Plänen des Architekten Ferdinand Hrach vom Stadtbaumeister Josef Tischler errichtet. Noch vor der Fertigstellung der Zentralsanitätsstation wurden die beiden bisherigen Rettungsstationen geschlossen und provisorisch in Baracken in der Nähe des künftigen Standortes untergebracht.

Am 25. März 1890 besichtigte Kaiser Franz-Josef I. die neue Zentrale. Noch im gleichen Jahr folgten Besuche durch Erzherzog Carl Ludwig, Prinzessin Stephanie sowie den damaligen Prinzen von Wales. Nach seinem Selbstmord wurde Jaromír Mundy 1894 hier aufgebahrt.

Die Eingemeindung der Vororte 1892 vergrößerte den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft. Dazu wurde das Personal in der Zentralsanitätsstation aufgestockt. Provisorisch wurden einige Baracken als Dependence eingerichtet.

Das Wiener Stadtbauamt riet von der baulichen Erweiterung der Sanitätszentrale ab. Diese würde in einigen Jahren der Errichtung neuer Verkehrsanlagen ohnehin zum Opfer fallen. Der Wienfluß war damals nämlich noch nicht fertig reguliert, der Stubenring nicht in seine definitive Lage gebracht, weil auf der anderen Straßenseite noch die Franz-Josef-Kaserne im Weg war, die Wiener Stadtbahn, die das Grundstück unterqueren sollte, war noch nicht gebaut.

Anfang 1896 schließlich wurde die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft darüber informiert, daß das Areal, auf dem sich die Zentralsanitätsstation Stubenring befand, bis Jahresende vollständig geräumt werden mußte. Grund dafür war der Bau der Wiener Stadtbahn.

Auf Intervention von Kaiser Franz-Josef I. wurde vom Wiener Stadterweiterungsfonds jenseits des Wienflusses an der Radetzkystraße eine Parkanlage als Ersatzgrundstück zur Verfügung gestellt. So wie schon die erste Zentralsanitätsstation wurde auch diese von Ferdinand Hrach geplant. Errichtet wurde sie von der Wiener Union-Baugesellschaft. Am 18. Juni 1897 konnte das neue Gebäude im 3. Bezirk, Radetzkystraße Nummer 1, in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Stadtzentrum, eingeweiht werden. Die Weihe erfolgte durch Titularerzbischof Eduard Angerer in Gegenwart des Kaisers und weiterer hoher Würdenträger. Die Station ist bis heute in Betrieb.

Mit der Eröffnung der Wiener Stadtbahn stellte die Rettungsgesellschaft 1900 einen vom Eisenbahnministerium zur Verfügung gestellten und entsprechend adaptierten Eisenbahnambulanzwagen in Dienst. Stationiert wurde dieser mit acht Liegeplätzen und Sanitätsmaterial ausgestattete Waggon als Bestandteil des technischen Hilfszuges in der der Zentralsanitätsstation nahegelegenen Station Hauptzollamt der Stadtbahn. Zum Einsatz kommen sollte dieser Eisenbahnambulanzwagen bei Unglücksfällen im Netz der Wiener Stadtbahn. Am 21. November 1900 wurde dieser Waggon dem Kaiserlich-Königliche Ministerpräsidenten Ernest von Koerber, Kaiserlich-Königliche Eisenbahnminister Heinrich von Wittek, Kaiserlich-Königliche Statthalter Erich Graf von Kielmansegg und weiteren Gästen vorgeführt.

Aus Anlaß des 20-jährigen Bestandsjubiläums der Rettungsgesellschaft wurde 1901 an neun Orten an der Donau und dem Donaukanal Rettungsgerät zur Rettung Ertrinkender installiert. Zusätzlich wurden an Häusern Blechtafeln mit Instruktionen zur Wiederbelebung Ertrinkender angebracht.

In einer Sitzung am 30. September 1903 wurde wegen der großen räumlichen Ausdehnung Wiens die probeweise Einführung von Automobilen, aber auch die Errichtung von Filialen in den Außenbezirken beschlossen. Das 1. Filialgebäude wurde am 1. Februar 1905 in Betrieb genommen. Am gleichen Tag wurde der neue Ambulanzwagen der Österreichischen Daimlermotoren-Gesellschaft in Wiener Neustadt, das 1. Rettungsauto, in Dienst gestellt und in der



Zentralsanitätsstation stationiert.

Einem Beschluß vom 30. September 1903 folgend, wurde auf einem Baugrund am Mariahilfer Gürtel nach Plänen des Architekten Bernhard Pichler von der Union-Baugesellschaft unter der Leitung des Architekten Ritter Humbert Walcher von Moltheim die I. Filialsanitätsstation errichtet. Der Spatenstich erfolgte am 20. Juli 1904. Dem Sanitätsdienst übergeben wurde das Gebäude am 1. Februar 1905.

1905 : Filialsanitätsstation « Graf Hans Wilczek » , Mariahilfer Gürtel, heute meistbeschäftigte Wiener Rettungsstation.

Nathaniel Meyer von Rothschild, der die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft immer wieder mit großen Summen unterstützte und ihr so wie sein Nachfolger Alfons von Rothschild auch jahrelang die Erträge aus der Besichtigung seiner Glashäuser zukommen ließ, unterstützte auch die Errichtung dieser Filialsanitätsstation finanziell.

Aus dem sogenannten Graf-Wilczek-Stiftungshaus entwickelte sich die heutige Rettungsstation Mariahilf der Wiener Berufsrettung. Sie zählt zu den meistfrequentierten Rettungsstationen Österreichs und liegt auch im europaweiten Vergleich im Spitzenfeld.

Am 1. November 1906 verfügte das Kaiserliche und Königliche Reichs-Kriegsministerium, in Ausbildung stehende Militärärzte zur praktischen Ausbildung in I. Hilfe bei Unfällen turnusmäßig den beiden Sanitätsstationen der Rettungsgesellschaft zum Dienst zuzuteilen.

Während des I. Weltkriegs organisierte die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft entsprechend dem Abkommen vom Dezember 1882 mit dem Kriegsministerium sowohl den Transport von Verwundeten zwischen den Bahnhöfen, Krankenhäusern und Sanitätsanstalten in Wien als auch die Verpflegung der Verwundeten durchreisender Truppen auf dem Nordwestbahnhof.

Außerdem organisierte die Rettungsgesellschaft einen eigenen Lazarettzug mit 138 Plätzen, um Verwundete aus dem Kriegsgebiet in Krankenhäuser im Hinterland zu bringen. Das Kommando über diesen Lazarettzug hatte Hans Graf Wilczek inne. Auf insgesamt 165 Fahrten wurden 44.821 Verwundete transportiert und eine Strecke von 159.640 Kilometern zurückgelegt.

Nach Kriegsende wurden Kleidersammlungen für Bedürftige organisiert und öffentliche Ausspeisungen beim Stadtpark abgehalten.

1918-1938 : Finanzielle Probleme.

Infolge der Auflösung der Monarchie kam die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft um zahlreiche finanzkräftige Großspender, was die von Spenden abhängige Organisation in wirtschaftliche Schwierigkeiten brachte. Mit der Gemeinde Wien wurden mehrfach Verhandlungen über eine Übernahme geführt, doch dies wurde von der Gemeinde immer abgelehnt. Lediglich finanzielle Unterstützungen wurden gewährt.

Im Jahr 1922 wurde die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft als Verein neu organisiert.

Am 16. März 1938 wurden in einem Schreiben alle Mitglieder der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft aufgefordert, ihre eigenen Tauscheine und jene ihrer Eltern bis zum 31. März 1938 zur Kontrolle vorzulegen. Ein Verbot von Spendensammlungen durch Vereine oder Verbände brachte die Rettungsgesellschaft in Schwierigkeiten.

Durch einen Beschluß des NS-Bürgermeisters Hermann Neubacher wurde die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft am 1. September 1938 ebenso von der Wiener Berufsfeuerwehr übernommen wie am 15. Oktober des gleichen Jahres die Städtische Sanität (damals Magistratsabteilung 26). Am 1. April 1940 wechselte die Betriebsführung des Rettungs- und Sanitätsdienstes als Gemeindeverwaltung des Reichsgaues Wien Rettungsdienst zum Gesundheitsamt der Stadt Wien.

Heute wird der Rettungsdienst von der Magistratsabteilung 70 - Wiener Berufsrettung wahrgenommen.

Beim Bau der Zentralsanitätsstation Radetzkystraße wurde auch ein Vortrags-Saal eingerichtet, um eine Samariterschule einrichten zu können. Eröffnet wurde diese am 23. November 1897 durch einen von Friedrich von Esmarch gehaltenen Festvortrag.

Die hier abgehaltenen Kurse bestanden aus acht Vorträgen. Deren Themen spezialisierten sich neben allgemeinen Unterweisungen auch auf die verschiedenen Berufskategorien (Feuerwehrleute, Polizisten, Lehrer, Eisenbahnbedienstete ...) und entsprechende berufstypische Unfälle und Verletzungen.

Die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft leistete nicht nur in Wien Hilfe, sondern auch außerhalb der Stadt und im Ausland.

**1895** nach einem Erdbeben in Laibach.

**1897** bei einer Überschwemmung in Prag.

**1898** nach einem Erdbeben auf Sizilien.

In den Statuten hatte sich die Wiener Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft auch die Gründung und Förderung ähnlicher Gesellschaften an anderen Standorten zum Ziel gesetzt. Zu diesem Zweck wurden komplett eingerichtete Sanitätsstationen und Sanitätswagen geschenkwise zur Verfügung gestellt. Eigene Funktionäre halfen den neu gegründeten Gesellschaften dabei, die Anfangsprobleme zu überwinden.

Auf diese Art der Gründungshilfe gehen das am ...

**13. September 1890** gegründete Prager Freiwillige Rettungskorps.

**24. März 1891** gegründete Sanitätsabteilung des Brünner Turnvereins.

**5. Juni 1891** gegründete Krakauer Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft.

**16. Juni 1891** gegründete Triester Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft.

**20. März 1893** gegründete Lemberger Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft.

**21. Juli 1893** gegründete Innsbrucker Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft.

**10. Jänner 1894** gegründete Abbazianer Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft.

**9. Mai 1896** gegründete Budapester Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft zurück.

In geringerem Ausmaß wurden Freiwillige Rettungsabteilungen und Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaften in Amsterdam, Baden, Bielitz, Budweis, Bukarest, Czernowitz, Frankfurt-am-Main, Helsinki, Johannesburg, Kiew, Klagenfurt, Kopenhagen, Korneuburg, Laibach, Linz, Odessa, Reichenberg, Salzburg, St. Petersburg, São Paulo, Teplitz-Schönau, Troppau, Warschau und andere in ihrem Entstehen unterstützt.

### Öffentlichkeitsarbeit

Präsentation der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungs-Gesellschaft in Paris, 1900.

Während der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungsgesellschaft in der Öffentlichkeit die Anerkennung für ihre Leistungen lange Zeit verwehrt blieb, erntete sie mit ihren Präsentationen bei verschiedenen internationalen Ausstellungen immer wieder Lob.

**1882** : Ausstellung der Landwirtschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Wien.

**1883** : Hygienische Ausstellung in Berlin - Internationale Elektrische Ausstellung in Wien - Pharmaceutische Ausstellung in Wien.

**1888** : Niederösterreichische Gewerbe-Ausstellung in Wien.

**1890** : Land- und forstwirtschaftliche Ausstellung in Wien.

**1892** : Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung in Wien.

**1894** : Ausstellung für Volksernährung und Armeeverpflegung in Wien.

**1898** : Jubiläumsausstellung in Wien.

1900 : Ausstellung für Krankenpflege in Frankfurt-am-Main - Weltausstellung in Paris.

1901 : Ausstellung für Feuerschutz und Feuerrettungswesen in Berlin.

1902 : Ausstellung für Feuerschutz und Feuerrettungswesen in Salzburg.

1904 : Ausstellung für Spiritusverwertung und Gärungsgewerbe in Wien - Lehrlingsausstellung in Wien.

1906 : Straßenfahrzeug-Ausstellung in Wien - Hygienische Ausstellung in Wien - Jubiläums-Ausstellung in Bukarest - Internationale Ausstellung in Mailand.

In allen diesen Ausstellungen wurde die Gesellschaft durch die Verleihung von Preisen und Ehrendiplomen ausgezeichnet.

« Ringtheater » : post-traumatic stress disorder

Friedrich Klose's memoirs, in which the traumatic event as trigger is clearly perceptible and the resultant development of Anton Bruckner's control obsessions (in the sense of a post-traumatic stress disorder, which later becomes chronic) are also verifiable. In December 1881, Bruckner was witness to the conflagration of the Vienna « Ringtheater », in whose immediate vicinity his home lay. As a result of this experience (according to Klose's observation of 1886), Bruckner changed from paraffin lamps to the old-fashioned but, in his opinion, less flammable candle-light. So now, when Bruckner went-out, he didn't blow the candles-out, but pinched them between his fingers; and, then, when he left the building, he travelled repeatedly back to make sure, once again, of the impossibility of reignition of the wicks. The compulsive fear which is initially directed at the danger of fire, or the compulsion to control directed at it, meanwhile soon shows that generalization that is characteristic of control compulsion. That is to say, the compulsion to prevention fire danger extends soon to dangers of all sorts.

...

Bruckner's road-secretary Friedrich Eckstein recalls :

When going-out together, they had already left the house and reached the stairs, when Bruckner, suddenly overcome by anxiety, asked whether he had forgotten to turn-off the tap in the kitchen. Eckstein's attempt to reassure him failed. He was quite sure :

« The water's running ! »

Not to be dissuaded from this fixed idea, Bruckner returned, and initially investigates the kitchen with great care, from thereon all the rooms in the apartment and carries-out an inspection of the locks of all the apartment doors, whereby he does a final check by shaking them all. Once more coming to the stairs, a new anxiety attack :

Whether or not, in the study-room, gas is escaping. How dangerous that would be ! Eckstein manages to prevent Bruckner from turning-back. But once down at ground level, already in the hall-way, Bruckner declares again, he must go back into the apartment. Bruckner (very agitated) climbs, once again, the 4 storeys. Once again, at the bottom (out of breath and beaded with sweat) , he confesses to Eckstein that he had to cover the manuscript with the « Deutsche Michel » theme from the Scherzo of the 8th Symphony (that had lain open on the table) with a sheet of paper.

At the time of this event recorded by Eckstein, the « Ringtheater » fire lay 5 to 7 years in the past. A conflagration is, without doubt, an extraordinarily threatening situation, which will trigger a disturbance in almost all who witness it. But in how many of the thousands of human beings who daily (and at any point in the world) are witnesses to a conflagration, does this effect a permanent behavioural change in the sense of control compulsions ? That is to say, the growth of a behavioural disorder of the sort that Bruckner developed requires definite pre-morbid parts of the personality, such as definite personality traits that lower the threshold for the development of this syndrome.

### Christmas Tree Ceremony

**Before Saturday, 24 December 1881** : Anton Bruckner opens the Christmas Tree Ceremony sponsored by the Catholic Orphan Charity Association with an organ improvisation in the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

### 1881 : Bruckner's Christmas

**Christmas 1881** : August Göllerich junior gives Anton Bruckner the scores of Beethoven's last String Quartets.

On the invitation of Prelate Franz Moser, Anton Bruckner spends the winter holidays in St. Florian.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1882)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelclassse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(5 Zöglinge.)

Carl Führich, Franz Johnscher. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelclassse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(4 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Anton Scholz.

II. Jahrgang : Rudolf Dittrich, Lorenz Ritter. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(10 Zöglinge.)

Sigmund Auspitzer, Carl Führich, Franz Johnscher, Emil Lamberg, Josef Meyer, Sigmund von Tucher. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(6 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Ferdinand Foll, Franz Höfer, Anton Scholz.

II. Jahrgang : Moriz Kremer, Carl Last. »

Lorenz Ritter absolviert in diesem Schuljahr sein Hauptfach Orgel und erhält ein Diplom.

**1882 : Hot in Vienna !**

**Sunday, 28 May 1882** (Pentecost Sunday) : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« May 28th, at half past 7 in the evening : 31°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

The « Réaumur » scale (°Ré, °Re, °r) , also known as the « octogesimal division » , is a temperature scale for which the freezing- and boiling-points of water are defined as 0 and 80 degrees respectively. The scale is named for René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur, who first proposed a similar scale during 1730.

Réaumur's thermometer contained diluted alcohol (ethanol) and was constructed on the principle of using 0° for the freezing temperature of water, and graduating the tube into degrees, each of which was 1/1,000 of the volume contained by the bulb and tube-up to the « 0 » mark. He suggested that the concentration of alcohol employed be such that it began boiling at 80 °Ré - that is, when it had expanded in volume by 8 % . He chose alcohol instead of mercury because it expands more visibly, but this posed problems : his original thermometers were very bulky, and the low boiling-point of alcohol made them unsuitable for many applications. Instrument-makers generally chose different

liquids, and then, used 80 °Ré to signify the boiling-point of water, causing much confusion. During 1772, Jean-André Deluc studied the several substances then used in thermometers and concluded that mercurial thermometers were the best for practical use ; for example, if 2 equal amounts of water at x and y degrees were mixed, the temperature of the result was then the average of x and y degrees, and this relationship was only reliable when mercury was used. From the late- 18th Century, mercury was used almost without exception.

The « Réaumur » scale was used widely in Europe, particularly in France, Germany and Russia, and was referenced in the works of Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and Nabokov. By the 1790's, France chose the « Celsius » scale for the metric system instead of the « Réaumur » measurements, but it was used commonly in some parts of Europe until at least the mid-19th Century.

**Sunday, 25 June 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« June 25th, 5:30 in the afternoon : 30°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

**Wednesday, 5 July 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« July 5th, 1/4 to 7 o'clock in the evening : 33°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

**Saturday, 8 July 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« July 8th, 3/4 to 4 o'clock in the afternoon : 35°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

**Sunday, 9 July 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« July 9th, 7:30 in the evening and still 34°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

**Sunday, 16 July 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« July 16th, 3/4 to 6 o'clock : 39°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

### The sweaty Bruckner

Anton Bruckner was a man who sweated a lot. He always had to change his clothes. On warm days, he composed at home wearing only a swimsuit. He drank large quantities of cold coffee and, from time to time, put his head under the water pipe.

### WAB 106 : The ornamented title-page

**Tuesday, 13 June 1882** (Feast of St. Antony) : Anton Bruckner is planning the publication of his 6th Symphony (WAB

106) dedicated to his landlord and philosopher Anton Ölzelt junior. The final score is put-down by the Viennese copyist Franz Hlawaczek. The artwork of the title-page (price : 50 Florins) is created by the Linz calligraph, painter and writer Josef Maria Kaiser (a friend of Adalbert Stifter) - it must be finished by May the 20th. The score, in portrait format, is produced by the book-binder Pruscha.

### Josef Maria Kaiser

The calligrapher, painter and writer Josef Maria Kaiser was born on 1 February 1824 in Kremsmünster, Upper-Austria ; and died on 6 May 1893 in Linz. He was the son of engraver Georg Kaiser (1781-1874) . He studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine-Arts. In 1848, he started to teach art at the Linz secondary school (« Gymnasium ») . In 1853, he exhibited his works at the Art Association of Upper-Austria. In 1867, he was elected its secretary and, in 1874, Board member.

In 1880, he was named curator of the Museum Francisco-Carolinum (Upper-Austrian Provincial Museum) in Linz. (He even elaborated an architecture plan for the erection of a new building.)

In 1892, Kaiser became Board member of the Imperial and Royal Central Council Commission for research and conservation of art and historical monuments. He was a talented draftsman with remarkable delicacy and exactness, particularly in the field of historic-topographic reproductions. He was recognized as a top-calligrapher during his lifetime. As a writer, he also published a book on the History of Upper-Austria.

...

Josef Maria Kaiser, Maler und Schriftsteller : geboren 1. Februar 1824 in Kremsmünster, Oberösterreich ; gestorben 6. Mai 1893 in Linz an der Donau. Sohn des Graveurs Georg Kaiser (1781-1874) . Studium an der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste und wurde 1848 Zeichenlehrer am Linzer Gymnasium. Seit 1853 stellte Kaiser im Oberösterreichischer Kunstverein aus, dessen Sekretär er 1867 wurde. Seit 1874 Mitglied des Verwaltungsrates, seit 1880 Kustos am Museum Francisco-Carolinum (Landesmuseum) in Linz. 1892 Kaiserlich-Königlich Rates Korrigiert Mitglied der Zentralkommissar für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historische Denkmale. Als Zeichner von besonderer Zartheit und Genauigkeit, insbesondere in der historische-topographische Wiedergabe, auch als Kalligraph zu seiner Zeit viel bewundert, veröffentlichte Kaiser auch Abhandlung über Oberösterreich und versuchte sich sogar als Architekt (Projekt für den Neubau des Landesmuseum) . Kaiser war mit Adalbert Stifter befreundet und stand mit Anton Bruckner in Briefwechsel.

...

Josef Maria Kaiser, akademischer Maler, Ritter des herzoglich Sachsen-Ernestinischen Haus-Ordens II. Classe, Besitzer des goldenen Verdienstkreuzes mit der Krone, der großen goldenen Medaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft und der goldenen Ehrenpreis-Medaille für Kunstgewerbe, Comité-Mitglied und Secretär des oberösterreichischen Kunstvereines, Directions-Mitglied und Schulobmann des oberösterreichischen Gewerbevereines, correspondirendes Mitglied der Kaiserlich-Königliche



Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, wirkliches Mitglied der Kaiserlich-Königliche heraldischen Gesellschaft « Adler » in Wien etc. , Custos und Bibliothekar des Museums, Fachreferent für moderne Kunst und Heraldik.

## Werke

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Traunstein von Traunkirchen (1868) .

Bildniße Adalbert Stifters und dessen Frau ; Linz zwischen 1594 und 1610 , Aquarell (1887) Stadtmuseum Linz.

Illustrationen der Prachtausgaben von « Hochwald » , « Weihnachtsabend » (« Bergkristall ») und « Abdias » .

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## Shopping for his Master

**July 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner (list of expenses for « Frau » Katherina Kachelmayr - household and medicines) :

« Coffee, paper, wood spirit. Laundry ... 8 Florins “ Frau Kathi ”. **Cigars**, tooth-brushes, tobacco, Opera tickets. »

**Summer 1882** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« ... Laundry of linen clothes. Monthly amount for February (“ Frau Kathi ” : Katherina Kachelmayr) . **Cigars** (...)

### The virtuoso from Budapest

**Summer 1882** : The great organ virtuoso Johann Lohr from Budapest gave a recital on the great organ of St. Florian. To conclude, he played a free improvisation on a very moving theme, in an almost masterfully way.

The « Regens Chori » who was sitting beside Anton Bruckner, was greatly impressed by this last number.

At the end, he said to Bruckner :

« This man knows how to play the organ ! »

Bruckner felt affected by the sharpness of this comment. He hurried straight-up to the organ bench, threw-off his coat and shouted :

« Now, I will show that I can play the organ ! »

So, Bruckner played. He played technically and thematically so beautifully and fully that Lohr welcomed Bruckner, at the end of the chorale, on his knees :

« I bow ! »

Then, Bruckner grabbed Lohr violently by the neck, stretched-out both his arms and made him stand-up.

### Bayreuth : Premiere of « Parsifal »

**July 1882** : The very idea of Bayreuth must have excited Anton Bruckner, for he was always nervous before he even arrived at the train-station.

For the occasion, a thief at the station picked-up 300 « Gulden » out of Bruckner's over-coat.

Also attending the Festival : Guido Adler, Richard Strauß, Franz Liszt, Camille Saint-Saëns, August Göllerich junior,

Heinrich Hengster, Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, Friedrich von Hausegger, Alois Höfler, Carl V. Lachmund, Friedrich Klose, Friedrich Eckstein, Engelbert Humperdinck.

**Bayreuth : « Gasthaus Johann Gurt »**

**End of July 1882** : While in Bayreuth, Anton Bruckner and Austrian Court actor Alois Wohlmuth stay at the « Gasthaus » owned by Johann Gurt.

At noon, Bruckner eats in company of family members and supporters, including tenor Georg Unger, bass-baritone Franz Betz, bass-baritone Emil Scaria, bariton Theodor Reichmann and conductor Felix Mottl. In the evening, Bruckner is often a guest at « Haus Wahnfried » .

Bruckner is enthusiastic about Henriette Sammet, who admires her photography.

Bruckner attended the premiere of « Parsifal » conducted by the same Hermann Levi who was destined to realize the full « grandeur » of the Symphony Bruckner had begun some 10 months earlier.

For its part, Houston Stewart Chamberlain attended the premiere and the following 5 performances.

An excerpt from a letter reveals Bruckner's fawning hero worship :

« In 1882, the Master, who was then already suffering, took me by the hand and said :

“ You can be sure that I myself will perform the Symphony (No. 3) and all your works. ”

“ Have you been to ' Parsifal ' ? How did you like it ? ”

While he held my hand, I got down on my knee, kissing and pressing his noble hand to my mouth, and said :

“ Oh Master, I worship you ! ”

The Master replied :

“ There, there, calm yourself Bruckner ; good night ! ”

The next day, the Master, who was sitting behind me at “ Parsifal ”, rebuked me once because I was applauding too violently. (...) It is my most precious legacy-until up there !!! »

Embarrassed, Wagner will reconstitute (in his own way) this anecdote in a most fascinating dream :

« One night, the Holy Father came to visit me. I wanted to welcome him with dignity and respect, but he suddenly reversed the roles. He humbly leaned towards me to kiss my hand. Then, he grabbed a bottle of cognac and disappeared ! The sovereign Pontiff looked strangely like Anton Bruckner. »

What is certain is that Wagner's death raised Bruckner's personal Wagnerian cult to the religious status to which it had already been tending.

**27 (?) , 31 July 1882** : Even outside official reception hours, Bruckner as the chance to meet Richard and Eva Wagner and even « Wahnfried's » household servant, Georg Lang.

**Monday, 31 July 1882** : Friedrich Eckstein reports that, after the third performance of « Parsifal » , he met Richard Wagner, Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen, Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, Professor Alois Höfler, and Baron Christian von Ehrenfels.

Wagner's death raised Bruckner's personal Wagnerian cult to the religious status to which it had already been tending.

Hearing « Parsifal » , Gustav Mahler recorded :

« When I came-out of the “ Festspielhaus ”, I realized that I had undergone the greatest and most soul-searching (...)  
»

### The girl from Bayreuth

During a walk through Bayreuth's Imperial Garden (« Hofgarten ») , Anton Bruckner suddenly stopped his companions. Hurrying across the lawn, leaping over trenches and hedges, collapsing and rising again, he was heading towards a completely unknown but beautiful woman which had aroused his enthusiasm. However, when he finally stood before her and noticed that her silhouette was not so delicate as he expected, his excitation died on the spot.

He said to himself, still out of breath from running :

« Be nice, please be nice. »

He then ask her where he could find the Villa « Wahnfried » .

A better motive had not occurred to him, due to his haste ; in fact, he had not visited « Wahnfried » for years.

Somewhat a little surprised, she replied by pointing to the next garden entrance :

« Of course, it is just in front of you ! »

Bruckner stuttered, suffering from multiple deep bruises :

« Oh, I kiss your hand and beg a thousand times for your apology ! »

This love-adventure ended as quickly and unexpectedly as it had begun.

### Hans Rott attempts another suicide

**1882** : Another attempt of suicide by Hans Rott. The diagnosis was incurable : schizophrenia.

We all search for the causality of becoming mad, because only this can take-away our fear of its unpredictability. Someone, something must be to blame. In the case of Rott, many people and a great deal came into question. Johannes Brahms, who had ostensibly refused to acknowledge him. The professors of the Vienna Conservatory who had mocked his Symphony in E major (1880) at the final examination. His mother, who had given birth to him illegitimately as the son of a man married to someone else, and who thus infected him with the idea that he would have to « make amends, through purity, for the fault of his parents » . His half-brother Karl was, already as a very young man, a seducer with many love-affairs ; as the « bastard » of an archduke, he was also impure and, moreover, in love with the same 17 year old girl as Hans. This love, that was celebrated by Hans Rott as an eternal and chaste love that could not be lived. Then, there were the debts and Hans Rott's incapability of dealing with money. The excessive smoking and drinking. Even the dog presented as a gift, who ran away ...

### Bruckner's Steyr supporters

**Around August - September 1882** : Anton Bruckner spends some of his summer vacation in Steyr, where he comes together with Leopold Hofmeyer and Therese von Jäger (from Vienna ?) and gets to know Karl Almeroth, Isidor Dierkes and Karl Reder. Through Almeroth's mediation, Bruckner will be introduced to 2 other Steyr's friends : Count Vincent Egon zu Fürstenberg and Duke Max Emanuel.

Karl Reder reported about the frequent evenings at 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 1st District.

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1882-1883

**Thursday, 21 September 1882** :

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

## I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

### 5) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof-Organist (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.) »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören Sigmund Auspitzer (« aus Brünn, 21 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. ») , Anton Bayer (« Kontrapunkt I. » - siehe Anmerkung) , Ciro Cavalieri (« aus Triest, 18 Jahre - Orgel V. I. (Rept.) , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , Ferdinand Foll (« 15 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») , Carl Führich (« aus Jamnitz, 17 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») , Josef Großmann (« 16 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Eduard Hamlich (« aus Sluschowitz, 19 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Franz Höfer (« aus Baden, 20 Jahre - Fagott A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. ») , Otto Höhmann (« aus Neunkirchen, 18 Jahre - Posaune A. I. , Kontrapunkt II. , Klavier I. (Rpt.) . ») , Franz Johnscher (« 17 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») , Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 20 Jahre - Orgel A. II. ») , (es gibt wie in den Vorjahren einen zweiten, eigens nummerierten Eintrag, einen Namensvetter ?) Emil Lamberg (« aus Pest, 20 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Josef Meyer (« 15 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Franz Schlott (« aus Preßburg, 19 Jahre - Kontrapunkt A. I. , Klavier II. ») , Anton Scholz (« aus Waydhofen an der Ybbs, 22 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») , Heinrich Schoof (« 17 Jahre - Posaune A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») , Josef Skalitzky (« aus Wischau, 19 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Gottfried Brzibohaty (« 13 Jahre - Fagott V. I. ») , Ernst Décsey (« aus Hamburg, 12 Jahre - Violin V. III. , Klavier I. (Rept.) ») , Robert Erben (« aus Troppau, 20 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Komposition I. , General der Musik. ») , Rudolf Fitzner (« aus Ernstbrunn, 14 Jahre - Violin II. V. , Klavier I. ») , Ludwig Grandé (« aus Teltsch, 17 Jahre - Klavier V. III. , Harmonielehre. » (in der Klasse Franz Krenn)) , Ferdinand Hellmesberger (« 19 Jahre - Klavier III. , Harmonielehre. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 13 Jahre - Violin V. II. , A. M. , Klavier I. ») , Marie Pohoryles (« 14 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Charlotte Steutter (« 18 Jahre - Klavier V. III. , Harmonielehre. ») , Josef Stritzko (« 21 Jahre - Komposition A. II. ») und Heinrich Wottowa (« 15 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Harmonielehre. ») .

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehören 5 zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern einer halb vom Schulgeld befreit war. 10 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, 6 Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 109 und Kontrapunkt von 10 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

(...)

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 1.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 20.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 25.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400. »

## Rott composes at the asylum

**Sunday, 24 December 1882** : On Christmas Eve, Joseph Seemüller visits Hans Rott at the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Brünlfeld ») .

At the beginning of the conversation, Seemüller says :

« ... I was with “ Herr Doktor ” (Ludwig) Schlager. He told me that he had encouraged you to write something for Professor Anton Bruckner. You have written and played 2 lines of notes, but you have not gone beyond them. »

Doctor Ludwig Schlager was director of the asylum during the entire period of Hans Rott's hospitalization. Professor Schlager was one of the most distinguished alienists in Austria.

## Doctor Ludwig Schlager

The Austrian psychiatrist and mental health physician Doctor Ludwig Schlager was born on 19 August 1828 in St. Florian am Inn, Upper-Austria ; and died on 24 July 1885 in Bad Gastein (Wildbad Gastein) , aged 57. He was buried in Salzburg (Matzleinsdorfer Evangelical Cemetery) .

The step-son of the mayor of St. Florian am Inn, Ludwig Schlager graduated from the Linz « Gymnasium » (high-school) . In 1846, he went to study medicine in Vienna (as military physician) at the Medical-Surgical Josef-Academy (« Josephinum ») . During his studies in 1848-1849, he worked as an assistant in military hospitals located in Upper-Italy, taking-part in the campaigns of field-marshal Josef Radetzky (in the context of defeat ...) , especially at the siege of Venice (Venetian Revolution) . After his return, he resumed his studies and was awarded a doctorate in Medicine in 1852, then became a temporary secondary physician (externalist in endoscopic surgery) at the Military Medical Institute led by Josef Gottfried Riedel (a former plague-house which took-up insane patients from the higher-classes) .

Ludwig Schlager became a member of the College of Physicians of Vienna. As early as 1858, he was habilitated in the field of psychiatry and forensic psychology. Until 1860, he developed a concept of care and treatment of mentally ill without using coercive measures. In 1865, he was appointed associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») , and, in 1878, he became a full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») of psychiatry. In 1869, he took-over the management of the so-called observation department for doubtful mental disorders at the General Hospital of Vienna.

In 1853, Doctor Schlager started to work at the newly-built Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Brünlfeld ») located on « Lazarettgasse » Number 14, in the 9th District. During the cholera epidemic of 1873, he was appointed Director. He held this position until his death in 1885. Doctor Schlager was a fervent advocate of occupational therapy (wood-carvings, crafting artificial flowers, drawing, painting, attending social evenings and balls) to fight familial and colonial mistreatment ; a practice supported by Doctor Jaromír von Mundy. During his administration, he came into direct conflict with his colleagues pathologist Carl von Rokitansky and psychiatrist Theodor Meynert who promoted purely organic-oriented practice. It



was a confrontation between institutional and academic visions. Doctor Meynert's clinic was a department inside the asylum. To offer an alternative, Schlager created in 1875 a 2nd university-clinic of psychiatry. He contributed a great deal to the general acceptance of his therapeutical approach.

From 1860 to 1872, Ludwig Schlager was appointed lecturer in psychiatry at the University of Vienna. During that same period, he worked for the District Court of Vienna as a national expert in psychiatry on criminal matters. From 1860 to 1865, he undertook an extensive study-trip to Central and Western Europe, visiting mental institutions in Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, France, England, Scotland, Denmark and Sweden, in order to understand their own State legislations. When he returned in Vienna, his goal was to improve (unsuccessfully in the beginning) the legal bases in Austria. Grant of the Civil Law of the City of Vienna in 1879. From 1866 to 1879, Schlager was a Liberal Party member of Vienna's City Council. There, he established himself calling for the improvement of the mental care system. His efforts to reform the legislation concerning institutions for insane did not lead to a law, but, in 1874, to a ministerial decree. As a result, from 1879 until his death in 1885, he was a member of the Supreme Medical Council and received the title of High-Councilor for Hygiene. A year earlier, in 1878, he had been appointed Government Councilor.

Doctor Schlager also wrote in collaboration with Otto Roquette the libretto of « Prinz Heinrich und Ilse » a Romantic Opera in 4 Acts composed by Hans Schläger, which was premiered at the Salzburg « Stadttheater » in 1868.

**1886** : The « Schlagerstraße » in Vienna-Alsergrund (9th District) has been named after him.

### Publications

« Über die in Folge von Gehirnerschütterung sich entwickelnden psychischen Störungen », in : « Zeitschrift der Kaiserlich-Königliche Gesellschaft der Ärzte zu Wien », Number 13 (1857) .

« Der Idiotismus und die Idiotenanstalten » (1862) .

« Sammlung von Irrengesetzen aller Staaten » (« Repertory of Laws for the insane from all States ») published in Damerow's Journal for Psychiatry (1862) .

« On the efforts to obtain a law for the insane in Austria covering the period from 1859 to 1869 » (« Über die Bestrebungen zur Erlangung eines Irrengesetzes in Österreich im Zeitraffer von 1859-1869 ») , in : the Austrian Medical Year-Book (XIX) .

« Die Ringtheater-Katastrophe in ihrer Bedeutung für den Irrenarzt » , in : « Allgemeine Wiener medicinische Zeitung » , Number 27 (1882) - also independently published.

Zudem Schrieb er das Opernlibretto für die 1868 in Salzburg uraufgeführte Oper Heinrich und Ilse.

## Vienna : Bruckner's « Hôtel de France » apartment

August Stradal, in his « Erinnerungen » (Souvenirs) on Anton Bruckner, has given us a clear description of the composer's home. It should be better known.

He says :

« At the beginning of **January 1883**, I went-up to Bruckner's apartment of the “ Wohnhaus ” and became his pupil. He was living in 2 rooms on the top-floor of Number 7 on “ Heßgasse ”. In the middle of the first room, there was a very old Bösendorfer grand-piano, and its white-keys could scarcely be distinguished from its black-keys as a consequence of dust and snuff. Against one wall was an American cottage organ a pedal-harmonium with 2 manuals. Against another wall, there was a bed with a large crucifix hanging above it ; and, in front of the window, stood a little table which was used for writing and, in later years, for dining too. Next to the door and hardly visible was a small wash stand. There was nothing in the room except the bare necessities for daily living. The furniture in the apartment was a lesson in renunciation. »

« Pieces of music were piled on the piano. I was impressed by the many scores by Johann Sebastian Bach, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, and Richard Wagner. Anton Bruckner had only 2 books at that time : the Bible and a biography of Napoléon. The Master often studied both of these and he was so well-versed in the Scriptures that he was a match for any theologian, as far as knowledge of the Bible was concerned. The Master shared Beethoven's enthusiasm for Napoléon, and Beethoven, as is known, had a great admiration for Bonaparte before he became Emperor. »

« The second room was completely bare of furniture and was not used. But, in one corner, bundles of criticisms, papers, and letters were lying in a heap. Manuscripts of his Symphonies and Masses lay mixed-up with newspaper articles and letters from Hermann Levi, Athur Nikisch, Hans Richter and others. Anton Bruckner once asked me to help him find his (String) Quintet in the mass of papers. On this occasion, I discovered the manuscript of the only piano composition the Master ever wrote. Its name : « Erinnerung » (Souvenir) . He gave me the little work when I asked him for it. Unfortunately, he could not remember when he had written it. »

Other eye witnesses have mentioned an anti-chamber with a bath-tub and a bust of Bruckner. He sometimes stroked the bust with his hand and said :

« Good old fellow. »

All agree that his room was in terrific disorder. His former teacher Otto Kitzler was actually alarmed when he called. In this respect, at least, Bruckner was something of a Bohemian.

Friedrich Klose, who became Anton Bruckner's pupil in 1886, gives us a similar description of the composer's home. He says clothes as well as music were strewn over the piano. When he used to call on Bruckner at night, the room would

be lighted by only 2 tall candles. The reason for this strictly observed custom was Bruckner's fear of fire.

### Vienna : Josef Schalk on mission to the « Hotel Kaiserin Elisabeth »

**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 » .

### Ignaz wants a watch

**February 1883** : Ignaz asks his brother Anton to buy him a good watch. Bruckner will send him a watch which he bought in Vienna for the sum of 18 Florins.

### Wagner's « pied à terre » in Venice

Richard Wagner stayed in Venice 6 times between 1858 and his death. He arrived in Italy on his final trip not long after performances of his Opera « Parsifal » premiered at the second Bayreuth Festival.

Wagner has rented for an annual fee of 6,000 Francs a great Renaissance structure on the Grand Canal : the entire « piano nobile » level (a mezzanine consisting of 15 ornate rooms) of the « Ca' Vendramin Calergi from Count de' Bardi » before his departure and arrived on **Saturday, 16 September 1882** with his wife Cosima Liszt, 4 children (Daniela von Bülow, Isolde, Eva and Siegfried Wagner) , the governess for the 2 girls, a tutor for young Siegfried, 2 longtime servants from Bayreuth (valet and chamber-maid) augmented by a cook and, at least, one more servant. The retinue also included Joseph Rubinstein. Wagner has redecorated some of the rooms, with silks and his favourite velour.

The building had a porter and 2 gondoliers were engaged to be ready with their services. There was a barber coming every day at noon ; there was an afternoon hot chocolate or tea and/or a cognac at the « Caffé Lavena » , a fashionable coffee-shop on the north-side of Piazza San Marco (still there today) , and « preserving the little table on which he was served and the chair the great man used every day » , as reported by Giuseppe Norlenghi in his time.

### Wagner : The final days

Henry Perl recounts the days of Wagner in the last month or so of his life.

At first, it seemed to be improving :

« (...) His breathing difficulties occurred less frequently, although some people with whom he had close contact knew that, on a few occasions during this final period, at intervals of about 8 days, he suffered fainting spells. One such

occurrence befell the Master at the confectioner “ Lavena ”, another time with his banker, “ Herr ” Reitmeyer. Both times, as soon as the distress receded, he hastened to rejoin his gondola, which was awaiting him at the closest “ riva ”, and he instructed people that no one should make any mention of these situations to his family. »

These occurrences, which Wagner thought resulted from his exaggerated nervous state, failed to alarm him, says Perl. His confidence was communicated to his family and to those around him, while Doctor Friedrich Keppler maintained his faith in Wagner’s inherently robust constitution and his strong will. Wagner’s intellectual strength was irrepressible, too, and was furthered as he regularly took his young son on his promenades. Siegfried’s fascination with architectural monuments not only complemented that of his father but also boded well for the expectation that the boy was aiming at a career as an architect.

Perl is ready to move us on to the long-anticipated climax. She begins, however, by completing a theme already introduced - one that, once again, stresses her own capacity as an eyewitness :

« The final days of Carnival came on and the wild merriment reached its pinnacle ; Shrove Tuesday ( “ Faschingdienstag ”) fell on **February 6**.

In the literal sense of the word, the Piazza San Marco swam in a sea of light and offered a prospect of fairy-land beauty. 2 bands of musicians played merrily and in very brisk tempo ; there was jolly dancing on the platform. Innumerable masks and processions of maskers moved about with Italian vivacity and obligatory vocalizing under the “ Procuratoria ”, crowded into the “ cafés ”, and performed improvised comic pieces in the midst of the San Marco Piazza. Their harmless merriment, so inherently generated, challenged northern on-lookers, who stood among them as if wanting to say :

We are all too solemn to do this sort of thing, we live a life much too serious, we have meditated much too much, too much perused the pages of Kant, Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Hegel. These simple folks here do nothing like that, and who knows on which side we wisdom lies ?!

Perhaps, similar thoughts passed through the mind of the great Master in this last Shrove-night ; in any case, his thoroughly artistic nature gained the upper-hand, for he mingled in unaccustomed jollity with the surging crowds.

We have seen him with our own eyes. It was the last time, and his appearance has remained indelible in our recollection.

Wagner took his daughter Daniela by the arm and, with her, pushed through the midst of the most rowdy of the crowd of maskers. His step was springy, even youthful, his head held high. Anyone could see that this man, who regularly turned his back on general sociability, felt himself perfectly comfortable among this merry-making crowd, effectively participating in this “ Mardi Gras ” nonsense ; that he, an unmasked man, imagined himself masked in the midst of this masquerading, childish mob. And, in a certain sense, in that moment, he was just that, since he felt himself a participant in this wild charade.

Just like all the others, he would be on hand for the extinction of the Venetian Carnival.

It was just before midnight and Wagner took unmistakable pleasure in the traditional moment in which “ Mardi Gras ” and Lent, that is, indulgence and renunciation, joined hands fraternally ; from the highest-level bacchanal to deepest penitence - a single brief step !

Midnight was tolled by the gigantic Campanile di San Marco, and ceremoniously those venerated bell-tongues took-up the melodious rhythms they repeat each day. Wagner listened to them with head uplifted. Then, with the flickering lights suddenly extinguished as if, by the command of some higher-power, darkness surrounded the jolly mob and sacred hymns resounded all around in the air !

It was a theatrical touch, but Wagner knew how to appreciate it !

The image visibly pleased him, and we saw the Master enter the rooms of the “ Al Bianco Cappello ” restaurant in an elevated mood.

It was perhaps the last evening of care-free cheerfulness in Wagner's life - no, not “ perhaps ”, it certainly “ was ” ! An hour later, Wagner went home still fully caught-up in the immediate impressions of these fresh experiences.

“ Arnico mio ”, he said to the aged porter who, because the Master was out of the house, had not yet gone to bed ; “ Amico mio, the Carnival is ended. ” (“ il Carnevale è andato !”) With that he clapped the old man on the shoulder. It was a scene that this servant, obviously favoured by Wagner, never tired of telling, over and over, so deep was the impression that this made on the old man, especially with the Master's death ensuing so abruptly thereafter. »

We can contrast Perl's testimony with that of Cosima's, not so much to use one to discredit the other, but to observe 2 very different perspectives on the same episode. After reporting in her diary entry for February 6 that Wagner had happily spent some time that Shrove Tuesday morning sitting beside the Doge's Palace in fine weather, Cosima says that :

« (...) at around 9 o'clock, we set-out to the Square for Shrovetide celebrations. Richard does this to please the children, who reward him with their gaiety. The impression is mixed ; Richard finds something touching about the procession carrying carnival to the grave. With its melody which he thinks to be an old one, but after going to the podium with the children, he returns to me in the “ Cappello Nero ” looking sad. He says poor artisans were hopping around there without really understanding why. But the midnight bells and the extinguishing of the flames produce another fine effect. (...)

We return home toward 1 o'clock. Richard not entirely dissatisfied, but as I go to sleep, I hear him say :

“ I am like Othello, the long day's task is done. ”

He asked me earlier whether I still care for him - he is so difficult ! »

That the accounts of Perl and Cosima are not irreconcilable was demonstrated long ago by Wagner's biographer, Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, who drew on both and made a comfortable synthesis of the two, freely using Perl's details (and even verbiage) in particular.

A further contrast of accounts may be found for the very next day, February 7.

Cosima reports tersely an excursion that was seemingly aborted :

« (...) Toward 1 o'clock, we set-out for the cemetery island of San Michele, but Richard is not feeling well, and we return home immediately. He feels uncomfortable at lunch - he probably caught a cold yesterday. (...) »

For her part, however, Perl gives a very different account, one very much focused on the gondolier, Luigi Trevisan, from whom (probably as one of her important informants in general) she must have had this direct and quite contrasting account :

« On the day following (the carnival finale) , on Ash Wednesday, Wagner felt disposed to make use of the lovely weather and to undertake a prolonged journey by water. As always, he again asked Luigi, his first gondolier, who would in such instances be his adviser :

“ Where do Venetians go today ? ”

And this well-informed guide replied :

“ To San Michele, illustrious Sir. ”, whereupon he steered Wagner to Venice's splendid, recently built necropolis.

A magnificent view toward the Paduan and Vicenzan mountains makes this outing to the island that lies near Murano particularly rewarding. The weather was seductively beautiful, the Master left the gondola and, accompanied by the brightest sunshine, made a stroll through the imposing necropolis of the Lagoon City, which he recognized for its treasured and admired merit. When he settled into the gondola in order to return home, Luigi asked his master whether the promenade had satisfied him.

“ Absolutely ”, responded Wagner.

And added to it :

“ Soon I, too, will take my rest in a similar place of repose ! ”

Certainly, on that morning, his old, ravaging enemies had made themselves especially evident in the Master's breast

and prompted him to this prophecy - sadly, to be fulfilled so soon thereafter.

Perl's account of this episode is in conflict not only with Cosima's entry but also with the report by Giuseppe Norlenghi, who confirms Cosima in quite vivid details that were certainly obtained from Trevisan himself. It is possible that Perl (or Luigi himself) confused this incident of February 7, 1883, with an earlier and more successful excursion made to San Michele (Cemetery and church) that Cosima records for October 19, 1882.

Perl proceeds from here to report on what was to be the last week of Wagner's life. Cosima notes that the soprano Pauline Lucca had hoped to visit Wagner during a one-day stop-over she was making in Venice, but that the composer's health did not allow it. A more significant visitor was the conductor Hermann Levi, whose arrival Perl places « between Friday and Saturday » (i.e., February 9-10), but which Cosima sets more authoritatively on the afternoon of Sunday February 4. Cosima's references thereafter to his stay in Venice are mostly concerned (beyond sneers at his Jewish identity) with the ill-health Levi was suffering. Perl, on the other hand, makes much of the prolonged discussions that Wagner had with Levi, of such intensity that they stirred the composer to renewed agitation. This prompted Doctor Keppler's concern, but Wagner proposed to find relief in a little excursion with Siegfried, and the physician suggested either Verona or Bologna, conveniently within reach by train. This idea was approved, though it is never mentioned by Cosima. Scheduling it proved difficult. The idea was broached on Saturday the 10th, but the next day, the 11th, it rained all day (as Cosima confirms). This, says Perl, put Wagner in a bad humour (which Cosima does not indicate); he spent « the greater part of the day » working in his study (which Cosima confirms if reduces).

Fretting over the weather, says Perl, Wagner finally decided to go-out for a walk alone but returned after 10 minutes clutching his chest and breathing with difficulty. His irritability continued through the day, but his mood improved in the afternoon and Doctor Keppler found him restored to good condition. In one of the discussions the 2 enjoyed so much, they renewed the idea of the excursion, expecting that improved weather would allow it within the next few days. Of all this, Cosima says nothing; in fact, she reports Wagner spending time, and joking, with his barber; but Glasenapp accepted Perl's information, blending it in with Cosima's report.

Henry Perl gives an account of Wagner's activities on the next day - Monday, February 12, to be the last full-day of his life. It is an account rather divergent from Cosima's. And here, Perl explicitly states that a lot of her detail came to her directly and immediately from Doctor Keppler. She reports that, in the morning, Wagner arose feeling unusually well in health and spirits following a night of « restful sleep without interruption ». (Cosima reports that he awoke once during the night and was annoyed at not being able to find his check-book.) Since the rain had ended and a sunny day was in prospect, he particularly pleased Siegfried, Perl says, by proposing to go to his banker to secure the money needed for their projected little journey. For that purpose, says Perl, Wagner set-out (presumably alone, at what time not specified) for San Marco. Usually, when he had errands to run in the city-centre, he would stop at Reitmeyer's bank, partly as a resting-point should he have problems of breath or nerves. This time, he went there for business (perhaps that was why he had been looking for his check-book, as Cosima reported) and was feeling so well that he lingered for about a half-hour, chatting amiably with members of the bank-staff.

Now, for her part, Cosima reports the departure that morning of Hermann Levi, still not quite well (of whom Perl says

nothing here) . Cosima notes that Wagner spent the morning working on his article, and adds that, at lunch, he entertained Joukowsky with « some very drastic jokes and anecdotes » . She then states that Wagner went-out in the afternoon with Eva (without Cosima herself, who was awaiting a visit from Princess Hatzfeldt) and « gave Eva some chocolate » .

But Cosima says nothing about what would have been Doctor Keppler's final house-call, made according to Perl at the accustomed hour of 6 o'clock. In the process of reporting that visit, however, Perl is able to introduce herself. Cosima reports that she met Doctor Keppler later that evening, when he told her of his visit and passed on to her a joke that Wagner had told him that day. From this episode, Perl concludes, among other things, that a jocular Wagner certainly felt well the day before his death.

### Bruckner's premonition

Letter from Anton Bruckner to conductor Felix Mottl :

« Once, I came home and felt very sad. I did not think the “ Master ” would live much longer. Then, I conceived the Adagio in C-sharp minor. »

When speaking to Doctor Theodor Helm some time later, Bruckner was still emotional on the subject :

« Yes, I wrote the Adagio for the death of the great, unique one (“ des Großen Einzigen ”) : partly in premonition, partly as funeral music after the catastrophe. »

Göllerich-Auer reports that Bruckner had had a premonition at the New Year of 1883, and had written to Mottl to warn him that « the Master cannot live for much longer » , but if this was the case, the letter has not survived.

### Death of Richard Wagner

It was a dark and stormy day, allowing no thought of anyone venturing-out, and forcing postponement of the planned excursion (to Verona) . Wagner did, however, schedule his customary gondola ride for 4 o'clock that afternoon.

« He had risen from bed at 6 o'clock and he set to work, presumably to distract himself without interruption for the entire morning. »

Here, Perl seemingly contradicts the conventional picture of Wagner working that morning on his essay - a picture carried-over from Cosima's explicit statement to that effect for the previous morning. Instead, Perl states that he was occupied in plans for the revival of « Parsifal » the coming summer, whose every detail he was supervising directly. That had been, she says, the reason for Levi's visit, so that they could exchange ideas in person.

Perl says nothing about Cosima taking breakfast with her husband that morning - much less anything about any



argument between them. Instead, as she would have it, all was business :

« (...) On this very morning, Wagner made clear that, up to the 2 o'clock hour set for meal-time, he did not wish any further disturbance, a desire that even " Frau " Cosima always took very seriously, and, in such a case, she never entered her husband's room.

Nevertheless, she ordered Betty, household servant trusted over many years, to remain in an adjacent room, since the Master that morning had mentioned that he did not feel altogether well, and, should he have need of something, he would always prefer to receive it from the hands of this loyal servant. These instructions were neither something exceptional nor dictated by any particular anxiety, but were, on the contrary, a long-established practice, recognized as appropriate.

Thus, as on all other days during these hours when the Master wished to remain alone in his study, Betty Bürkel sat in the neighbouring room, occupied with her needle-work. The hours before mid-day passed one after the other without Wagner having expressed any sort of wish. " Frau " Cosima came more than once and received each time the same response :

" The Master is working, he walks back and forth through the room following his custom, and he has not required anything. "

Around 1 o'clock, Wagner rang and asked the servant as she entered :

" Is the gondola set for 4 o'clock ? "

The servant said it was so.

" Good. In addition, I want to eat in my room ; some soup will do. I don't feel well. "

This, too, was nothing exceptional : when Wagner was particularly immersed in his work or did not feel entirely well, it frequently happened that he partook of a tiny portion in his room and, in time for dessert, he joined his family.

A few minutes later, the servant brought the requested soup. For a while, all remained quiet in the room ; suddenly, Betty Bürkel heard the sound of hasty movement back and forth, and thereupon, a repeated and persistent coughing. Become attentive, she put her work aside and with silent steps approached the door. It would not have been long before she also heard groans of pain, which plunged her into great anxiety. For all that, she lacked the courage to disobey the Master's order and to go in without being summoned ; but her apprehension would allow her to delay no further and she was on the verge of the decision to go to " Frau " Cosima when there came to her ear the soft cry. " Betty. "

Frightened to death, the servant plunged immediately into the room, which, as already described, was divided by a

curtain into 2 sections. Behind this curtain, however, she saw the Master laid-out on his sofa, half-covered by his furs and his feet propped on an adjacent arm-chair.

As the girl later reported, the Master's facial lines were frightfully distorted. While weakly and painfully the words escaped from his lips :

“ Call my wife and the doctor. ”

These were his last words ! »

In frightful dismay, the terrified servant ran to “ Frau ” Cosima. The latter in her turn rushed, stricken with dread, into the room of her husband, whose appearance forced upon her the great extent of his peril.

“ To the doctor, quickly to the doctor, call Doctor Keppler. ” was all that she could issue in the circumstances in which she was occupied with the suffering man, who lay insensible to all that was going on around him.

Within the Master's breast, the pain strove and raged quite horribly, but he was incapable of giving expression to it other than in some pitiful groans and gasps. “ Frau ” Cosima, herself near to unconsciousness, held her husband's hands and attempted to provide relief with all the measures that, more than once before, had proved helpful in similar convulsive seizures. Though frightened to death, she had never perceived the full-extent of the peril in which her most dearly beloved husband was now caught. She no longer attempted to revive him, especially when he suddenly became more quiet and his head sank on her shoulder. The spasm appeared to have passed, his breathing was light, and “ Frau ” Cosima believed him to have settled into sleep. She took this for a good sign : she tried not to breathe herself so as not to disturb her dear one. And with immovable eyes, she looked only to the door, through which, at any moment, the doctor would enter and, as she firmly hoped, would bring aid.

The confusion in the house upon the report of the Master's sudden indisposition was so great that all quite lost their heads over it. 3 messengers were dispatched one way or another to the doctor : the terrified children came to the door and dared not enter into the room where all was silent and their father was, as they believed, asleep. A painful hour passed before someone was able to locate Doctor Keppler and the latter could be brought-back to the palazzo. With his entrance (this was the first time he had set foot in this phantasmagoric, tapestry-filled room) , he found Richard Wagner still in the same position in which he lay fallen when Betty Bürkel rushed into the room upon his weak cry for help. (He had rested his head on the breast of his wife, who held him in both arms in a tender embrace.) The stricken man appeared to sleep ; “ Frau ” Cosima, who had not ventured to speak so as not to awaken the sufferer, conveyed to the doctor, through a sign only, the understanding that her husband was sleeping after the attack.

The physician gave not a moment's credit to this illusion and had immediately recognized that he was not dealing with a sleeper. He approached Wagner, examined pulse, heart, and head, and confirmed the horrible reality.

Richard Wagner had ceased to be.

Death must already have occurred quickly, without the unfortunate wife having even suspected the awful truth.

Himself deeply stricken by this unexpected disaster, Doctor Keppler spoke not a word. But raised the corpse in his strong arms and set it on the magnificent lounging bed. As soon as the deceased lay peacefully on the bed where he loved to rest, the physician found the right words to communicate the lamentable fact to the unfortunate wife, who had not yet fully-understood the horrible reality.

No sooner had « Frau » Cosima heard pronounced the words « He is dead ! » than, emitting a heartrending shriek, she flung herself on the corpse of her husband and, embracing it, collapsed as one insensible.

All of the doctor's efforts to pull the unfortunate wife from the dead man's neck remained futile, and, even when she returned to consciousness, she was impervious to all consolation. To Doctor Keppler now fell the dismal obligation of communicating to the children, who had been awaiting at the door in deathly anguish, the cruel misfortune that had befallen them with such pitiless force.

Who could dare to describe the dreadful lamentation, the heartrending grief, that this unexpected news of tragedy elicited from these young spirits who, conditioned by the radiance of good fortune, had idolized their father !

Perl here pauses to suggest the mental framework of the Wagner youngsters, who had seen him age but could not conceive of his dying : a genius of such lofty status had to be immortal. The news of his death left them stupefied. They could only think, instead, of their mother. She had been inseparable from Wagner, deeply apprehensive over his health during their travels. They would have recalled now, Perl imagines, an occasion when they had been at a transfer station 4 years before. Counting over 90 railroad carriages in one long train, they had jokingly told their mother that such was to be the number of their father's years.

« (...) and now - now all that came to naught, all that turned to mockery. The great, the unique, the idolized man, and above all their father, who yesterday had moved happily among them, was dead, dead, - dead !

“ And our mother ? ”, they asked repeatedly of the physician, and thus, summoned him to recollection of the strong obligation that he now owed to the unfortunate widow. Thereupon, the children joined with him and sought, in concert with him, to remove from their father's corpse the wife who, as if frozen in grief, was resisting any consolation.

A supremely dramatic vision :

This chamber that belied the situation (glistening and bristling with gold brocade and with shimmering, smooth silk) mocking in its colours of the rainbow, sparkling in artificial beams of unwavering sunshine. And, in the midst of all this, on his bed of life's pleasures and joys he alone could imagine, was He, the great deceased. Bent over him, disheveled in grief, cursing her own life and enduring only for the sake of her, and of her children's wishes, was the

widow, the wife, who but a few hours before, hanging upon his neck, had received and returned his life-warming kisses, with no thought of their separation !

The children circled about, so greatly blessed in spirit, so like their parents, and crushed by grief, over-powered for the first time by the frightening perception of endless emptiness !

What a “ tableau ”, unforgettable to anyone who had seen it ! And outside, the crowd of the curious was growing minute by minute. The report of the Master's sudden, serious illness had spread like wild-fire through Venice. Already, the wire-service report was flying-out into the wide-world and announced the likely passing of the meteor that, throughout the decade, had enthralled the whole world's cultivated people. Already, the interested and the curious were making a pilgrimage to the palazzo's portals ; they questioned, they besieged, and had to be content with a shoulder-shrug, with a raised glance, from the household servants.

“ Richard Wagner has become very ill and the physician is now at his bedside. ”

Up to 3:30 pm on the afternoon of **February 13**, no one in Venice knew more. Finally, Doctor Keppler descended the stairs in the “ cortile ” (inner-court) .

“ The physician, the physician ! ”, was heard from all sides and everyone drew near to him, awaiting his statement.

“ Richard Wagner has died one hour ago as a result of heart failure. ”, said the doctor, profoundly moved and with bared head, to the tensely expectant crowd : whereupon, he immediately hastened away, for there were many sad duties he was required to fulfill in the next 36 hours. The helpless family, home-down by grief, he had meanwhile passed-on to the care and keeping of their best friend, the painter Paul von Jukowski, so beloved by the Master.

“ Richard Wagner dead, dead. ”

(whispered everyone in confusion, and outward rolled the speedy waves that always become the bearers of evil news) outward into the broad stream of public life, where it resounds stormily with all its inherent, elemental force, so that the ground on which it falls moans and groans. One hour later, the sad news had spread over the entire city ; in the coffee-houses, on the street-corners, people cried-out :

“ Riccardo Wagner, il famoso tedesco, Riccardo Wagner il gran Maestro del Vendramin è morto ! ”

(Richard Wagner, the famous German. Richard Wagner, the great Master of the Vendramin, is dead !)

As to that, however, an indescribable and, from an Italian stand-point, inexplicable excitement was generated, that confirmed still further the power of Genius. »

Since the death of Giuseppe Garibaldi (June 2, 1882) , no news had made such an impact upon the general

population as did the sudden-death of the great Master ; and here, his greatness was little more than suspected, not recognized.

The rain fell in torrents, from a distance the thunder rumbled, as in summer-time, and for an instant, the lightning illuminated the angry firmament. The wire-service laboured without ceasing and carried to all points of the compass the heart-breaking intelligence of the demise of one of the mightiest spirits of all time.

And we (Perl herself) also were, at that time, at the telegraph office that was besieged by people from all regions. We had the opportunity to speak with Luigi, the Master's gondolier, who was at the point of sending dispatches of the Wagner family to Munich and Berlin.

Luigi's emotions hardly allowed him to speak : in his haste and confusion, he had taken Wagner's umbrella and showed it to us with the words :

“ And to think, that he had carried it yesterday, the good, gallant, special man, who never had a nasty word for us, even when he was so miserable. Here, here, look at his name. ”

And he showed us the ivory handle with the initials R.W.

“ And now, he had to die, ' per bacco ' (by Jove) , how many would leave the world in his place ! ' Poveretto, Poveretto ' ! ”

And the man gave himself over without restraint to his naive but genuine grief.

Since his sending of the dispatches required a good bit of time - 5,000 dispatches with reference to Wagner's decease were sent during the night of **February 13-14**, and, on the following day, from Venice to the most distant destinations.

Luigi, the loyal servant, turned to us once more, and continued in his need for communication :

“ Even his little cat. ”

Wagner first acquired it 2 months ago, and he came just at the right time to save it from drowning, it would not touch anything today, the animal knew what he had lost, he was continually following the Maestro close behind. ”

Perl launches next into a purple-prose description of what she calls « the final act of the sorrowful tragedy » , noting in the process the world-wide grief over Wagner's death :

« He himself, the King of musical art, yet lay pale and motionless on the precious pillows of his grandiose bed ; near him, overcome by grief, her thick, long, blond hair let loose (as he had loved it) wife.

Her eyes fixed immovably on him, her breath warming his death-chilled countenance and his hands (with her hair, that had been so dear to him, soaking-up the tears flowing so bitterly, insensible and inaccessible to any impact of the outside-world, and insensible to any word, even that came from the lips of her children) thus, she lay beside the benumbed corpse of that man who, for her, had been no man but a god !

And through the entire long night, she remained by his side, alone with him, without speaking, without taking a drop of refreshment - always whispering softly to him what her love, the immensely profound feeling which she felt for him, could inspire in her in the hour of their separation.

Not alone should he spend his first night in the realm of death (not alone) , she would watch over him, to gaze on his beloved countenance, as long as no one could remove his mortal body, as long as she could have access to his countenance. The others would fulfill their sad obligations, of which she was not capable.

She knew only one obligation, to remain by him whom, in life, she had loved so indescribably and so unalterably, whose great, deep heart she had possessed so fully and totally !

Each passing hour strengthened her resolve, she held vigil the whole long night with him, she relinquished him not for a minute with the coming of day, she took nothing for herself, she said nothing, she ignored the children whom she forgot she genuinely loved.

For 26 full hours, she would not be torn from his body, and who knows whether she would have ever left her dead husband had she not been laid low by a physical break-down that rendered her unconscious - an exhaustion that allowed Doctor Keppler and the children to pull her arms from the deceased and administer some drops of strengthening wine.

Nevertheless, when her consciousness eventually returned and she was able to grasp anew the bitterness of her destiny, she spoke again for the first time and with the following words :

“ It is shameful that I still live, were I to have died, Richard would have immediately killed himself ! ”

That was the kind of marital devotion that united these 2 extraordinary people. “ Frau ” Cosima's grief was quite striking, and fully worthy of this man to whom it was tendered.

With him, with the great man whom she had been so happy to call her very own through the years, with him also was extinguished the light of her life, the sunshine withdrawn from her existence.

And while the grieving lady, brooding in her heavy sorrow, forgot time, place, and the draconian necessity of the final separation from her beloved deceased, in the broad palazzo-hall, friends and admirers hastily ran up and down to prepare everything for a grand ceremony worthy of him who lay there mute and cold.

The magnificent sarcophagus, meanwhile, was ordered from Vienna.

Doctor Keppler was entrusted with the embalming ; he expected the ambassador of the King of Bavaria at any hour.

The deputation of the city of Venice was sent to the palazzo in order to transmit to the widow of the great composer and poet, in the name of the city, a message of condolence that attempted to express the sympathy with which it shared her sorrow, and, at the same time, communicated that the city had proposed a funeral ceremony worthy of the great deceased.

“ Frau ” Cosima conveyed through her true friend and admirer Paul von Jukowski her heartfelt thanks for these fine gestures, she explained at the same time that she had decided to transport her dead husband with total restraint.

Funeral “ crowns ” (wreaths) of the most splendid kind were delivered to the palazzo, of which the most exceptional was the commemorative wreath of the King of Bavaria and a black-gold one from the King of Italy ; also, a rich wreath from the “ Circolo Artistico ”, with the inscription “ Venezia a Riccardo Wagner ”.

Countless floral gifts from other societies and private parties arrived, among them, wreaths from the Princess Hatfeldt and her daughter. The aforementioned lady and Hans Richter of Vienna were the only outsiders who were allowed to see the Master in death.

Princess Hatzfeldt, herself in advanced years, and an ardent admirer of Wagner, upon the sudden news of his death, which was brought to her on **Tuesday, February 13**, just as she was about to sit-down to table, was taken with a serious fainting spell. Notwithstanding, however, she hastened, as soon as she had recovered consciousness, to her dead friend at the Palazzo Vendramin.

According to the wish of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, the corpse of Richard Wagner was not to be touched before the arrival of his ambassador.

“ Herr Groß ” (Adolf von Groß) , the banker, one of the co-founders of the Bayreuth Theatre, was therefore chosen to carry-out the wishes of his king with regard to the arrangements for his dead friend. But the unhappy wife's state was so despairing that she was in no condition to receive anyone, not even the king's ambassador.

“ Fräulein ” Daniela von Bülow, Paul von Jukowski, and Doctor Keppler received “ Herr Groß ”, even as they were receiving the numberless messages of condolence and dispatches and were preparing the necessary arrangements for the funeral and departure.

Special correspondents and reporters from all regions were meanwhile arriving in Venice and had settled themselves in the spacious halls of the princely Palazzo Vendramin, hastily putting on paper all that they saw and heard.

Up to his very death, however, nobody entered, nor had anybody even seen, the rooms as they were at the time when

the Master resided there. From hour to hour, the family expected the arrival of the son-in-law, Graf Gravina, from Palermo, and Franz Liszt from Pest. Both, however, were unfortunately not in a position to reach Venice immediately.

In the interim, Richard Wagner's death-mask was made by the locally very important sculptor Augusto Benvenuti. Doctor Keppler, however, with the help of his assistants transferred to the next room the corpse which, until the arrival of King Ludwig's ambassador, had been untouched. There, they carried-out its embalming, following the "Wickersheim method" - a highly-respected procedure.

After the embalming was completed and the Master lay in his expensive coffin clad in his black silk frock-coat with the black velvet beret on his head, he looked truly handsome. "Frau" Cosima knelt in silent despair at the foot of the bier. This was on Thursday, February 15, in the later evening hours (she had just cut-off her precious long blond hair, which Richard Wagner had loved so very much, and had laid this on his breast in a red silk cushion), she herself, up until that time, had not taken either food or drink, which certainly put her in a critically serious condition.

And now, the inevitable moment could no longer be deferred. The departure would take place on Thursday night. Outside the railroad station, in readiness for the past 24 hours, stood the carriage that was to carry the great departed homeward over the Alps. But many things still remained to be done and, therefore, the departure was settled for Friday the 16th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The last night at the Palazzo Vendramin would remain something unforgettable for all who shared the experience; the entire family waited together at the open sarcophagus of the irreplaceable man and they all did not weary of looking at him over and over, in the very brief time still allowed them, to imprint on their minds the features of the departed.

The children cast shy, anxious glances at their mother and dared not, even with a single word, disturb that lady who sat there, a picture of despair, bereft of her hair ornaments, as if all life had been drained-out of her.

And he, who had been everything to her, who had shared with her even the smallest anxiety, he looked-out indifferently and softly slept "the long sleep of the weary", unmoved by all her sorrow and grief!

On Friday, the sun gleamed and glittered already at early morning and the sky was as if scrubbed clean.

In the court-yard of the Palazzo Vendramin, an agitated activity prevailed, the household staff rushed about in deep mourning; the representatives of both the Italian and the foreign press attentively observed every incident and vainly sought to arrange entry for themselves into the death-chamber.

Among the musicians we particularly noted were Hans Richter from Vienna, Angelo Tessarin from Milan, the director of the Conservatory, Count Contin of Castelseprio, and violin professor and conductor Raffaele Frontali. We heard the last-mentioned direct a request to Jukowski, that he might see the Master one last time and kiss his hand. (Frontali had dealt extensively with the Master in connection with the recently held performance here of Wagner's "Youth Symphony



”). We, thereupon, observed how Paul von Jukowski withdrew and then, after scarcely a few moments, returned to express his regrets to Frontali that his wish, so understandable to him, could not be granted.

Also, the representatives of the Municipality appeared, in order to propose anew, in the name of the City of Venice, an escort-guard worthy of the great deceased ; but “ Frau ” Cosima declined this gesture of tribute, as she had the first time, and again with thanks, confining her requests to the closing of the railroad station and the cessation of any kind of funeral music, which she anxiously discouraged in view of her indescribable misery.

Quite unwillingly did the Municipality follow the unshakable wishes of “ Frau ” Cosima and renounced, although regretfully, their elaborate plans and testimonial of sympathy, through which they had intended to honour the memory of Richard Wagner.

The palazzo was surrounded by security-guards on the street-front, because of the crowding of members of the public.

Doctor Keppler was at the palazzo by early morning, in order, in concert with “ Messieurs ” Paul von Jukowski, Adolf von Groß, Ludwig Passini, and Franz Ruben, to help make the many necessary arrangements for the transportation of the body and the departure of the family.

Around 12 o'clock began the dispatch of the chests and trunks, which were brought to the railroad station on specialized gondolas, since the family had decided to take immediately to Bayreuth all the property they had brought with them.

Several pieces of furniture that had served the special needs of the Master and now were treated as precious relics, were next brought down ; these were ; a red damask sofa, upon which lay a particular fur with which Richard Wagner had been covered during the last hours of his life ; further, the arm-chair on which the dying man rested his feet, and finally the waste-paper basket from his study. These objects required a gondola all of their own and had to be brought along in a passenger carriage, in order that they might travel to the North at the same time as the family.

A few minutes later was brought down also the bed in which the Master had rested during these last months of his life and which, henceforth, would remain the resting-place of his widow. In addition to the bed, one could also see, however, a large, wooden rack, as wide as it was long - this was the frame for that costly lounging ottoman that had formed the central-point of Richard Wagner's study.

In the midst of all this, telegraph messengers were observed arriving every minute with dispatches, for from the outside-world during these 3 days came messages of condolence, and, indeed, by the second day after Wagner's death, their total ran-up to 318 telegrams.

Amid these preparations, as the hour of 1:30 in the afternoon approached, the sun beamed and the water shimmered in alluring green. The few people standing in the inner-court (“ cortile ”) of the palazzo, participants connected in one way or another to the proceedings, began to form a lane. As the hand of the clock indicated, there could be only

minutes remaining before the great moment in which the deceased would be brought down through the halls and entrusted to the sparkling waves.

The last ceremony within the magnificent building, whose honour in part had been to shelter the lofty genius through so many months, commenced.

The foot-falls were audible and 8 men, among them Hans Richter, Paul von Jukowski, Doctor Friedrich Keppler, Ludwig Passini, Franz Ruben, Count Contin of Castelseprio, and Raffaele Frontali, advanced down the wide-stairs with the heavy, splendid bronze sarcophagus, decorated with 4 lion heads, and brought it down.

In reverential silence, the men strode with their illustrious burden through the solemn tanks and carefully bore the deceased to the gondola. After them came the servants of the house with countless wreaths and floral offerings, with which the sarcophagus was decorated and a second gondola was quite filled.

A solemn pause ensued, each person had the anxious feeling that he must endure a sight that would wrench his heart, since the friends who became the deceased's escort of honour were already returned to the chamber of desolation, in order to collect the widow and children for this last mournful journey through the city that had become so beloved to them and in which they would endure such a mournful event !

After a brief interval, " Frau " Cosima appeared on Doctor Keppler's arm, leading by the hand the young Siegfried, the Master's only son. Their closely contained, maturing, otherwise quite upright aspects seemed altogether shattered. Passini with Wagner's daughter Daniela, followed them, " Herr " Jukowski and Ruben led the 2 other daughters, Isolde and Evchen.

In solemn silence, the bereaved moved through the respectful space made by the obviously quite emotional crowd, in consideration of the mourners' grief. Silently, they entered into the black-bedecked gondola, silently, in the lifeless vessel, they glided through the long watery planes of the Grand Canal, their eyes directed steadily toward the little boat that floated before them and that carried the sarcophagus, richly decorated with laurels and palms, in which rested the dear departed.

The sun shone brilliantly on the day of **February 16**, it sparkled wantonly in the green-and-blue flow of water, thoroughly warmed by the sun ; sadly, the trees, agitated by the wind in the garden of the Palazzo Vendramin, bent their branches, as if to offer their farewell salute to the great dead man. From the distance sounded the bells of one of the towers of this city so rich in " campanili ", it was the only music that the widow's ear, become so sensitive and intolerant, was unable to exclude. A fearfully sad tolling, with which her tears began anew to flow uncontrollably and her heart almost stopped in its anguish.

How often had she taken this route at his side - how often did she make rapturous exclamations over this magical city ! Yes, not only did the sun shine warmly then, but she perceived its warming rays, she rejoiced in them and was made happy by that, since she still was by his side !

Today, he was taken from her - the magnificence of the day was an insult, the glorious buildings of the unique city were distortions !

And finally, they arrived at the place from which they would take the blustering steam train to the solid earth (i.e. , the “ terra-ferma ”) , through valleys and meadows, over hills and mountains to their German homeland, to the soil of their fatherland, in order to restore the sovereign of 2 artistic realms to the earth that proudly would take him as its own.

In accordance with the widow's wish, the railroad station was closed-off, and the only ones present were a few administrative officials who did not lose the opportunity to take-part in this final gesture of respect to the great poet-composer.

The magnificent funerary carriage, decorated in black, which the “ Concordia ” Undertakers Society of Vienna had sent to Venice, stood ready for the reception of the corpse. To this was adjoined the salon carriage in which the family, accompanied by their friends who would give the mourners an escort part of the way, took their place. Both carriages were attached to the express-train departing around 2 o'clock. The funeral transport would then pursue its path, by means of a pre-arranged special-train, first by way of Vicenza, then through Verona, Ala, Kufstein, and Munich, on to Bayreuth, the Master's final resting-place.

After the bereaved had taken their places with their companions in the 2 (sic) salon-carriages, the curtains on the windows were carefully closed, the final bell strokes sounded and, thereupon, began the progress that carried the dead Richard Wagner from the Lagoon City on homeward over the Alps.

A feeling of unending anxiety bore-down upon our soul - only now did we feel the painful, irreparable loss in its full-scope, which we and, with us, the world now suffered.

“ Yet, his works are immortal ! ”

We and the numberless host of his admirers have said it to ourselves. And yet, we are unable to pull our mind back from the powerful happenings of these last days, to find any comfort for our heart !

Involuntarily, our steps turn-back to the palazzo-halls where the great deceased dwelt, and we request permission, once again, to be allowed to pass through the chambers in which each and every thing brings back reminders of him, of the last days of his earthly pilgrimage. Quite absorbed in his image, we walk through the long apartments in which still prevails the fragrance of roses - the Master's favourite perfume. With the feeling of deepest melancholy, we tarry in his room, now stripped of its magnificence, in which Richard Wagner had laboured-up until the last moment of his earthly presence.

Betty Bürkel, the loyal maid-servant of the Wagner household, was the only one who yet stayed behind, and was busily engaged in packing the many possessions still remaining : that same maid-servant who had been destined by fate to

receive the last words of the dying man, the same one who peered into his blurred eyes when he was looking all round for help.

As Doctor Keppler assured us, the Master's death-struggle had been an extremely difficult one, especially aggravated by the fact that he was entirely deprived of speech.

“ Redemption to the redeemer ! ”

These judiciously grand words from the sublime “ Parsifal ” poem the Vienna Wagner Society wrote as inscription on the wreath that it had placed on the coffin of Richard Wagner, and are also those that comforted us amid our thoughts of his death agonies. And, as we departed the celebrated building in a mood of reverent grieving, the place and its recollections awoke within us as we boarded the gondola that would take us homeward along the Grand Canal. Already, the numberless stars twinkled in the arch of the heavens, and we must involuntarily think of that autumn night on which we, our breast swelling with happy expectation, mounted the stairs of that magnificent building that had been destined to shelter the great Master and also, sadly, to entomb him in its walls.

Yet, only the earthly shell of Richard Wagner has been taken to his grave, he himself, however, will live on and will give confirmation the truth that he, himself (intoxicated by his own Genius, drunk with the exultation of an enthusiastic crowd) , spoke in Zürich to the great Russian musician Alexander Serov :

“ We are the gods of this earth ! ”

And not only in his immortal works will the regenerator of German artistic criticism live on, but also in the remembrance of anyone who has had the good fortune to associate with him, to explore the full-treasure of his intellectual profundity.

From now on, however, the facade of the Palazzo Vendramin in Venice will be decorated with a marble panel as a permanent marker, a visible testimony to the remembrance of Richard Wagner's residence and death ! A pilgrimage site for the pilgrims of sacred art from all countries ! »

Perl's account of the aftermath of Wagner's death obviously drew her into a good deal of fanciful, even fictionalized writing. How could she know the thoughts and feelings she attributes to Cosima and the others ? Yet, her apparent sources among the servants must have provided her with so much of what she uniquely describes. Nowhere else do we learn fascinating little details : the story of the little cat Wagner had adopted ; the Countess Hatzfeldt's receipt of the news of Wagner's death ; Cosima's ostentatious pronouncement on what her husband would have done had she been the one to die. Especially in Perl's portrayal, Cosima's behaviour in general can easily strike us as a theatrical show. Yet, there is no doubting Cosima's devotion to Richard, for all the tensions between them. In an era that loved melodramatic display, Perl's picture of Cosima's grief does not seem really incredible - no less than her vignette of the poor gondolier's grief. And where else do we learn the important little atmospheric fact that it was raining heavily on **February 13 ?**

Perl goes well beyond the newspaper accounts in her detailed picture of the tumult that marked the 3 days following Wagner's death. One can be sure that Perl herself was in the palazzo confines (perhaps thanks to her connection with Doctor Keppler) and was an eyewitness to what she describes. She is not the only eyewitness to Frontali's vain request, but her picture is a touching one. Above all, she reports most fully the removal for shipping of the Wagner family possessions, and the harvesting of relics from the death-room : not only the sofa, but the arm-chair with its fur, and the great bed and the ottoman frame. (Were these furnishings ones the Wagners bought themselves during their stay, or were they part of the palazzo's own inventory ? If one believes the Italian newspaper report about Cosima's wish to purchase the gondola and the funeral carriage, one might conclude that she made the distinction between taking what she owned and buying what she did not.) Perl alone tells us that Betty Bürkel remained behind to arrange transfer of remaining possessions.

Following her little slip over the number of salon-carriages, Perl tapers off her account as the funeral train leaves Venice ; even though Doctor Keppler, who rode in it as far as Vicenza, could have reported on that much of the trip. Of the obsequies in Germany, and at Bayreuth, she did not trouble herself to learn or report. Instead, however, she gives us a highly personal bit of final eyewitness testimony, something remarkably vivid. Amid her lofty grieving for the departed German genius, she tells of returning to the Vendramin, to which she gained admittance (from Betty herself ?) in order to brood her way through the empty rooms and their lingering associations. And, in the midst of that, she seems to suggest that she might, have, after all, visited the palazzo in the previous autumn. (Of course, had she met the Master at the time, she surely would have told us about it ! Might she have been scouting the servants while the boss was away ?)

For all her professions of German cultural pride and ardent adoration for Wagner, we are still left with some question about Perl's motivations. Her interest in the composer (opportunistic or otherwise, and probably in play from an early point in his stay in Venice) was fundamentally journalistic. Wagner was a world-class celebrity. Then, in the weeks following his death, there was a sudden market for the latest news about the Master's final days. Perl does not seem to have had more than passing knowledge of his Operas, and she shows little interest in musical matters themselves. Her real concern is with biographical anecdotes and observations that can make-up her " mosaic ". Given the idolatrous German audience she was addressing, she has nothing critical to say about the " genius " she is so eager to glorify. In her portrayal, hardly any warts are on display. Everything possible is done to present Wagner as a warm and human individual, with particular stress put on the blissful happiness and mutual affection rampant within the composer's family circle. The constant preoccupation she displays with Wagner's health, even allowing its anticipatory ties to his death, obviously resulted from her friendship with Doctor Keppler, the family physician. To that connection was added, as has repeatedly been noted, some degree of access, whether through Keppler or on her own, to at least a few members of the household staff. Indeed, one may often presume that, when any of them were featured in some narrative, those servants themselves were her source. Certainly, her account of every episode involving Doctor Keppler's presence would have been derived from his own reports to her.

Perl's dependency upon Keppler as a source might be viewed in another way, however, serving actually to invert what we understand about her book. It has been suggested that Keppler may have been a source, or the only source, for the description of the family scene in the hours after Wagner's death, as published in the « LGdV » on **February 15,**

or its like. It has been suggested further that Keppler was discreetly but firmly reprimanded for breaching family privacy in so doing. This opened an eventual rift between the doctor and the family circle, generating the latter's conclusion that Keppler was « an acknowledged Charlatan » whose treatment was actually responsible for Wagner's death. Accordingly, Keppler retaliated by freely providing Perl with information for her book.

Indeed, one might carry this picture of things one step further. Could it be that Doctor Keppler's determination to defend and vindicate himself from insinuations of « malpractice » in Wagner's case have itself become one of the reasons, if not the central reason, for Perl's writing the book in the first place ? Was she his tool, rather than he her resource ? Obviously, she had her own literary aspirations and opportunistic goals in undertaking the book on her own, but hers and the doctor's agendas could well have become complementary in generating the project. It is worth remembering that « only » in the preface to that book did Keppler publish his pseudo-autopsy report after Wagner's embalming ; while the recurrent excursions on Wagner's illnesses and Keppler's treatment run through the book on a more than coincidentally massive scale. Seen thus from the doctor's perspective, Perl's book might well be viewed as a work of polemic on his behalf.

Those are questions that can never be definitively resolved. And, if Perl's motivations must be scrutinized critically, so too must be the credibility of whatever she reports. Still, her account can by no means be dismissed out of hand. We have noted some instances of clear or apparent inaccuracy, particularly at odds with newspaper reports of the moment. (One must wonder sometimes how much she read the local Venetian journals, if at all !) And there are often statements made for which one would wish corroboration. Nevertheless, in the final judgment, Perl's little book deserves not only what limited acceptance it has already achieved but still more serious attention and respect in the literature on Wagner. For all her stylistic quirks, her little « mosaic » stands as both a crucial source and an interesting, even charming period piece in its own right.

...

Richard Wagner suffered for years from cardiac problems. Reading his doctor's reports one is struck by the inability of medicine of the time to help him. Today, Wagner's health could be easily controlled and he could have lived many more years and surely produced more music.

He sabotaged efforts to deal with his heart-condition, according to his doctor, Friedrich Keppler :

« He suffered from advanced hypertrophy of the heart, especially in the right-ventricle, with consequent degeneration of the cardiac tissues. There was also a fairly extensive dilation of the stomach and an inguinal hernia on the right-side ; this had been greatly aggravated for a long time by an unsuitable truss, so that the first thing I did was to order him a better one.

The pains from which he suffered in the last months of his life came principally from disorders of the stomach and bowels, and particularly from advanced matorism : these occasioned (though secondarily, by direct mechanical constriction of the chest as a result of much gas in the stomach and intestines and by reflex action of the nerves of

the stomach and heart) painful derangements of the heart's action, leading eventually to a rupture of the right-ventricle. It is self-evident that the innumerable psychical agitation to which Wagner was daily disposed by his peculiar mental constitution and disposition, his sharply defined attitude towards a number of burning questions of art, science and politics, and his remarkable social position did much to hasten his unfortunate end.

There was a rumour in Venice that Wagner was having a love-affair with a « Flower Maiden », Carrie Pringle. She did write to him and he did meet her in Venice, but he was probably too sick for sex at this point in his life, though he certainly enjoyed the adulation of a fan who was also a lovely young woman. There was also Judith Gauthier, an old fan and girlfriend who lived in Paris and who had visited him in Bayreuth and Venice.

Wagner was working on an essay, « On the Feminine in Humanity », when he collapsed. A servant ran to Cosima, who immediately sent for the doctor. By the time he arrived, Wagner was dead in Cosima's arms. She clung to his body for several days, yearning to die with him. Finally, her family was able to pry her of Wagner's corpse so that she could be fed and he could be prepared for burial.

**Tuesday, 13 February 1883** : Cosima Liszt von Bülow Wagner makes the last entry in her diary ...

**15h30** : Wilhelm Richard Wagner dies in the Palazzo Vendramin, in Venice, of a heart-attack, in the arms of his wife, aged 69 years, 8 months and 22 days.

His Venetian doctor, Friedrich Keppler, writes :

« It is self-evident that the innumerable psychical agitations to which Wagner was daily disposed by his peculiar mental constitution and disposition, his sharply defined attitude towards a number of burning questions of art, science, and politics, and his remarkable social position did much to hasten his unfortunate end. »

A memorial plaque on a brick-wall adjacent to the building is inscribed with a tribute by novelist and poet Gabriele d'Annunzio that reads :

« In questo palagio  
l'ultimo spiro di Riccardo Wagner  
odono le anime perpetuarsi come la marea  
che lambe i marmi. »

...

Did Wagner attempted to poison himself at a time when he knew he was dying ?

As the German doctor, Friedrich Keppler, wrote :

« It is self-evident that the innumerable psychological agitations to which Wagner was daily disposed by his peculiar mental constitution and disposition, his sharply defined attitude towards a number of burning questions of art, science, and politics, and his remarkable social position did much to hasten his unfortunate end.

The actual attack that resulted in his so sudden death must have come from such cause, but I cannot venture any surmise as to that.

The medical treatment I gave him consisted of massage of the abdomen and the fitting of a proper truss ; I avoided medicinal treatment as much as possible, since Wagner had a bad habit of taking promiscuously, and in considerable quantities, many strong medicines that had been prescribed for him by physicians whom he had previously consulted. »

Doctor Keppler may be suggesting here that Wagner's habitual use of medications may have been self-destructive, and, for that reason, the doctor avoided prescribing dangerous drugs. Doctor Keppler also refers to « innumerable psychological agitations to which Wagner was daily disposed by his peculiar mental constitution » .

And what of Cosima ? Did she ever attempt suicide ? We know that, at one point during her marriage to Hans von Bülow, she had entered a suicide pact with Wagner's friend Karl Ritter. Ernest Newman, in the third volume of his still definitive biography of Wagner, reports about this scene :

« There was a wild strain in Cosima which, in her earlier years, was liable to break through the restraints she had learned even by then to impose on her feelings ... At Geneva, it seems, there had been a passionate scene with Karl (Ritter) , Cosima had asked him to kill her : he, who was unhappy in his own marriage, offered to die with her. She wanted to throw herself from a boat into the Lake, and desisted from her purpose only because he swore to follow her. »

It is also interesting to note that, when Wagner died in Venice, Cosima refused to leave his body. As Ernest Newman describes the scene :

« All that night, Cosima sat alone with the body, murmuring incoherent words of love into the deaf ears. She refused all care, all nourishment : she had lived in him and for him, and now, she wanted to die with him. It was not until the late-afternoon of the following day, 25 hours after he had died, that they succeeded in parting her from him.

While Cosima was in this desperate state with the body of Wagner, her former husband Hans von Bülow sent her a telegram which said :

« Sœur, il faut vivre ! »

(Sister, one must live !)

Could Hans, who knew her so well after the years of their unhappy marriage, have feared that she would commit



suicide because of her grief over the death of Wagner ? That is clearly implied in his telegram to her in Venice in 1883.

And, indeed, her family feared for her life right after the death of the composer, though luckily she lived many more years and served to make the Bayreuth Festival the annual event it is now.

...

The news of Wagner's death was all over Venice in an hour.

At every street-corner, people were saying :

« Richard Wagner is dead. »

5,000 telegrams relating to this event were despatched from Venice in 24 hours. Henry Perl met the Master's gondolier , Luigi Trevisan, at the station, with a bundle of telegrams in his hand, and almost speechless from grief, but gasping out something about « the good, noble, only man, who never spoke an unkind word to us, however ill he was » . A despatch arrived from King Ludwig, requesting that the body should not be touched until his messenger had arrived. Deputations came, offering a grand and becoming funeral pageant on the part of the city of Venice ; but the widow could not endure the thought of it, and declined the kind offer. Among the wreaths sent were 2 from King Ludwig and the King of Italy. King Humbert's wreath was trimmed with black, red, and gold ribbons. King Ludwig's was tied with blue and white satin streamers, with this inscription in golden letters :

« To the Master, Richard Wagner, from his devoted admirer and King, Ludwig. »

« Herr » Adolf von Groß of Bayreuth came as the King's messenger to superintend the transfer of the body to German soil. Franz Liszt fainted when the death-message was brought to him at Pesth, and his prostration was so great that he could not come to Venice. Hans Richter came from Vienna, whence also a superb sarcophagus had been ordered. In the meantime, the city of Venice had made a second offer of an official funeral, which, again, was declined by the widow. The Palace had to be surrounded with guards to keep-off the crowd. To the room where the body lay no one was admitted except a few friends, including Doctor Friedrich Keppler, Hans Richter, and the Countess von Hatzfeld. Cosima, in the agony of her grief, had cut-off her long blonde hair, which her husband had always loved to have her wear loose over her shoulder, and placed it on a red satin cushion under his head, to be buried with him. Cosima did not wish a death-mask, but it was taken, nevertheless, by the sculptor Augusto Benvenuti, without her knowledge.

It was on a sultry, rainy day, with thunder and lightning, that Wagner had died.

Reactions to Wagner's death

**Wednesday, 14 February 1883** : Anton Bruckner receives at the Vienna Conservatory a telegram from Venice (sent by Luigi Trevisan, the Master's condolier) announcing the death of Richard Wagner. He is currently composing, in his office, the Adagio movement of his 7th Symphony, he concludes the work with funeral music in honour of his mentor. (He had planned to go to Bayreuth with his road-secretary Friedrich Eckstein, but fell sick on the day of the departure.)

« When I heard the tragic news, I wept. God, how I wept ! »

(Bruckner's evening prayer records are unusually extensive.)

Doctor Theodor Helm remembered that Bruckner then :

« ... went to the piano and sounded the last bars of the great climax (bar 177) , and then, also played the ensuing diminuendo.

“ You see, I had come just this far when the dispatch from Venice arrived at the Conservatory, and then, I wept - oh, how I wept ! - and only then ...” (here, he intoned the wind melody) “ did I write the actual elegy for the Master ! ”  
»

Awkwardly, the autograph manuscript (Mus. Hs. 19.479 in the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ») carries the date « 22. Jänner 883 / Scitze / Vollendet : 21. April 1883. A. Bruckner, m.p. » , which implies that the movement had been completed in sketch, coda and all, several weeks before Wagner died. It may be that Bruckner was, in later years, carried away by the depth of his emotion, and the story told to Helm is not consistent with his statement to Father « Otto » Loidol that he had composed the Adagio « a week before Wagner's death » .

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 15 February. Music lesson (Emil) Lamberg. »

Upon hearing the news of Wagner's death, Hugo Wolf plays the funeral march from « Götterdämmerung » , then spends the rest of the day on a tree, crying.

Jacques Manheit, a baritone in the Olmütz Opera, will recall :

« Just as I was going from my home to the Theatre, I saw a man running through the streets ; he was quite distraught, sobbed loudly, and pressed his handkerchief against his eyes ; I recognized Gustav Mahler (aged 22) with difficulty. I went up to him anxiously and asked him quietly :“ In heaven's name, has something happened to your father ? ”. He howled at the top of his voice :“ Worse, worse, much worse. The worst, the worst has happened, the Master has died.” After that, it was impossible to talk to Mahler for days. He came to the Theatre for rehearsals and performances, but was inaccessible to everybody for a long time. »

On hearing of the death of Richard Wagner, Giuseppe Verdi writes to his publisher :

« Sad. Sad. Sad ! Wagner is dead ! When I read the news yesterday, I may truly say that I was crushed ! It is a great individual who has disappeared ! A name that leaves a powerful imprint on the history of art ! » (Theodore T. Barker, page 284.)

Hans Richter was conducting « Der widerspenstigen Zähmung » (The Taming of the Shrew) by Hermann Gøetz.

In his diary, he wrote :

« After the performance, I heard rumors of Richard Wagner's death ; I could not believe them but I could not get any proof at the telegraph office. »

He sent a telegram to Siegfried Wagner :

« The shocking news unbelievable. How is the honoured Master ? Reply paid by “ Hofoper ”, Vienna. Hans Richter. »  
**After 14 February 1883 :**

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Cosima Wagner :

Bruckner offers his sincere condolences to Cosima on the death of Richard Wagner.

(Bruckner had a picture of Wagner taken by the « Hof-Photograf » Josef Albert from Munich.)

**Thursday, 15 February 1883 :** The awful truth is confirmed and Hans Richter set-off at once for Venice, where the composer had died, arriving in the early afternoon.

**Friday, 16 February 1883 :** The city of Venice offered a public funeral, but Cosima declined it.

Silently through the canals went a draped gondola with the body. The funeral « cortège » left on its sad journey by train for Bayreuth, Hans Richter sending telegrams ahead to organize the solemn ceremonial reception of the coffin.

When the body was to be taken to Germany, the sun shone brightly in the blue sky. At 2 o'clock, 8 men, including, Richter, Keppler, and Joukowsky, bore the coffin from the Palace down to the black gondola, followed by servants with the wreaths. The family soon followed, and boarded other black gondolas. It was the widow's express wish that there should be no funeral music ; she feared it would rend her heart in twain. So, the procession moved along the canal in solemn silence, broken only by the tolling of a distant bell. The canal was lined with hundreds of gondolas filled with sympathetic Italians who regretted that the widow had refused the offer of an official funeral.

By order of the city authorities, the railway station had been shut-off to all but passengers, the official representatives

of Venice, and the funeral « cortège » . The coffin was placed in a special mourning car, draped in black, which had been sent from Vienna ; a parlour-car behind it was reserved for the mourners. These cars were attached to the regular express-train as far as Vicenza, whence they were taken as an extra train « via » Verona and Munich to Bayreuth. Special orders had been given by the Italian, Austrian, and German government officials that the train should not be detained or examined at the frontiers.

...

The small funeral party, which, besides the Wagner family, included Paul von Joukowsky (designer of « Parsifal ») , Bayreuth banker Adolf von Groß, Doctor Friedrich Keppler (Wagner's physician) , Wilhelm Kienzl (music-critic and composer) and Richter, arrived just before midnight on **17 February** ; « en route » , Hermann Levi had joined it in Munich.

**Saturday, 17 February 1883** : Nowhere had the news of Wagner's death produced more consternation than at Bayreuth, the city rejuvenated by his genius. A special mourning car carried the remains. The whole town was draped in mourning. Before the arrival of the funeral train, the hotels had again filled-up, as during Festival days. A black flag floated over the theatre on the hill, black flags darkened the windows along the main avenues, and the street-lamps were draped in black. Representatives of various German princes, of theatres, of the leading Wagner Societies, eminent conductors and other musicians and friends of the deceased were present to do him the last honour. It was the widow's desire that the body should be buried in presence of only a few intimate friends, and without any address or music.

On the arrival of the funeral train at the railway station, after the coffin had been removed from the car to a tribune, a public ceremony took place. The proceedings began at 4 o'clock with the playing of « Siegfried's Funeral March » .

Theodor von Muncker, the legally trained « Bürgermeister » of Bayreuth (1863-1900) , then delivered a brief and touching address :

« The “ Festspielhaus ” is the most famous site in the city of Bayreuth. Where would it be without Richard Wagner ? It is the driving force of tourism. This great Master was a true blessing to our city. He is to be thanked when the name of Bayreuth is quoted with reverence by the educated people of the whole world. »

Banker Friedrich von Feustel followed :

« Future generations will find it difficult to believe what they will read about the impediments that were placed in this great man's way in his efforts to attain his ideal. »

« The performance of “ Parsifal ” this year will be the most dignified memorial service for the deceased. »

Feustel had said in his speech at the station that Bayreuth's most dignified tribute to the memory of the dead Master

would be the « Parsifal » performances in the coming summer.

These speeches were given, but without the presence of the widow. She secluded herself even from Franz Liszt, her father. (But, the following year, she took-up the task of continuing the Festivals, which have lately reflected her ideas as to the proper method of interpreting her husband's Masterpieces.)

A special touch of reminiscent pathos was then given with the performance by the chorus of Wagner's arrangement of the Bayreuth « Liederkranz » on motives from Carl Maria von Weber's Operas (written for the burial of the composer in Dresden) .

The procession was then marshalled into line : first a military-band, then a carriage loaded with wreaths. This was followed by the hearse, drawn by 4 black horses, attended by all the local clergymen, and the pan-bearers, including Albert Niemann, Anton Seidl, August Wilhelmj, Heinrich Porges, Fritz Brandt, Hermann Levi, and others. Behind the hearse came King Ludwig's representative, Count Pappenheim ; then friends of the family, deputations of cities, theatres, and Wagner Societies ; artists, journalists, and officers ; then another band followed by the citizens of Bayreuth, thousands of whom had assembled at the station.

At 5:30 pm, the procession moved through the city towards the Villa « Wahnfried » , to the funeral dirges of the bands, deepened by the doleful sounds of all the bells in the city. Half-way down the « Rennweg » (now, Richard-Wagner-Straße) , the music stopped, and the villa was reached in silence. The coffin was lifted-off the carriage and carried into the garden, where Eva and Siegfried Wagner awaited it. It was then carried to the grave behind the house, followed by members of the family, friends, artists, and journalists. At the open grave, Deacon Kesselmann spoke a short prayer during which a touching incident occurred. 2 of Wagner's large black dogs had followed the procession, and as Eva and Siegfried sank down on their knees, one of them came and licked their faces, as if sympathizing with their grief ; and why should he not ? Had he not also lost his best friend ? After the prayer, all but the children left the grave, such being the desire of Cosima, who now joined her family to weep her tears unobserved by other eyes.

Meanwhile, a party of about 30 had collected on the stage of Wagner's Opera House on the hill. Richter led the speeches after which a collective resolution was taken by all present to preserve and further the Master's cultural legacy.

From Bayreuth, Richter sent a telegram to Marie in Vienna :

« The children are already more composed. Cosima, inconsolable. »

Wagner's last letter to Richter, written from Venice 2 weeks before his death, was largely about the baritone Karl Sommer who wished to come to Bayreuth to study the roles of Klingsor and Amfortas. Wagner welcomed the idea and suggested the singer should arrive by 20 June and observe the rehearsals and performances scheduled for July.

He was always « delighted to meet new young talent and to develop them in my style. (...)

Adieu ! Good Hans ! Greetings from the heart. Your good old Richard Wagner. »

**1876** : One moonlit night, Richard and Cosima went to inspect their new house, which was still in the process of being built, and he showed her the spot he had chosen for their grave. « Mood serious and light-hearted together » , she recorded. The worthy Mayor Muncker was very alarmed when Wagner discussed the grave in the garden with him, « but Richard explained to him the serenity with which we look forward to our eternal rest » .

For months and years, Cosima watched and wept over this grave every evening. The « Parsifal » Festival was again held in the summer, but she was not accessible to artists or visitors - not even to her father, Franz Liszt. The pleasant duty of thanking the artists, after the last performance, for their continued devotion, devolved on her children. Before the next Festival was due, however, she had made a heroic effort to subdue her grief sufficiently to begin what was to be the work of her life - the attempt to carry-out Wagner's intentions as to the periodical model performances of all his works at Bayreuth. The grave, too, which had been jealously guarded from stranger-eyes, was made accessible.

### Wagner's funeral

**Sunday, 18 February 1883 (4:00 pm)** : Grandiose national funeral of Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. For the occasion, Anton Bruckner will have the privilege of touching the organ. The pall-bearers of the polished metal coffin will be Anton Bruckner, Hans Richter, and 2 Jewish musicians : Wagnerian conductor Hermann Levi and Russian pianist Joseph Rubinstein.

### Music and nationalism

An electoral reform in **1882** initiated a gradual transition to universal male suffrage, followed by the eventual formation, in **1889**, of political parties to represent the interests of the lower-middle and working classes. From mid-Century, the established political groups had been the Liberals, the party of educated German and German-Jewish middle- and upper-middle classes (there was a special bond between the Liberal Party and Vienna's Jews) , and the Conservatives, associated with the Church, Slavs, and aristocracy. Even after a Conservative coalition gained control of the central government in **1879**, Vienna itself had remained a stronghold of the Liberal Party. By the end of the Century, the new mass parties would succeed in virtually destroying Viennese Liberalism.

In Austria, Liberalism had briefly appeared to offer a solution to the Imperial predicament : a strengthened central government that retained the traditional Monarch and added a constitution ostensibly guaranteeing all citizens equal rights before the law. Political Liberalism did not hold sway for long in Austria because its own internal inconsistencies compromised it, but also because of the very belatedness of its development. Other aspects of the Liberal « Weltanschauung » developed earlier and deeper roots. These included faith in reason, education, and the primacy of German culture, beliefs that compensated for the common Liberal view that religion should be concerned with ethics and nothing else.

In an **1894** memoir, Eduard Hanslick described his own religious upbringing in those terms :

« The essence and foundation of religion should be only ethics ; all faiths with the same moral principles were of equal worth. We became acquainted with the Biblical stories only from their amiable, tender-hearted, and poetic side, with the “ miracles ” only as allegories. »

More clearly than many of his colleagues, Hanslick exemplified the contradictions of Liberalism. In 1883, Hanslick, along with Doctors Hermann Nothnagel and Theodor Billroth, geology professor and Liberal politician Eduard Sueß, and others, had signed the open-letter against establishing a Czech-language elementary school in Vienna. Yet, he had grown-up in Prague. Being a well-educated, middle-class person in Bohemia in the « Vormärz » period of Hanslick's youth had meant rejecting the Czech language in favour of German.

He noted that although his father knew both languages, he spoke only German with his friends :

« Naturally, since they always conversed about learned things, about art and politics. »

And he quoted a Prague native from a background like his own reacting to the Czech-nationalist movement that had developed after mid-Century.

In that person's words :

« Since one is nothing as an individual, one exaggerates one's race in order to feel vain about being part of it ; that is nationalism. »

In an apparent « non sequitur » , Hanslick remarked on how surprised those living in « Vormärz » Prague would have been to see the splendid advances that Czech-language culture made in the second half of the Century. Enumerating such « brilliant achievements » as a Czech theater, a Czech university, and a Czech academy of sciences, he also made it clear that these accomplishments had come about at the expense of friendly relations.

Before mid-Century, « Germans and Czechs got along peacefully, since the latter knew that anything they possessed in art and science, industry and even social graces derived from German culture. »

Hanslick recognized Czech nationalism and certain forms of German nationalism, but he did not acknowledge nationalism in himself.

While the dominance of the Liberals had played a crucial part in establishing the preeminence of Johannes Brahms in the city, the fresh challenges to the Liberal establishment in the 1880's on both the Right and Left worked to Bruckner's advantage. He, of course, had strong ties to the Church and received warm praise from the ultra-conservative Catholic newspaper « Das Vaterland » ; the resurgence of Catholicism attending the rise of the Right-wing Christian-Socials helped his cause (the Liberals had always been antagonistic to the Church) . His humble background made him an attractive figure not only to the Christian-Socials, a party that appealed to the lower-middle classes, but also to the Leftist workers' party, the Social-Democrats. Certain founders of the Social-Democratic Party, most notably

Viktor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer, were passionate Wagnerites. According to William McGrath, « there is little evidence that Wagnerian cultural theory penetrated deeply into the Austrian socialist movement or that it retained a lasting influence on Austrian socialist tradition » , although Johann Seidl has presented considerable evidence to the contrary. In any case, the Party's newspaper, the « Arbeiter-Zeitung » , founded in **1889**, did not feature music reviews or other coverage of cultural events until **1895**.

Wagnerian æsthetics and populist politics converged most naturally in the outlook of a third party, like the Christian-Socials anti-Semitic and reactionary : the Pan-Germans led by Georg von Schönerer. As young men, Adler and Pernerstorfer had followed Schönerer ; they broke with him in **1883** when he veered to the Right and openly espoused racist views. Anton Bruckner himself had close professional and personal ties to a group of musicians and critics whose peculiar idealism combined a commitment to reforming the musical life of the city with the anti-Semitism, radical German nationalism, and crack-pot populism of the Pan-Germans.

...

Too often musicologists have characterized the Brahms - Bruckner critical debate of the 1880's (the focus up to now of most studies on the intersection of music and politics in late-19th Century Vienna) in terms of a Liberal and anti-Liberal divide rather than in terms of an evolving Liberalism, often along generational lines, with perspectives running from the « deutsch-liberal » to the « national-liberal » to the « deutsch-national » . It has been insufficiently recognized, on the one hand, that the older German Liberal nationalists' « problem » with Czech nationalism had largely to do with their understanding of it precisely as an anti-Liberal ideology, and, on the other, that the younger « deutsch-national » critics frequently praised Bedřich Smetana as a model to be emulated by their own imagined community of « German » composers, into which, it sometimes seems, Brahms was no more welcomed than Karl Goldmark. Finally, it has been too easy to forget the uncomfortable truth that racialist nationalism was once thought to be a progressive ideology, and so, is resistant to assignment to either the Left or Right wings of the ideological spectrum. Examination of the work of 3 generations of music-critics offers insight into the diverse ways in which educated German Austrians conceived of Germanness in music and understood their relationship to the « non-Germans » in their midst.

### Bruckner and Blaise Pascal's Wager

The position of Anton Bruckner on Blaise Pascal's Wager dates from the 1880's.

To an atheist friend who was astonished that he added faith to the immortality of the soul, Bruckner replied :

« I understand your point, but you see :

If the thing is true, it is so much the better for me. If it is not true, praying can not hurt me ! »

The Wager uses the following logic (excerpts from « Pensées » , part III, § 233) :



God is, or God is not. Reason cannot decide between the 2 alternatives.

A Game is being played ... where heads or tails will turn-up.

You must wager (it is not optional) .

Let us weigh the gain and the loss in wagering that God is. Let us estimate these 2 chances. If you gain, you gain all ; if you lose, you lose nothing.

Wager, then, without hesitation that He is. (...) There is here an infinity of an infinitely happy life to gain, a chance of gain against a finite number of chances of loss, and what you stake is finite. And so, our proposition is of infinite force, when there is the finite to stake in a game where there are equal risks of gain and of loss, and the infinite to gain.

But some cannot believe. They should then « at least learn your inability to believe ... » and « Endeavour then to convince » themselves.

### Beethoven's Opus 131 at the organ

**1883** : Anton Bruckner improvises for almost 30 minutes on the organ of the Imperial Chapel in Vienna on a theme taken from the String Quartet No. 14 in C-sharp minor, Opus 131, by Ludwig van Beethoven. He drew from it sublime melodies. (August Stradal)

Max Graf :

« The Court Chapel, where Anton Bruckner was organist, is the real Bruckner Church. This small Gothic chapel is directly in the Imperial Castle. Here, I often saw Franz-Josef, Sundays, praying in his box, right above the altar. In the 2 galleries, sat the members of the Austrian nobility, raised above the people who stood in the chapel nave. In the third gallery was the organ, presided over by Bruckner, and the orchestra and chorus which played under the baton of the broad-shouldered and dignified Hans Richter. Before Mass began, the musicians assembled in the court of the chapel. Here came the “ Sängerknaben ” (Boys’ Choir) in their embroidered uniforms, small swords at their waists ; and the opera singers who were soloists. »

« Starting a musical stroll at St. Stephen’s Cathedral, from whose open “ Giant Door ” comes the sound of the old organ, one remembers, perhaps that in its choir Haydn and Schubert sang as boys ; and that on a stormy winter’s day, at the south door, Mozart’s shabby coffin was blessed. I saw Anton Bruckner seated at the organ there, his short legs treading the pedal. On the manual, his bony fingers improvised variations on the Austrian national hymn, and his clear-cut, patriarchal face shone when the sound of the organ streamed forth, growing in strength, finally rising to a brilliant “ Gloria ”. Ever since the 16th Century, when the famous Paul Hoffheymer played his “ Te Deum ” on the organ while Emperor Maximilian knelt praying, great musicians were at home in St. Stephen’s. »

## Bruckner and the « Resurrection » Symphony

Friday, 15 June 1883 : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

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

## Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1883)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen dieses Jahres keiner ...

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Carl Führich. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(6 Zöglinge.)

Josef Großmann, Eduard Hamlisch, Heinrich Schoof, Josef Skalitzky. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner.

(7 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Carl Führich, Franz Schlott.

II. Jahrgang : Ferdinand Foll. » (\*)

Fräulein Marie Pohoryles konnte wegen Erkrankung an der Prüfung nicht teilnehmen.

## July 1883 : Hot in Vienna !

**Thursday, 12 July 1883** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« July 12th, before 5 o'clock in the afternoon : 35°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. »

### Hugo Wolf, the music-critic

**1883** : Hugo Wolf was appointed the music-critic of the « Wiener Salon-Blatt » . His weekly reviews provided considerable insight into the Viennese musical world of his day.

### The 1883 « Parsifal »

**Around end of July 1883** : Anton Bruckner is in Bayreuth to hear « Parsifal » . He meets Wilhelm Tappert, who asks him for articles and music-critics's reviews about his works.

Gustav Mahler is in Bayreuth for the first time. He wrote to a friend :

« I can hardly describe my present state to you. When I came-out of the “ Festspielhaus ”, completely spellbound, I understood that the greatest and most painful revelation had just been made to me, and that I would carry it unspoiled for the rest of my life. »

Hugo Wolf (who saw « Parsifal » twice in 1882) reiterated his view in a postcard from Bayreuth :

« “ Parsifal ” is without doubt by far the most beautiful and sublime work in the whole field of Art. »

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1883-1884

**Thursday, 20 September 1883** :

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

6) Herr Anton Bruckner, Professor, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof-Organist. (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.) »

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören Hermann Abheiter (« 16 Jahre - Klavier V. II. , Harmonielehre, Chg. ») , Carl Führich (« aus Jamnitz, 18 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , General der Musik und Kontrapunkt II. »)

, Ludwig Großbauer (« aus Losenstein, 22 Jahre (recte : « 12 Jahre » ? Vergleiche 1884-1885) - Harmonielehre (Rept.) , Klavier II. , Chg. ») , Franz Heinrich (« 15 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 14 Jahre - Violin V. III. , Klavier II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Cyrill Hynais (« 21 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. , Chg. ») , Doktor Franz Marschner (« aus Prag, 30 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. , Chg. ») , Josef Meyer (« 16 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik, Kontrapunkt II. ») , Rudolf Paradieser (« 18 Jahre - Posaune A. I. , Klavier II. ») , Franz Schlott (« aus Preßburg, 20 Jahre - Komposition A. I. , Kontrapunkt A. II. , Klavier III. ») , Franz Steiner (« aus Mies, 20 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Chg. ») (starb am 12. Oktober 1883) , Hugo Troizsche (« 16 Jahre - Harfe V. III. , Klavier II. , Chg. ») , Rudolf Wilfert (« 17 Jahre - Orgel V. I. ») , Heinrich Wottowa (« 16 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Thimothé Xanthopoulos (« aus Smyrna, 18 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Klavier III. , Komposition I. ») und Peter Zachariadis (« aus Constantinopel, 23 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier II. , Chg. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Gottfried Brzibohaty (« 14 Jahre - Fagott V. II. , Klavier I. ») , Robert Erben (« aus Troppau, 21 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , Komposition II. ») , Rudolf Fitzner (« aus Ernstbrunn, 15 Jahre - Violin V. III. , A. M. , Klavier I. , Chg. ») , Ludwig Grandé (« aus Teltsch, 18 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Chg. ») , Johann Ostariasch (« 18 Jahre - Fagott V. II. , Klavier I. ») , Marie Pohoryles (« aus Tarnopol, 15 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Chg. ») und Theodor Tschöpe (« aus St. Veit, 18 Jahre - Cymbalom V. II. , A. M. , Klavier I. , Chg. ») .

Von den 5 Orgelschülern gehört einer zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 2 halb vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 5 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, 4 Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 134 und Kontrapunkt von 16 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 1.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 28.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Contrapunct, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 21.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

### Bruckner and student Anton Meißner

**1883** : Anton Bruckner as more frequent contacts with his student Anton Meißner, to whom he presents the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) and the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) . Meißner plays on the piano the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) , also works by Frédéric Chopin and a Franz Liszt's arrangement of a piece by Niccolò Paganini.

...

**August 1883** : Anton Bruckner will bring Anton Meißner in Bayreuth to hear the « Ring » .

Amalie Klose, sister of pupil Friedrich Klose, mentioned in her Memoirs about Bruckner expounding the programme of the 8th Symphony and heard him play the Scherzo. His broad and rhythmically emphatic style led her to criticize conductors who take it too quickly, which ties in with Anton Meißner's quoted remarks about the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony, « which he felt conductors always performed too quickly » .

## Bruckner writes to a « dear friend »

**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.

## Bayreuth : « Gasthaus zur Eule »

**1883 or 1884** : Anton Bruckner meets in Bayreuth the jurist (and later, music-director) of Ansbach, Edmund Hohmann, at the « Gasthaus zur Eule » Restaurant located at « Kirchgasse » Number 8.

## Dates

**1444** : The house owned by Kuntz Kröpfel is first mentioned in the town records. A certain Tuchscherer will be the next owner. Then, the place is inhabited by a trumpeter, a baker, a weaver, a bath-house assistant, and a school-master.

The house is partly damaged during the town fires of **1605** and **1621**.

**After 1621** : The house is successively inhabited by a saddler, a cobbler, a tailor, and a bag-maker.

Then, shoe-maker master Johann Matthäus Eule begins a partnership with the local brewer. Consequently, a new guest-house called « Gasthaus zur Eule » opens on the « Ochsen-gasse » (today's « Kirchgasse ») . It became the official « traiteur » for the justice department, cooking meals for large and small events.

**1739** : H. Roming plays chamber music at the « Gasthaus zur Eule » .

**1843** : Ursula Eule and William Adler (Johann Matthäus's son-in-law) take-over the business.

**1871** : Richard Wagner comes from Switzerland to Bayreuth and is a welcomed guest at the « Gasthaus zur Eule » . His favourite beer is the « Dämmer-schoppen » produced by the Austrian brewer « Zwettler » .

However, Wagner most often goes at « Angermann's » pub on « Kanzlerstraße » :

« If you don't see me at home, I am certainly at Angermann's. »

Wagner always arrived between 5 and 6 o'clock, and preferably sat at the coach-man's table.

But when « Angermann's » had to give way to the construction of a new post-office building, Wagner adopted the « Gasthaus zur Eule » pub to drink his beer.

(Image) Richard Wagner accompanied by operatic singers Albert Niemann (tenor) and Eugen Gura (baritone) at the « Angermannsche » Restaurant in Bayreuth.

**1 February 1893** : Inn-keeper Hans Meyer becomes the new owner of the « Gasthaus zur Eule » .

The « Gasthaus zur Eule » was Siegfried Wagner's favourite restaurant, which Adolf Hitler visited during the 1925 Bayreuth Festival.

...

**1444** ist das Haus das erstmal in den Aufzeichnungen erwähnt mit dem Bewohnern Kuntz Kröpfel, danach kamen Tuchscherer, Trompeter, Bäcker, Weber, Badmagd, Schulmeister.

**1605 und 1621** ist das Haus bei den Stadtbränden abgebrannt.

Danach gab es Sattler, Schuster, Schneider, Beutler.

**1739** sogar schon einen Kammermusicus, mit Namen H. Roming.

**1813** Richard Wagner wurde in Leipzig geboren.

**12. Juni 1838** Hat der Schuhmacher-Meister.

Johann Matthäus Eule zum Bierwirt umgesattelt und besaß auch ab da die Traiteur-Gerechtigkeit.

**1843** traten seine Ehefrau Ursula Eule und sein Schwiegersohn Wilhelm Adler in seine Fußstapfen.

**1869** Siegfried Wagner wurde in Luzern geboren.

**1871** kam Richard Wagner nach Bayreuth und war gern gesehener Gast in der « Eule » .

**1872** Grundsteinlegung zum Festspielhaus.

**1876** Eröffnung der Festspiele mit dem Ring des Nibelungen.

**1893** Übernahm der Gastwirt Hans Meyer am 1. Februar die « Eule » . Unter seiner Regie ging.

**1908** der Stern der « Eule » als Künstlerkneipe auf, weil das Künstler-lokal Angermann in der Kanzleistraße schloß.

Künstler wie Kammersänger Hans Breuer, Loisl Burgstaller und Heldentenor Julius Kniese gründeten den Ruf der « Eule » als Künstlerkneipe.

Seine Frau Anni führte das Lokal als begnadete Wirtin und Köchin weiter bis **1967** am 22. August hat Johanna Heise die « Eule » kaufte.

**2009** kaufte die GEWOG das Gebäude und renovierte es aufwändig.

**Juli 2012** ist Harald Kaiser der neue Eulenkneipenwirt.

Harald Kaiser ist seit **1982** ein Bayreuther Gastronom und hat Schloß-Hotel Thiergarten und die Stadthalle Bayreuth bewirtschaftet.

...

Seit Richard Wagners Zeit war « Die Eule » in der engen Kirchgasse für Sänger, Musiker und Wagnerianer der Inbegriff des Künstlertreffs. Generationen von Wagnerianern saßen in dunklen, holzgetäfelten Gasträumen zusammen und diskutierten über Dirigenten, Sänger und Inszenierungen. Im « Richard-Wagner-Eck » der « Eule » soll der Meister persönlich sein Bier getrunken haben. Ob sich Friedrich Nietzsches Zitat « Irgendwann sitzen wir alle in Bayreuth zusammen und begreifen gar nicht mehr, wie wir es anderswo aushalten konnten » auf die « Eule » bezieht, ist zwar nicht verbürgt, könnte jedoch vermutet werden.

Bleiben wird in der « neuen » « Eule » jedoch das historische Ambiente : Wie eh und je werden hunderte, nostalgischer Schwarz-Weiß-Fotografien der unvergessenen Wagner-Interpreten auf die Besucher blicken. Und der neue Eulenkneipenwirt Harald Kaiser serviert « Senta's Traum », « Goldschatz im Rhein » oder « Blaue Zipfel, so wie Richard Wagner sie gern gegessen hat » .

« Wer in Bayreuth war und hat die “ Eule ” nicht besucht, hat etwas versäumt in seinem Leben » - dieser Eintrag im Gästebuch aus dem Jahr 1893 gilt ab sofort wieder. Die « Eule » heißt ihre Gäste herzlich willkommen !

...

Das traditionsreiche Stamm-lokal der Wagner-Begeisterten wurde nach seiner Schließung **2007** aufwendig saniert. Nach dem Ende der teuren Arbeiten am morbiden Gebäude zeigt sich : Es hat sich gelohnt.

**1444** wurde das Haus im Kern der Bayreuther Innenstadt das I. Mal urkundlich erwähnt : ein gewisser Kuntz Kröpfel wohnte damals dort. Danach wechselten sich Tuchscherer, Trompeter, Bäcker, Weber, Badmägde und Schulmeister ab. Zweimal wurde es Opfer von Flammen : bei den Stadtbränden **1605** und **1621**. Danach wieder Handwerker : Sattler,



Schuster, Schneider, Beutler. 1739 dann der I. Notenkundige : Kammermusicus H. Roming. Knapp 100 Jahre später kommt das Haus in der heutigen Kirchgasse zu seinem Namen : der Schuhmacher-Meister Johann Matthäus Eule sattelt um zum Bierwirt und begründet die gastronomische Tradition in der damaligen Ochsen-gasse. Er besaß ab diesem Zeitpunkt auch die sogenannte Traiteur-Gerechtigkeit, durfte also Mahlzeiten für große und kleine Feierlichkeiten kochen. Auf bayreutherisch also : « a Wärdshaus » betreiben. 1871 kommt Richard Wagner aus der Schweiz nach Bayreuth. Von dort bringt er seine Vorliebe für süffiges Bier und den täglichen Dämmer-schoppen mit. Allerdings wird zunächst der « Angermann » in der Kanzleistraße sein Stamm-lokal (« Triffst Du mich nicht zu Hause an, bin ich gewiß beim Angermann ») . Überliefert ist, daß Wagner stets zwischen 17 und 18 Uhr erschien und am liebsten am Kutschertisch Platz nahm. Im Sommer wird der Meister mit seiner Familie auch oft auf dem Angermann'schen Keller an den 99 Gärten gesichtet, wo man im Schatten einer Laube entspannt Picknick machen kann. Doch dann muß der « Angermann » dem Neubau des Bayreuther Postgebäudes weichen, und Wagner trinkt sein Bier daraufhin auch in der « Eule » . Das damals führende Festspiel-lokal von Christian Sammet im Alten Schloß schließt 15 Jahre später und der Stern der seit 1893 von Gastwirt Hans Meyer geführten « Eule » als Künstlerkneipe geht daraufhin endgültig auf. Bierfreund Wagner ist da schon längst tot. Es sind aber Kammersänger wie Hans Breuer, Loisl Burgstaller oder der Heldentenor Julius Kniese, die halfen, diesen Ruf zu begründen und zu verfestigen.

Die « Eule » wurde zu Stammkneipe von Wagners Sohn Siegfried. Später dann, beim Neubeginn der Festspiele 1924 ist sie « alleinige Wagner-Gaststätte » , beliebter Treffpunkt von Sängern, Musikern, Dirigenten und Wagner-Enthusiasten - vor allem während der Festspielzeit nach den Vorstellungen. Das « Neu-Bayreuth » des Brüderpaares Wieland und Wolfgang Wagner führte dann in den 1950-er-Jahren zu einer erneuten Renaissance der Künstlerkneipe. Da führte die legendäre Wirtin Anny Meyer das Lokal, verwöhnte das Künstlervolk, traf den richtigen Ton bei der Politprominenz und platzierte auch schon mal Intimfeinde wie Franz-Josef Strauß und « Spiegel » « Chef » Rudolf Augstein ganz bewußt an einen Tisch.

1967 erwarb dann Johanna Heise die « Eule » und brachte sie noch einmal zum Glänzen. Doch das Wirtshaus hatte seine besten Jahre hinter sich, es begann der Niedergang. Es wurde schließlich zum Sanierungsfall, bis hin zur diagnostizierten akuten Einsturzgefahr. Die städtische Wohnungsbaugesellschaft Gewog mußte in die Bresche springen und die « Eule » 2009 kaufen, um das morbide Gebäude vor dem endgültigen Verfall zu retten.

Die Sanierung wurde beinahe zu einem Alptraum für Projektleiter Andreas Baier und sein Team. Nahezu täglich stießen sie bei den Sicherungsmaßnahmen auf neue unliebsame Überraschungen. Die verfaulte Dach-konstruktion entpuppte sich als gefährlich marode : Es grenzte an ein Wunder, daß die « Eule » überhaupt noch stand. Die Wände hatten sich unter der Last stark verformt. Dazu tauchten vergessene Keller und Gewölbe wieder auf - wie etwa eine Treppe die heute in einen Weinkeller führt. Sanierung und Umbau des denkmalgeschützten Hauses kostete die Gewog insgesamt 2,4 Millionen Euro.

Koch und Küchenmeister Harald Kaiser, ein gebürtiger Röslauer, arbeitet daran, die « Eule » wieder zum Kult machen. Die Speisekarte des neuen Patrons ist inspiriert von den Hunderten zwischenzeitlich eingelagerten Bildern von Stars und Prominenten, die (versehen mit handsignierten Widmungen) wieder an den Wänden des Restaurants hängen : Wilhelm Furtwängler, Arturo Toscanini, Hans Knappertsbusch, Herbert von Karajan, Martha Mödl, Anja Silja, René Kollo,

Peter Hofmann. Die Menüauswahl ist aber auch angelehnt an Christian Sammets Künstler-lokal « Café im Alten Schloß » von 1892 : So gibt es in der Richard-Wagner-Stube, im Cosima-Wagner-Zimmer oder im gerade neu eröffneten Biergarten Kreationen wie « Nibelungensuppe » , « Goldschatz im Rhein » , « Sentas Traum » oder die berühmten Bayreuther « Blauen Zipfel » , die Leibspeise Richard Wagners.

...

Immer wieder kommen Gäste, die das Restaurant « Eule » in der Bayreuther Altstadt wie eine Kathedrale betreten. « This is Richard Wagner » , flüstern sie voller Ehrfurcht. Sie kommen aus Japan, China und der Schweiz, aus Chile, den USA oder aus Frankfurt-am-Main. Tief bewegt lassen sie sich des Mæstros Stammplatz zeigen und auch das Stammeckchen seines Sohnes Siegfried (1869-1930) , der Enkel von Franz Liszt war.

« Wer in Bayreuth war und hat die “ Eule ” nicht besucht, hat etwas versäumt in seinem Leben » - dieser alte Eintrag aus dem Gästebuch gilt bis heute als Motto des Hauses. Die « Eule » ist ein unverzichtbarer Bestandteil der Bayreuther Wirtshaus-kultur - nicht nur zur klassischen Festspielzeit vom 25. Juli bis zum 28. August.

Als Richard Wagner 1871 nach Bayreuth zog, pflegte er seinen Dämmerstübchen im « Angermann » zu nehmen :

« Triffst du mich nicht zu Hause an, bin ich gewiß beim Angermann. »

Bevor der « Angermann » abgerissen wurde, wechselte Wagner in die « Eule » , wo er ab 17 Uhr, meist in Begleitung seines Neufundländers « Marke » , zu erscheinen pflegte. Seine Tischrunde bestand aus Verehrern, die glücklich waren, den gesächselten Monologen des Meisters lauschen zu dürfen.

Eine Buffetuhr in der « Eule » zeigt die Sterbestunde Richard Wagners am 13. Februar 1883 um 15.30 Uhr in Venedig. Richtig berühmt wurde die « Eule » aber als Stammkneipe des Wagnersohnes Siegfried, der die Festspiele 1924 nach zehnjähriger Pause wieder eröffnen konnte. Solisten, Dirigenten und Wagnerfreunde machten die « Eule » zur « ultimativen Wagner-Gaststätte » . Ein erneuter, lang anhaltender Aufschwung kam ab 1950 durch die Brüder Wieland und Wolfgang Wagner.

2009 mußte das Haus (1444 erstmals erwähnt) nach zweijährigem Leerstand komplett saniert werden - ein denkmalpflegerischer Alptraum, denn das Dachgebälk war verfault. « Hier ist immer noch alles krumm, schief und in Bewegung » , sagt Harald Kaiser (58) , der die « Eule » am 1. Juli 2012 übernommen hat, « darum fühlt man sich auch sofort wohl » . Man suchte einen versierten, fränkischen Wirt - na, der Stammbaum der Freien Familie Kaiser reicht bis ins 14. Jahrhundert zurück.

Harald Kaiser bewirtschaftete zuvor das Schloß-Hotel Thiergarten und die Stadthalle in Bayreuth. Er hat es verstanden, die « Eule » wieder zu jener Wagner-Kultstätte zu machen, die sie jahrzehntelang war. Hunderte signierte Fotos an den Wänden zeigen Persönlichkeiten, die hier eingekehrt sind : Wagner-Heroen wie Peter Hofmann und René Kollo, die « 3 Nachkriegs-Primadonnen » Martha Mödl, Birgit Nilsson und Astrid Varnay, Dirigenten wie Wilhelm Furtwängler, Arturo

Toscanini, Hans Knappertsbusch und Herbert von Karajan.

Für die « liebevoll gekochte, fränkische Küche » hat Harald Kaiser einen jungen Koch, Patrick (23) , eingestellt, obwohl er selbst Küchenmeister ist. Der « Chef » muß den Service machen :

« Da gibt es engagierte Gespräche über die Tische hinweg, sogar zwischen der Richard-Wagner- und der Cosima-Wagner-Stube. »

Besonders zur Festspielzeit « sprudeln die Gäste über » . Nette, junge Servicekräfte kennen weder Anekdoten noch die alten Künstler und Haudegen. Sie könnten auch keine Wagnerfragen beantworten.

Natürlich ist die Speisekarte vollkommen auf das musik-dramatische Gesamtkunstwerk ausgerichtet : Nach dem Federstahl (Aperitif aus fränkischem Secco) , gibt es etwa eine Nibelungensuppe aus Mimes Zaubertopf serviert, Isoldes Kartoffelpuffer mit Räucherlachs und Kräuterschmand.

Richard Wagners Leibspeise, der fränkische Sauerbraten mit Lebkuchensoße und Kartoffelklöß und die Blauen Zipfel, exakt so, wie der Meister sie immer gern gegessen hat, empfehlen sich als Hauptgang. Zum Schluß vielleicht « den kleinen Fafner » , eine Portion Käse oder, wer es süß mag, den « Goldschatz im Rhein » , eine Art Mandelpudding im Weckglas mit Erdbeermus.

Ausgeschenkt werden Mönchshof und Kapuziner aus Kulmbach, Spezialitäten wie das Jean-Paul Bier vom Lang-Bräu (Wunsiedel) oder Marc's Chocolate Bock von Maisel (Bayreuth) . Auf der Weinkarte finden sich ein eigener Eulentrunke (weiß und trocken) und die « Bayreuther Sinfonie » , ein kräftiger Bordeaux, wie ihn der Meister in großen Mengen liebte, da ja sein Gönner Ludwig II. diese beachtlichen Rechnungen zu bezahlen pflegte.

Auch Lortot und Evelyn Hamann waren in der « Eule » (Viktor von Bülow gehörte zur Verwandtschaft von Cosima Wagners erstem Mann, Hans Freiherr von Bülow) , ein fotokopierter Stammbaum der Nachkommen Wagner-Liszt liegt in der « Eule » aus.

Wirt Harald Kaiser liebt sein Restaurant, das die Titelseite des Buches « 50 Historische Wirtshäuser in Oberfranken » zielt, über alles :

« Die Eule ist mein Lebenstraum » , sagt er. Wagner hat die Tür zur modernen Musik aufgestoßen - oder eingetreten ?

**Rott's latest compositions at the asylum**

**Winter 1883-1884 (?) (or 1884-1885 ?)** : Anton Bruckner inquires with Joseph Seemüller about the latest compositions of Hans Rott.

### The nephews come to visit

**December 1883** : Anton Bruckner's nephews Gustav and Theodor Hueber come to visit Bruckner in Vienna.

### « Sali » reproaches her brother

**December 1893 (?)** : Letter from Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Rosalia asks her brother why he did not store properly the food that was sent to him. This way, he puts his health at risk. She also asks why he did not visit her in Vöcklabruck during the last year. Did he receive her last letter ?

### The brother replies

**Sunday, 23 December 1883** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Bruckner thanks Rosalia for her last shipment. He complains about time and money shortage. He adds 15 Florins as a Christmas present and gives his New Year's Greetings.

...

Compared with the incomes of a civil servant (ranging between 600 and 1,000 Florins per year, but with additional supplements) , a teacher (600 Florins in 1870 rising to 800 Florins in 1874) , and a manual worker (ranging between 420 and 850 Florins) in Vienna in the 1870's, Anton Bruckner's starting salary of 800 Florins at the Conservatory can be seen as quite acceptable. In addition, he requested (from the Ministry of Education and Culture) 1 off-payments to enable him to devote more time to composition and was granted sums of 500 Florins, 400 Florins and 500 Florins at the end of 1868, end of 1870 and beginning of 1874. When one also bears in mind that he received additional income from St. Anna's Teacher Training Institute from 1870 until 1873, from private lessons, from the « Hofmusikkapelle » (occasionally from 1868, and regularly from 1875) and the University (unpaid in 1875 and for a few years thereafter, but paid from 1880 onwards) , it can be seen that Bruckner had a reasonably comfortable life-style from the mid-1870's. Nor did he have any real reason for financial anxiety either then or, in his later years, as he received substantial help in securing the publication of several of his works, including a private donation from Emperor Franz-Josef towards the printing of the 1889 version of the 3rd Symphony, a substantial donation from Duchess Amélie towards the printing of the 8th Symphony in 1892, pensions from the Conservatory (from 1891) and the « Hofmusikkapelle » (from 1892) , honorary annual gifts from the University (150 Florins in 1894, 600 Florins in 1895) , and regular subventions from erstwhile pupils and private consortia. Bruckner's liquid assets at his death amounted to nearly 17,000 Florins should, once and for all, dispel the myth that the composer was living in straitened circumstances.

### Combining business with pleasure

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

Anton Bruckner hopes that 2 movements of his Symphony (the 4th to be performed on 29 January, or less possibly, the 7th 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.

### Hugo Schenk

During the Habsburg years of the Monarchy (1809-1918) , crime seems to have been limited to common robberies going wrong or wretches with rat poison doing away with their husbands or rivals for the attention of a gentleman. Often charges were complimented by sorcery accusations. Executions of violent offenders of either gender were rather common-place.

Hugo Schenk was born on 11 February 1849.

He is considered, at least on record, as the first Austrian serial killer.

Characteristics : Rape - Robbery.

Location : Vienna.

Schenk began his criminal career with petty frauds at the age of 21. He was sentenced but later pardoned and when he teamed-up with Karl Schloßarek, whom he met in prison, murder was not too far away.

Together, the pair murdered 4 domestic helpers. A handsome lad, Schenk had no trouble attracting the attention of the ladies. Charming them into believing his intentions were honourable was not a difficult task for the experienced conman. During a puritanical time when such affairs of the heart needed to be conducted in secrecy, he could move in the shadows.

His method was simple. He would charm the girl, make her believe marriage was imminent and ask her to gather all her belongings (including all of her savings) and meet him at a remote part of the city, or indeed, in the country-side. Then, he would rape and rob her. With Schloßarek's help, he would then murder the woman and conceal her body in the wilderness or throw it into the Danube.

...

Known as « the girl murderer with the gentle face » , Schenk had no trouble wooing Viennese house-maids in the

mid-1800's. Donning a Polish accent, Schenk told women that he was a count named Winopolsky. If they were impressed, he would quickly court them, eventually inviting them to a secluded picnic spot for a bit of « romance ». Unfortunately, Schenk's idea of romance was deadly.

Schenk would rape his victim, steal whatever scant belongings she might have, tie a boulder to her feet, and toss her into the icy Danube. Sometimes, his brother acted as his accomplice ; other times, he worked alone. Raping, murdering and stealing was a full-time occupation for Schenk, who was plotting against his next victims before he has even disposed of his current one.

Though drowning was Schenk's preferred method of disposal. On at least one occasion, he got more creative. During one of his doomed picnics, Hugo Schenk taught a house-maid, Theresia Ketterl how to play the light-hearted game of Russian « Roulette », with an empty gun, ... of course. He told Theresia to give it a try, but not before secretly loading the gun. The poor house-maid did the dirty work for him.

Method of murder : Shooting - drowning.

Number of victims : 4-6 or more.

Identified victims : Josephine Timal ; Katharina Timal ; Theresia Ketterl ; Rosa Ferenczy.

Date of murders : **May-December 1883.**

**Thursday, 10 January 1884** : Arrest by police of Hugo Schenk, nicknamed « the Viennese house-maids killer ». It was discovered that he had been corresponding with at least 50 women, all of whom he no doubt considered future victims.

His accomplice, Karl Schloßarek (born in 1858) , was arrested the day after (Tuesday) . Both will be condemned to death by hanging.

**Tuesday, 5 February 1884** : Article from the « New York Times » :

Before being delivered up to justice, Hugo Schenk confessed to the police that he had planned 5 murders for last week, which were to provide him with 30,000 Florins. With this sum, he intended to escape to America with Emily Höchsmann.

Two of his intended victims are daughters of respectable families. One is a servant to the Baroness Malfatti, whose chamber-maid he had induced to steal pearls worth 20,000 Florins, which the Imperial family had presented to Doctor Malfatti for attending Napoléon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, during his last illness.

This maid, who had lived in the family for 12 years, was so thoroughly trusted that the pearls were not missed until

Schenk's arrest gave the clue to the robbery. She had prepared everything for Schenk and his accomplice's reception in the house on the very night he was arrested.

Schenk said to her he would give all the inmates, herself included, a dose of morphia ; but he has confessed that his real intention was to murder them all. If he had not been arrested on **January 10th**, this crime would have been added to the others.

The Baroness Malfatti had about 10,000 Florins' worth of plate and jewels, besides much cash, in the house, a solitary villa in an out-lying suburb. She is a most generous old lady, who founded and keeps up an asylum for old women. Her pearls were pawned in Linz. The maid's deposition confirmed Schenk's confession.

Every step that the police take serves to reveal fresh crimes of the brothers Schenks and their accomplice, Schloßbarek. Schenk acted by minutely prepared plans, and, several times, he plotted against one girl even before he had disposed of another, who seemed ready to give-up all to him.

He is tall, handsome, well-mannered, speaks fluently several languages, and has the bearing of a gentleman.

His brother has confessed to having helped him to murder the cook Ketterl, whom they shot dead and threw into the Danube early in August, 1883. This is the 5th murder which seems, so far as we may say so before actual convictions, to be established, but 3 others are probable.

Hugo Schenk's wife and his child have disappeared altogether. A man answering his description was seen from a railway train near Lundenburg, on the Northern Railway, wrestling with a woman, whom he seemed to stab.

This affair was not cleared-up, because the police sent from the station where the train stopped could find no trace of murderer or victim. Schenk confesses to having murdered a woman near Lundenburg, but refuses to give details.

The principal witness against Hugo Schenk will be his sweetheart, Emily Höchsmann, whom he first enticed, like his other victims, but finding her poor, yet attractive, spared her life, and even spent upon her much of the money obtained by his terrible crimes.

She offered herself as a witness when she heard who her lover really was.

His acquaintances were all made by means of advertisements in the local papers.

Schenk made the women believe that he was a Nihilist agent, a Polish Count with untold gold, that he had uncles in America, and noble relations who would not hear of a marriage with a servant.

Clandestine marriage was always the excuse for leaving Vienna, and, once « en route » with the girl's money safe in her bag, he got-out at some romantic spot, where he met his accomplices, and, after murdering his victim, returned by

next train.

In **March 1883**, he was released after 2 years' imprisonment. In **May**, he murdered the 2 Timals, after 4 weeks' acquaintance.

In **August**, the cook Ketterl was murdered, and, in the **last days of December**, when the police had already traced him, he killed Rosa Ferenczy. During all this time, he professed to be in love with 2 girls, and corresponded with at least 50 others.

Last **August**, he left Emily Höcksmann for one day, promising to meet her at night in a certain public garden. She waited for him with her relations, and when he came, his merriment kept him busy all day, and had them surrounded by dozens of people, gave Emily Höcksmann a watch, bracelets, and rings which he had taken from the murdered Ketterl 3 hours previously.

Next day, he started on a Swiss-tour with his sweetheart, and only left her when money fell short.

The most pitiable of his victims was his last, Rosa Ferenczy. The illegitimate daughter of a Hungarian nobleman, she was full of fanciful ideas, and when, at the age of 30, this handsome man offered her his hand and heart she believed fate had turned at last, and leaving service followed him.

He took some of her money, 1,800 Florins in all, and lodged her in a remote suburb, visiting her sometimes. The landlady states that Rosa Ferenczy suspected him when absent, but whenever he showed himself, she always believed him.

At Christmas, he took her to the theatres and the opera, promising to visit his sister in her company soon.

She prepared for departure, and said, crying, to the landlady :

« You'll either see me happy and married, or never again. »

The landlady recognized Schenk and Schloßarek as the 2 men with whom Rosa drove to the station. Next day, her body was found in the Danube, near Preßburg.

The sums which Schenk obtained by his murders, and which he must have divided with his brother and his accomplice Schloßarek, do not amount to 6,000 Florins. But he never worked, and lived comfortably, often travelling, for 3 years at least, as also did his accomplices.

He must, therefore, had obtained money by other means, or many other murders, to which no clue is as yet obtained, were his work.



The Pesth police have asked for his likeness, several girls having been abducted from that city of late years in a similar manner to that practised by Schenk.

### The trial of Hugo Schenk

Anton Bruckner was reading about murder cases, executions and criminal affairs in the newspapers. He attended numerous murder trials. As the day of the execution was approaching, the composer became « abnormally over-excited » .

He showed a special interest for the crimes which he recorded in his personal diary, focusing in particular on the final moments of a man condemned to death.

Pianist August Stradal, a favourite pupil, recalled Bruckner's appetite for news about trials and executions :

« Bruckner was consumed with nervous greed. (...) Sometimes, I had to bring him half a dozen newspapers, in which he would seek detailed descriptions of some morbid court affairs before a jury - like murder cases. In a state of over-excitation, Bruckner would not be able to sleep before the day of the execution. »

(August Stradal)

**Thursday, 13 March 1884** : Beginning of the trial against Hugo Schenk. Anton Bruckner showed great interest in this highly-publicized court case until the execution of the convicted murderer on April 22.

« When the trial against the notorious female-killer Hugo Schenk began, Bruckner pleaded that I should intervene with a friend, the State attorney Gürtler von Kleeborn, so that he would be allowed to attend the trial and, if possible, the execution (...) So, I led the “ Master ” inside the court-room (...) but Bruckner could not control himself (...) He raised continuously from the bench to get a better view of the murderer. His awkward behaviour was disturbing the peace. A constable came to meet us to demand silence. »

(August Stradal)

...

Klaus Petermayr. « Im Banne des Madcheanrders. Anton Bruckner und Hugo Schenk. »

According to his composition pupil, August Stradal, Bruckner was insistent that he ask one his friends, a public prosecutor, to make it possible for him to attend the trial and execution. While the latter was out of the question, Bruckner was able to gain access to, at least, some of the trial proceedings. Petermayr also compares Stradal's account with similar accounts of Bruckner's seemingly child-like attraction to the sensational by Hans Commenda, Anton Meißner and others. But hand in hand with this unusual attraction to the morbid was Bruckner's concern, as a devout Catholic,

for the soul of the murderer.

### A « Schnitzel » from the « Riedhof »

**Monday, 21 April 1884 :**

« On the evening before the execution of Hugo Schenk (**Monday, 21 April**) , me and Bruckner sat down at the “ Riedhof ”, a restaurant near the District Court House. There were also some young and playful physicians in our company who, with the “ funny old man ”, as they say in Vienna, were forming a very wild bunch.

And so, one of these doctors told me that Hugo Schenk expressed the wish to eat a “ Schnitzel ” from the “ Riedhof ” on the evening before his execution. And that the owner had just sent this “ Schnitzel ” to the District court-house.

Bruckner immediately asked the owner to prepare him a piece of that same piece of veal (...) . Bruckner stayed awake all night long, and prayed for the murderer. »

(August Stradal)

The German word « Schnitzel » (Middle High German : « Snitzel ») is a diminutive of « Sniz » (slice) . The term « Wiener Schnitzel » itself dates to at least 1845.

The « Wiener Schnitzel » is a popular part of Viennese cuisine. It is made of veal and is traditionally garnished with a slice of lemon and either potato salad or potatoes with parsley and butter.

The term « Wiener Schnitzel » is a protected geographical indication in Austria and Germany and can only be made of veal. When pork is used, the dish must be called « Wiener Schnitzel vom Schwein » or « Schnitzel nach Wiener Art » to differentiate it from the veal original.

**Tuesday, 22 April 1884 :** Hugo Schenk was executed by hanging in Court No. I of the Vienna Regional Court. His skull sits in the Vienna's Crime Museum (« Kriminalmuseum ») to this day.

### Vöcklabruck : « Frau Hartmann »

**Summer 1884 :** Anton Bruckner began working upon a new Symphony. His sister, in whose house in the little town of Vöcklabruck he was vacationing, says he would show her a stack of music-paper covered with pencil marks, saying that these scribblings would become another Symphony. In order to be able to set-down, undisturbed, the ideas that came to him during frequent walks in the surrounding woods, he rented a room with a piano in a house nearby, just for composing.

When he heard that the owner of this house had a young and pretty daughter, he said :

« I'm glad. Now I'm sure I'll be able to compose here. »

Every day, he would bring this girl, a « “ Frau ” Hartmann », a bouquet of flowers. The presence of the younger fair-sex seems to have been always a source of happiness to the composer. He was then over 60 years old.

**Munich : « Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten » : 2 famous guests during summer**

**Wednesday, 30 July 1884** : Part of the list of guests at the « Hotel 4 Jahreszeiten » in Munich :

« (...) Count Vincent Egon von Fürstenberg, Vienna ; Anton Bruckner, Professor, Vienna (...) »

**July 1884 : Hot in Vienna !**

**Sunday, 13 July 1884** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Sunday 13 July, 6:30 in the evening : 40°Ré (Réaumur scale) in the sun. (/) 7:30 pm : 37°Ré. »

**« My stomach ! »**

In the early 1880's, Anton Bruckner began to be preoccupied with his health and, in general, with that of everyone he knew. Since his break-down, in 1867, he had never been completely well. In 1883, in wishing everything good to a friend, he wrote that, above all else, was good health, upon which he expounded for the remainder of the paragraph. The same can be seen in one of his longer letters, from around 1884, where he ended with the 2 words :

« Mein Magen ! » (My stomach !)

**Bruckner and the « Eroica »**

**1884** : Anton Bruckner's reaction after hearing Beethoven's « Eroica » in the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » is quite revealing.

University student Carl Hrubý attended the concert with Bruckner who used to stand right behind the podium.

After the concert, the 2 men went to one of Bruckner's favourite restaurant, « at Gause », the popular guest-house (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District.

(In 1825, Ludwig van Beethoven housed at « Johannesgasse » Number 969.)

Carl Hrubý says :

« Every nerve was moving inside him. After plunging a moment into his thoughts, his eyes turned inward, he suddenly broke the silence :

“ Not true, ' Herr ' Beethoven, my 7th is not so bad, while some present you as a role model and consider me a fool. I think that I would like Beethoven to take me by the hand and say :

' My dear Bruckner, do not worry, for me it has not been better, these men have understood nothing of my Quartets.  
'  
I would say to him again :

' Excuse me again, ' Herr ' Beethoven, for having exceeded the form, but I think in all cases that an authentic artist can create a form for his works and then stick to it. ' ” »

**Rott : « From an Artist's Life »**

**Monday, 26 May 1884** : Article on Hans Rott entitled « From an Artist's Life » (« Aus einem Künstlerleben ») is published in the « Illustrierten Wiener Extrablatt » Number 145, at page 2.

**Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1884)**

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen dieses Jahres ...

« Orgelklasse des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner :

(3 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Rudolf Wilfert, Thimothé Xanthopoulos. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner :

II. Jahrgang : Carl Führich. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner :

(11 Zöglinge.)

Hermann Abheiter, Ludwig Großbauer, Franz Heinrich, Carl Hrubý, Rudolf Paradiser, Hugo Troizsche, Heinrich Wottawa, Peter Zachariadis. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner :

(5 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Cyrill Hynais, Doktor Franz Marschner.

II. Jahrgang : Carl Führich, Josef Meyer, Franz Schlott. »

Carl Führich absolviert sein Hauptfach Orgel, erhält hierüber ein Diplom und wird mit der Gesellschafts-Medaille ausgezeichnet.

### Death of Hans Rott

**Wednesday, 25 June 1884** : Living in the Lower-Austrian State Insane Asylum, Hans Rott, not yet 26 years old, dies after several suicide attempts from either lung cancer or tuberculosis ; the most tragic result of the Brahms-Bruckner dispute.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« † » (prayer for the death, presumably for Hans Rott) .

Composer Hans Rott's funeral at the « Zentralfriedhof » in Vienna was attended by Anton Bruckner, who arrived early and spent a significant amount of time alone with the coffin of his young friend and student. At the funeral itself, Bruckner was seen crying, and stated openly that Brahms' uncalled-for, harsh treatment of an already isolated young composer was to blame for his demise.

Only his closest friends mourned Rott in Vienna : Gustav Mahler, Carl Hrubý, Friedrich Eckstein, Franz Marschner, and Cyrill Hynais.

Anton Bruckner was devastated :

« Already an hour before the funeral began, Bruckner stood at the coffin, lost in dreams, looking down into the pale face of his dear student, and could not tear himself away. When the coffin was put into the hearse, tear upon tear fell from the Master's eyes. »

The « great future » Bruckner had predicted for him was not to be, and instead Rott seemed fated to be a foot-note in biographies of Bruckner and Mahler : a talented figure, no doubt, but one who had fallen by the way-side too early to realize whatever potential he may have had.

...

The great hopes and expectations his friends had entertained of him, had been a matter of the past for some time already. Almost 4 years lasted the tragic epilogue of the musician's life who had been suffering from « hallucinatory insanity and persecution mania » and had been given-up by the physicians. As a student of the Vienna Conservatory, he had gained Anton Bruckner's recognition and as a composer and the admiration of a small, however select, circle of friends to which also Gustav Mahler belonged during his early years in Vienna.

...

From the view-point of Hans Rott's fellow-student Gustav Mahler, things were completely different. Although the 2 students had quarreled horribly about whether one needed a roast for composing or might not rather make do with some cheese (« Quargel » : a variety of « Harz » cheese) , the disputes between the « roast-beef » composer Rott and the « cheese-composer » Mahler never went so far that their mutual estimation would have suffered for it.

Mahler on Rott :

« What music has lost with him cannot at all be measured :

His genius rises to such soaring already in his 1st Symphony, which he wrote as a 20 year old and which (it is not too much said) made him the founder of the “ new Symphony ” as I understand it. That which he wanted, however, has not yet been reached entirely. It is as when somebody gears-up to throw something as far as he can and, still unskilfully, does not completely reach the goal. But I know where he is aiming. Yes, it is so related to my very own that he and I seemed to me like 2 fruits from the same tree, which the same soil has produced, which the same air has nourished. I could have obtained infinitely much from him, and, perhaps, we too together, in a certain way, would have exhausted the content of this new time which was dawning for music. »

(Gustav Mahler in the Memoirs of Nathalie Bauer-Lechner.)

**Wednesday, 31 March 2004** : The « Internationale Hans Rott Gesellschaft » put-up a commemorative plaque at the hitherto anonymous burial place. Location plaque : 23-2-59.

**Rott : « Post-mortem »**

To the credit of those who treated Hans Rott, it must be said that he held-out relatively long. Robert Schumann lasted exactly 2 years and 5 months in Eendenich, and Friedrich Hölderlin in all likelihood would not have managed to

survive so long in the Autenrieth Clinic in Tübingen if he had not been brought in time to master joiner Zimmer's tower. Who would have wanted to wear the Autenrieth mask, which was supposed to keep clinic patients from shouting. Who would have wanted to survive even only one day while wearing such an inhumane device if he was not a genuine psychopath ?

Here, an « excursus » on the state of psychiatry in 1880 seems to be in order.

« The classification of mental illnesses ... cannot yet be made on an anatomical basis » , so we read in the then most up-to-date encyclopedia. Under the same heading, it is also stated that « mental illness » concerns « those illnesses which announce themselves by disturbances in the area of sense impressions, of the imagination, volition, or action » . The tenor of all these remarks is that « delusions » , « insanity » , and « persecution-mania » are in principle incurable, while « psychiatry » (unabashedly) admits of definition as the « science of the healing of the mind » .

Every abnormality, even if it is nothing more than the abnormality of feeling a special calling within oneself, can be interpreted as as an illness and accordingly treated by having the person concerned locked up :

« Every over-exertion of the brain, excessive mental and emotional excitement, is to be avoided ; on the other hand, the development and exercise of physical strength very particularly should be kept in mind ; the goal must always be to work as much as possible toward the simplest, most ordered external relations, toward the avoidance of all passionate excitements, toward the accustoming to subordination under objectively given circumstances. »

What here sounds like a caricature consists of excerpts from the 4th edition of Joseph Meyer's « Konversations-Lexikon » , which came-out on the market 4 years after Rott's death. Here, we find the treatment ideas of a clique which (undisturbed by any and all scientific knowledge) , for many years, had been licensed to maintain the status quo, which amounted to seeing to « the accustoming to subordination under objectively given circumstances » , whether Social-Democrats or large-format crazies like artists were concerned. The Gulag was everywhere.

This does not mean that normal behaviour includes resorting to armed force to keep a smoker from his pleasure. But the lack of diagnostic acumen distinguishing the guild of self-appointed psyche-plumbers is also quite evident in the case of the unfortunate Hans Rott. What would have happened if, for example, a few friends of the most profoundly insecure composer had kidnapped him, taken him off to the Styrian Salzkammergut, provided him with a piano, a stack of music-paper, a couple of cubic meters of firewood, and a lumberjack's ax, if they had given him the opportunity for mental and physical activity in quiet surroundings ? But as things were, surrounded by people suffering from genuine and imagined mental illnesses, Rott had to lose his marbles, like Robert Schumann before him.

2 things here are cause for alarm. The arbitrariness with which the supposed diagnoses are passed on in the secondary literature, and the self-glorification of the diagnosticians, who always recognize the symptoms but never the possible causes. And it is precisely the causes that would be interesting to investigate. Why is it that Robert Schumann as well as Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf all meet under the rubric of « Johannes Brahms » ? Is this really only a biographical coincidence ?

Anton Bruckner must have been of another opinion, given the fact that at the coffin of his favourite pupil Rott he made such heavy accusations against his local rival Brahms that even Rott's friend Friedrich Loehr, the father of the aforementioned journalist Maja Loehr, saw himself forced to do some fancy argumentative foot-work :

« I believe Brahms behaved in this way in his rebuke toward the beginner who enlisted all the expressive means of his art, with a good educational intention ; given the experiences and convictions of his own artistic formation and nature, he could not do otherwise, and I believe that, in doing so, he objectively committed a most genuine artistic injustice. At the time, however (it was just before his illness manifested itself) , Rott could no longer at all be saved and had fallen victim to his bitter fate : his illness, caused by very different psychic and emotional factors, had already been long in preparing » (Friedrich Loehr. « Die Musik » , 1903-1904) .

Loehr's exertion here was no success, first, because he suppressed the « very different factors » and, second, because he over-looked other cases and incidents from the Brahms's files :

Heinrich von Herzogenberg, over many years, attempted to gain recognition from the Master.

Max Bruch had to put-up with the question about where he had obtained such nice score-paper.

Ethel Smyth, truly a tougher operator than Rott or Schumann, did not exactly have flattering thing to report about him.

Moreover, one should recall what Hans Richter, a friend of Brahms, did to Hugo Wolf's « Penthesilea » :

He tore it to pieces because the young Wolf had attacked the great Brahms in his reviews.

Our purpose here is not to find fault with Johannes Brahms ; his works render him immune from prosecution. But one should perhaps consider the fact that Wolf and Rott, like Gustav Mahler, were pupils of Anton Bruckner and were not situated on the Classicistic line that played the « coquet » with the status quo. At best, one might be willing to accept the hypothesis that the whole thing was nothing more than a perpetuated misunderstanding, in other words, that Brahms did not understand the meaning of the trivialities that do indeed gambol about in Rott's Symphonic score. This would be an acceptable way-out of the bind, in as much as one could cite, so to speak, the fate of Mahler's « œuvre » as a star witness.

How long did it, indeed, take until the disparate substances of his works were recognized for that which they really are - parts of those worlds that in his view Symphonies had to be ?

As far as Brahms is concerned, he who would have had to have been an idiot not to have immediately discovered what kind of mirror the young student of his rival was holding-up to him on **September 16 or 17, 1880** : a Symphonic world map of the 19th Century on which he himself, the Northern German Viennese-by-choice, had his place as one of the many famous greats of the past and present.



In the Finale, Rott really went too far. After he lets the previous events pass in review very much in the manner of Bruckner's 5th Symphony, he chooses a melody that (unintentionally) does its provoking : its proximity to the Finale theme from Brahms's 1st Symphony is so obvious (4 min. 40 sec.) that the evaluator perhaps may have felt that Rott was poking fun at him. The repetitions (8 min. 20 sec. and 12 min. 25 sec.) would only have intensified the unfavorable impression. And the fact the Rott had the quasi-quoted Brahms end-up proceeding into Valhalla with the gods was clear evidence of his mental state : Rott had fallen victim to the « primary insanity » which affects « mostly young individuals of 17 to 25 or older ones, namely women, of 40 to 50 years of age » .

### Bruckner's young fans

**Wednesday, 6 August 1884** : Message from Anton Bruckner to conductor Arthur Nikisch :

« Requesting postponement of the concert till student term begins. I expect to gain many supporters among the young people. “ Gaudeamus igitur ”. I have begun my 8th Symphony ... »

### « Schlaraffia » : a World Society

Roast sucking pigs, with knives and forks conveniently growing in their sides, bask and grunt contentedly in « Schlaraffia » . In « Schlaraffia » , the streams flow with milk and honey - or other beverages to the taste. In « Schlaraffia » , there is only one law : that everybody must and shall be happy. In fact, the « Schlaraffian » police arrest anybody who frowns or is the cause of a frown in another. « Schlaraffia » is the mother country of various colonies throughout the not-too-civilized world. These colonies endeavor to plant, amid the grind and worry of our big cities, certain small oases of rest where the spirit of fun shall reign unquestioned and unresisted.

Somewhere in his writings, Washington Irving says that « humor is the oil and wine of a merry meeting, and there is no jovial companionship equal to that where the jokes are small and the laughter abundant » . Mister Irving died in November, 1859, about 4 weeks after the foundation of the « Schlaraffia » in Prague, and, therefore, could not have heard of its doings, its aims, or even its existence. But, for that matter, how many Americans have heard of it even today ? Yet, many of its lusty off-spring have reached our shores, and are scattered between Sandy Hook and the Golden Gate.

This is rather remarkable, for a humorous Society is, by the nature of things, localized.

Like many similar institutions, the « Schlaraffia » had its precursors in humorous Societies, such as the « Grüne Insel » (Green Island) and the « Ludlamshöhle » (Ludlam's Cave) , which recruited their members from the most intellectual circles, and flourished in Vienna until the turbulent times that followed the political events in Europe of 1848, when everything in the nature of Societies or meetings met with suspicion on the part of the authorities, and was subjected, to such rigorous supervision as to prevent the achievement of the most innocent object.

In fact, « Schlaraffia » is the indirect outcome of the great reaction which came in the wake of these events, and was

created by its founders with the idea of giving the members a chance of assembling for the purpose of innocent amusement, without exciting distrust in the eyes of the Austrian Government, whose spies scented political crime and treason in every gathering of men.

The earliest history of the Society is, however, intimately connected with that of the German Theater in Prague, in which city it first saw the light of day, or rather night.

At that time, in 1859, there existed in the capital of Bohemia a Society of artists and art-lovers, called the « Arcadia » , consisting of the cream of German intellect, among the members of which, however, the so-called « Protzenthum » (money-proud class) was numerously represented.

It was at one of the meetings of the « Arcadia » , in the spring of 1859, that Director Franz Thomé of the German Theater proposed one of his foremost actors, a notoriously poor man, for membership. In the discussion which preceded his ultimate rejection, the word « Proletarian » was uttered in connection with this actor, and Director Thomé, indignant at the epithet and the result of his proposal, immediately resigned his membership, which example was followed by the few actors of his company who belonged to the Society.

Thomé and his friends, at that time, were also in the habit of attending, in a certain restaurant, the informal meetings of a group of intellectual men, inclined to Bohemianism ; and when, at one of these gatherings, the story of the black-balling of one of Prague's most famous artists was told, the indignation was so general that the same evening saw, as a protest against the action of the « Arcadia » , the metamorphosis of the round-table, until then nameless, into the « Proletarian Club » .

This club proved to be the original gem of the « Schlaraffia » , and its caliber may fairly be judged when the fact is stated that the same evening also saw the writing of the words and music of the « Proletarian Song » by one of its members, Albert Eilers, a noted Opera « basso » , and the singing of it by an improvised quartet.

In the meetings of the « Proletarian Club » , everyone contributed his share toward the entertainment, and there were no drones, for even the members outside the arts and professions were men of various talents, the principal requisites of membership being brains and appreciation of humor and art.

When conditions, in the fall of 1859, made a change of the Club name desirable, the choice fell upon « Schlaraffia » , the name of a mythical country where everyone is happy. In mockery of feudal customs and the ridiculous claims of the aristocracy of birth and money, an oligarchy and a ceremonial for the meetings was established which, in its parodical quaintness, proved irresistibly amusing.

From the start, the principal object of the « Schlaraffia » was to create a true democracy of mind, and the qualifications for membership were confined to unblemished reputation and ability to contribute an equable share to the entertainments, or, at least, to fully-appreciate the efforts of others. Birth, social standing, wealth, religion, politics, and nationality carried no weight whatever in the applications for membership, the cardinal requirement only being

considered, and an educated or talented cab-driver had the same chance of admittance as a prince of the royal blood. In the « Schlaraffia », all were alike, and on its banner were placed the words « Brotherly Love and Friendship among Men » in addition to the device of the « Proletarian Club », which was « For Art and Humor » .

In order to avoid the possibility of disagreements and heated discussions, all topics of conversation which might give rise to them, such as religion, nationality, business, politics, etc. , were tabooed in the meetings. Card-playing and the reading of newspapers also were prohibited. As the official language of the « Schlaraffia », German was naturally adopted. In fact, the « Schlaraffia » came in time to be looked upon as a stronghold of German culture and ideas, especially after the Society had spread to foreign countries, where, in many cases, it served as the only intellectual refuge for its members.

In Prague itself, with a surrounding hostile Czechish element, the mother Society frequently laboured under difficulties which, shortly after the « Schlaraffia » had moved into a home of its own, culminated, during an anti-German riot, in an attack on the « Schlaraffen » Castle by a Czechish mob. In consequence of this attack, the doors and windows of the house are now protected by heavy iron gratings and shutters, which give it, more or less, the aspect of a medieval fortress.

In spite of the early vicissitudes, the « Schlaraffia » in Prague continued to develop. In its meetings the vanities and follies of the outer-world were mocked by means of a ridiculously solemn cult, for which a strictly observed ceremonial was devised. From the moment a « Schlaraffia » entered the castle, he was supposed to leave behind him all the profane cares of existence, to step, for the time being, out of his mortal shell, and to live solely for the enjoyment of humor, art, and friendship among men. To aid in this imagination, the members pretended to live in the Middle-Ages, and adopted humorous armorial bearings, wooden swords and a supposed helmet of satin or velvet which resembled a fool's cap with bells and ears. They applied ancient and obsolete names to every-day actions and things, greeted and drank each other's health in a different manner from usual, and adopted, for exclusive use during the meetings, odd individual names which generally bore some humorous reference to their vocations or to certain characteristic peculiarities.

Out of all this developed a grotesque knighthood with gradations of nobility, and an infallible despotism, conceded to the elected rulers, to which the knights bowed in submissive reverence. The 3 « Oberschlaraffen » (Supreme « Schlaraffs ») were supposed to be endowed with special virtues by « Uhu » (the horned owl) , which bird of Minerva had been chosen as tutelary deity. They took turns presiding over the meetings, and the one who was temporarily chairman was recognized as being directly inspired by « Uhu » , and therefore, infallible.

« Uhu » , the protector of the « Schlaraffia » , was worshiped in 2 forms ; as « Aha » in moments of untamed enjoyment, when everything was harmony and love, and as « Oho » at times when discord threatened the peace of the meeting. In both cases, libations were offered to the deity in form of mighty steins of beer, called « Quell » , or bumpers of wine, called « Lethe » , which found their way to the right spot in the anatomy of the knights, and created that feeling of good-fellowship to attain which the German needs his native drink and pipe.

It must be said though that, while, according to German custom, drink is a necessary adjunct to jovial companionship, in the meetings of the « Schlaraffia » all excess is tabooed, and that, in spite of the respectable capacity of the average Teuton, cases of over-indulgence are unknown. A still more remarkable thing in relation to the « Schlaraffia » may be quoted in the fact that the members are bound to refrain absolutely from lewdness of speech, immoral language, and questionable jokes, all of which are punished by cash fines for the benefit of the treasury, or by cruel confinement in the castle dungeon.

As a further satire against the weaknesses and foibles of the outer-world, the « Schlaraffia » established high-sounding titles and glittering decorations which were conferred for fidelity to the Society, regular attendance at the meetings, special brilliancy and other meritorious conduct. Blue blood was infused into the members by conceding to those who deserved it ancestors in the shape of small stamped metal plates, to be worn on the helmet or the bandolier, and some of the knights are thus enabled to show an ancestry against which that of a scion of the Wittelsbachs or Colonnas sinks into insignificance.

From 1859 to 1865, the « Schlaraffia » in Prague preserved a local character, but the latter year witnessed an event which had a momentous effect on its future development as a world Society. Some time before that, one of its members, the well-known author Eduard Schmidt-Weissenfels, known in the « Schlaraffia » as Knight Plato, had moved to Berlin. His attachment to the Society was, however, so strong that he kept in constant touch with Prague, and, at last, his longing for a similar institution in Berlin induced him to seek suitable material among the men of art and letters in the Prussian capital, with which he founded a Society which, like the « Praga », called itself « Schlaraffia », but, while following in principle the example of the original institution, adopted a dual form of government and was ruled by a « Mikado » and a « Taikoon ». The event was greeted by the mother Society with acclamation, and, in 1867, the branch was recognized as a legitimate daughter of the « Praga ».

Again, 7 years passed before another altar of « Uhu » was erected. This time, it was in Leipzig where a knight of the « Praga » and one of the Berolina jointly founded a new « Schlaraffia » under conditions similar to those of the first branch. One year later, in 1873, « Uhu » spread its wings over Graz, in Austria, and, up to 1875, in Vienna and Hamburg preliminary work was done toward the establishment of further branches.

During all these years, a lively inter-course, by correspondence and mutual visits, was kept-up between the different Societies, and the desire to get in closer contact with each other grew apace until, in 1876, it resulted in the first great « Schlaraffen » Council of Leipzig. All 4 Societies, which then numbered together one 189 members, were well-represented, and it was at this council that, after the Berolina had graciously relinquished its special form of government, the great idm of « Allschlaraffia » (« Pan-Schlaraffia ») was born, and the « Praga » unanimously recognized as the « Allmutter » (All-mother), which honour she bears since then.

It was here too that the « Spiegel » (Mirror), the guiding law code of « Allschlaraffia », was formulated and the ceremonial revised. This, with a few changes at later councils, is today the code of the world Society. It was further decided to hold periodical councils of « Allschlaraffia » every 5 years. The « Schlaraffen » era was put-back just 300 years, and the duration of the « Schlaraffen » year made to begin officially in October and end in May. The festivals

were divided into movable and immovable. To the first belonged the « Ladies' Evenings » , the « Festival of the Orders » , and those given in honour of dead heroes of literature and art ; to the latter, the Foundation Anniversary, the « Schlaraffiad » , or monthly business meeting, Christmas, and the last evening of the calendar year. Shortly after the Leipzig Council, « Schlaraffia » began to develop in a most unexpected manner. The idea was carried by enthusiastic errant members all over Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, and Hungary, and at the next council, which was held in Prague, « Allschlaraffia » was represented by 36 « realms » , as the full-fledged individual Societies were now called, and by several colonies, by which name those were known which still were in a period of probation. The approximate number of « Schlaraffs » at this time was over 1,000.

It is not to be inferred though from this rapid growth that « Schlaraffen » colonies could be created indiscriminately. The « Spiegel » provides that only members of knightly rank in good standing, who have lived over 1 year in an « Uhu » forsaken town, may, with the help of at least 10 native citizens, found a new colony, for which the sanction of the « Praga » has to be gained before it is recognized by the realms and sister colonies. A period of probation, generally from 1 to 2 years, during which it is strictly supervised by the mother realm to which the founding knight belongs, is imperative for the colony before it is created by the « Allmutter » a full-fledged Society and receives its bull of sanction.

Neither can a « Schlaraffe » visit Societies other than his own without being provided with a regular passport, signed and vise by an « Oberschlaraffe » and the chancellor of his realm, in which his visit is recorded by the chancellor of the realm whose guest he was.

In the years following the second council of « Allschlaraffia » up to the present, the number of branch Societies increased to nearly 160, with a membership of approximately 5,000, and efforts were made to establish colonies in such out-of-the-way places as Singapore, Auckland, New Zealand, and Alexandria, Egypt, all of which, however, soon disappeared again on account of lack of closer geographical connections. Some 10 years ago, the Russian Societies too disappeared, being suppressed by the Muscovite authorities, and 1 or 2 Austrian realms were stricken from the list of « Allschlaraffia » on account of political meddling and religious intolerance, but all occurring breaches are soon filled-up by newly-founded colonies.

In 1883, « Uhu » took its first flight across the Atlantic, when Knight Columbus the Pathfinder, an actor member of the Bemlina, founded the « Schlaraffia » in San Francisco. This is known as the « Franziscana California » . It may be stated here, by the way, that the custom of giving the realms Latinized names has become general, and whenever a city in which a « Schlaraffia » is located has an ancient historic name this is adopted in lieu of its modern one. Thus, for example, Vienna bears its former Roman appellation, « Vindobona » , Cologne that of « Colonia Agrippina » , London becomes « Londinium » , etc.

While, in the nature of things, « Uhu's » advance on this side of the Atlantic has not been so rapid as abroad, altogether a dozen « Schlaraffias » have been founded in the United States since 1883. San Francisco was followed by the « Nova Yorkia » , « Milwaukia » , « Chicagoana » , « Ludovica Missouriia » (St. Louis) , « Cincinnatia » , « Newarka » , « Sylvana » (Cleveland) , « Brooklynia » , « Filadelfia » , « Camrea » (Jersey City) , « Bostonia » , and

« News Portus » (New Haven) .

These American Societies are mostly in flourishing condition, but whatever increase there is to come is naturally confined to the larger cities of the East and Middle-West, as only there can the proper material for the make-up of new realms be found. It may be remarked in this connection that, while the American members are fully as loyal to the « Allschlaraffia » as the others, they exhibit a certain pride in their newly-adopted country, and, some years ago, there was a slight tendency, in view of the different conditions of life, manners, and customs in the United States, to form a coalition of the American Societies which, while acknowledging allegiance to « Allschlaraffia » , was to govern itself according to local conditions. This tendency has, however, absolutely vanished.

The « Schlaraffias » in America keep-in even closer touch with each other than those abroad and their meetings are better attended for the reason that German intellectual club life is much rarer here, and that, in the sea of Yankee materialism and tremendous business activity, a Society of this kind is often the sole isle of refuge of the members, to whom jovial companionship is a necessity.

The mental caliber of the American « Schlaraffas » compares favorably with that of their European brethren, and is, perhaps, slightly superior ; at least, it would seem so from the quality and number of their contributions to the Society organ, the « Schlaraffia Zeyttungen » (« Schlaraffen » Gazette) , a periodical published during the active months of the « Schlaraffen » year, and exclusively edited, written, and illustrated by members. Its existence dates back more than a quarter of a Century, and it receives an annual subsidy from all realms through the treasury of the « Allmutter » « Praga » . Aside from literary contributions, it prints all official proclamations and other news of « schlaraffic » interest.

While the « Franziscana California » , on account of the distance, remains somewhat isolated, the groups of Eastern and Middle-Western « Schlaraffias » in the United States frequently visit each other and arrange the so-called « Summer Festivals » which are attended by delegations from the various realms and during which the rigor of the ceremonial is relaxed to give the members and their ladies, if possible, a better time.

It may interest the reader to pay an imaginary visit to one of the « Sippungen » , as the official weekly meetings are called, and get a closer view of the doings of the jolly crowd. The « Sippung » to which the reader is to be taken is typical of any of the American Societies.

The « Schlaraffia » is chary with its invitations to outsiders, and « Pilgrims » (guests) can be introduced only, after previous notice, by members of the highest-grade, the knights ; but once within the walls of the castle, the stranger feels that the hospitality extended to him is hearty and genuine.

Arrived in the « Vorburg » (the ante-room) before the « Sippung » begins, the visitor generally encounters the members in the act of exchanging their street garb for helmet, bandolier and sword, to which, on special occasions, are added a knightly flowing cloak and such orders and decorations as the wearer may possess, and be inclined to wear.

The sound of a tom-tom is the signal for entry into the castle proper. Near the entrance stands the altar with a stuffed image of the bird of Minerva. Before it members and guests bow deeply, uttering at the same time a solemn « Uhu » . Then, everyone bows before the throne on which are seated the 3 « Oberschlaraffs » with the insignia of their office, after which the « Sippung » begins.

The castle is quite remarkable in its arrangement and furnishings. At one end of the spacious hall extends a carpet-covered platform, surmounted by a canopy of rich hangings, and backed by the coat of arms of the realm. On the table, in front of 3 high-backed chairs, are scattered books, a silver box containing « ancestors » , and a couple of large candle-sticks. This is the throne.

On the opposite side of the hall is « Uhu's » altar, on which rest the sword of the realm, the challenging gauntlet, and several elaborate mugs, each of which is destined for use on certain special occasions. The « Aha » mug is used only by knights at the reception of visiting knights-members of the lower-grades are only permitted to smell at this. The « Lulu » mug is used for greeting the Pilgrims, the « Dudu » for exchanging brotherly vows.

Near the altar hang the large portraits of « Schlaraffs » who are resting in « Ahalla » , the « schlaraffic » heaven ; in one corner threaten the heavy gates of the dark and gruesome dungeon ; in another rises the « Periculum » , the rostrum from which flows the wit, humor, and wisdom of the members. In its vicinity the « clavicymbalum » (piano) generally finds its place. The walls are covered with pictures of poets and composers, photographs and armorial bearings of the knights, etc.

2 long tables with rows of chairs, patterned after the German fashion of the 16th Century, extend on 2 sides through the whole length of the hall. One of these is for the knights, the other for the « Younkers » and « Knappen » , the lower-grades of membership. The latter are known only by numbers, and theirs is the first rung of the ladder reached by the « Prüfling » (probationer) after he has proven, during a hard trial of at least 6 weeks, his mental caliber and worthiness of becoming a « Schlaraff » . Their table is presided over by the « Younkermeister » , who, with his heavy cat-o'-nine-tails, keeps order among the unruly youngsters (some of whom are 60 or 70 years old) , and teaches them the « Spiegel » and the ceremonial.

At the head of the knights' table sits the « Reichsmarschall » . He only, at the command of the throne, is entitled to sound the tom-tom, at the tones of which absolute stillness has to reign in the castle. Between the « Reichsmarschall » and the throne is the desk of the « Kantzellar » , the chief of all departments, who, next to the « Oberschlaraffs » , is the most important of « Schlaraffia's » oligarchy.

The meeting is always opened with a short speech by the presiding « Oberschlaraffe » , who is addressed as « Eure Herrlichkeit » (Your Magnificence) . The « clavicymbalum » Master touches the keys of his instrument, and the strains of the « Opening Song » , an inspiring melody, sung by all members, fill the hall. It should be mentioned here that the « schlaraffic » song-book, consisting of 2 big volumes, contains almost exclusively original songs and compositions of members, some of which are works of the highest artistic merit.

The song finished, cigars and pipes are lit, the mugs are filled, and the « Protocollant » is called upon to read the minutes of the last meeting. This is done in humorous verse or prose, according to the choice or ability of the man, and gives the best chance for good-natured satire. Variation is secured by a weekly change of this official, who is appointed by the throne.

After the reading of the protocol, the chancellor reads the letters which have been received during the week from the various realms and colonies abroad and in America. Meanwhile, the « Reichsmarschall » has handed the throne a list of those members who have volunteered or may be commanded to deliver speeches, poems, essays, or musical selections for the entertainment of the evening. Such a command has to be cheerfully responded to with the words « With pleasure and at once » . The chancellor having finished, the guests are « dragged » before the throne, where they are welcomed by a humorously impressive speech and the tender of a huge bumper, to which, if they feel so inclined, they may « stutter » a humble response.

The « Reichsmarschall » now reads the list of the members in their « schlaraffic » names, to which, if present, they respond with a loud « Here » . Absentees have to furnish a plausible excuse, as 4 weeks' truancy may be punished with loss of membership. After the roll-call, the real entertainment begins. Speeches, repartee, songs and instrumental productions follow each other in rapid and brilliant succession. These are generally greeted with vociferous « Lulus » , as signs of acclamation, though, sometimes, an ominous « Ul-ul » is heard, which means disapprobation.

Such an « Ul-ul » is often followed by a challenge to mortal combat. The duello may be fought-out in 2 ways. One is called the « mental » , the other the « material duel » . The mental duel may be « plain » or « with sharp weapons » . In the first case, the duelists choose a theme for themselves, generally suited to their own individual abilities. The theme may consist of prose, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, or other artistic work. Thus, one of the combatants may produce in the next meeting an original poem, the other one an original musical composition or a sketch on canvas, on the relative merits of which the knights are called upon to vote. The vote is secret, and the combatants must remain in the ante-room during the ballot. A majority of the votes constitutes a victory. In a duel with sharp weapons, the throne gives-out the subjects to be treated, all other conditions remaining the same as in the plain duel. The victor receives, in acknowledgment of his valor, an ancestor.

The material duel is rarely chosen. It is a bout between the 2 combatants and 3 seconds on each side, in which the party who empties a stein of beer in the shortest time and without spilling a drop is declared victor. This form of duel is considered a sign of cowardice when chosen by the challenged party.

At times, passion runs so high that no delay is brooked, and the valiant challenger and his adversary insist on immediate satisfaction. This action involves rare ability, as the duelist must be prepared to deliver his blow on the spot either in prose or poetry, as the challenged party may desire, and, in case of sharp weapons, on any theme given by the throne. To the honour of the « Schlaraffia » , it may be said that those impromptu duels are by no means rare, and often result in the most brilliant efforts.

Sometimes, it will happen, though, that in the course of the evening, a member may speak uninterestingly, or too long,



on a subject, in which case a warning may be given him by shoving under his nose a huge-extension pair of wooden scissors as a hint of cutting it short. If the hint is not taken within a reasonable time, the ambulance may be called in service, when the offender is bodily removed from the « Periculum » by several stout « Younkens » and « Knappen » , and carried on a stretcher into the « Vorburg » . Hardened sinners will be put in the dungeon, from where their dismal howls for « Quell » can be heard through the heavily grated window. In extreme cases, even decapitation may be inflicted, after which punishment the victim appears only as ghost during the balance of the evening, his presence being ignored, though he may exercise his privilege as specter to play all sorts of pranks, until, by the supreme power of the infallible « Oberschlaraffe » , he is brought back to life again.

Twice during the evening, the entertainment is interrupted by a « Schmuspause » , a short recess during which the « Schlaraffs » leave their seats, and stand around in groups, laughing and joking, smoking, and eating or drinking.

After the second recess, the closing-part of the « Sippung » begins, and the humor of the members reaches its climax. Witty speeches tend to increase the general hilarity, and this is the time when slight infractions of the rules give the « Kneifer » (Pincher) , an important official with an alms-bag at the end of a long rod, a chance to shove his instrument before the face of the offenders, and gather in a lot of nickels and dimes, which go to swell the treasury of the realm, or a charity fund to be distributed at Christmas time. Frequently, special contributions are requested, for the « Schlaraffia » , although not of the character of masonic lodges or mutual benefit Societies, having for its aim solely the mutual entertainment and mental improvement of its members, contributes its obolus toward any worthy object.

At last, about midnight or a little later, the time for closing the « Sippung » arrives the music of the beautiful « Farewell Song » fills the castle, members and guests pass in single file before the throne, shaking hands with the 3 « Oberschlaraffs » , and, amidst general hand-shaking and hearty « Lulus » , the « Sippung » is declared closed. The « Schlaraffs » and their guests bow once more before « Uhu's » altar, and the castle is deserted until 1 week later, when joy and hilarity again reign supreme.

### Vöcklabruck : « Gasthof Forsthuber »

Anton Bruckner meets Franz Stelzhamer (1802-1874) in Vöcklabruck at the « Paixhanslia » Lodge (« Paixburg ») (a branch of the « Schlaraffia » movement) located in the basement of the multi-storey building at « Stadtplatz » Number 22, 22a. A 17th Century statue of the Virgin Mary placed on the façade in a niche on the upper-floor is remarkable. Near the old Town Hall (« Alte Rathaus » , Number 15, 17) , the building (which formerly housed the Court of Justice) is only 20 meters away from the « Burgtor » (City Tower) .

Originally, the « Stadtplatz » Number 22 was occupied by the « Gasthof Forsthuber » where the lodge was founded in 1855.

Anton Bruckner (nicknamed « Es Credo ») , Franz Stelzhamer (nicknamed « Es Piesenham ») and Rudolf Jungmair (nicknamed « Es Friedhof ») are famous honorary members of the local « Paixhanslia » .

The Austrian writer, novelist and poet Franz Stelzhamer often came to Vöcklabruck, especially during the summer time. There, he frequently stayed with his friends at the « Paixhanslia » headquarters (nicknamed « Lucke ») .

### « Lucke »

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Trotz einiger Innenveränderungen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte dürften die beiden Keller von Anfang an die derzeitige Größe und Gestalt gehabt haben, wofür die Bauweise des Gewölbes und die einheitlichen Baumaterialien sprechen. Alle Teile ohne Gewölbe sind 1978 bis 1982 neu erbaut worden (Eingang, Garderobe, Toiletten und Küche) .

### Bruckner and « Paixhanslia »

**Wednesday, 3 September 1884** : Anton Bruckner becomes an honorary member of Vöcklabruck's « Paixhanslia » Chapter, the local branch (« Reych ») Number 315 of the « Schlaraffia » movement.

Good food, beer and music were always at the « rendez-vous » !

Doctor Franz Leitner is the author of « Anton Bruckner in Vöcklabruck » , published in 1996.

The origin of the word « Paixhanslia » comes from the military cannon « Paixhans » which will be used as a militant symbol : the pleasant and satyric spirit allows its members to shoot with red cannonballs creating a breach in the ramparts of hypocrisy. Ceremonies are parodies of military rituals.

The members have purely imaginary names. This social-club « for men only » (usually middle-aged and occupying secure positions) will promote the arts, tolerance, friendship and « joie de vivre » . Incidentally, there is a certain resemblance to Freemasonry.

Bruckner's association with « Paixhanslia » is due to the fact that Friedrich Hueber, his grand-nephew (known as « Trawi Trawi ») , was a « Knight » of the local club. The Master of St. Florian will be nicknamed « Es Credo » (« Non confundare in æternam ») because of his « heavy tendency » for piety and devotion.

Bruckner (« Es Credo ») , Franz Stelzhamer (nicknamed « Es Piesenham ») and Rudolf Jungmair (nicknamed « Es Friedhof ») are the 3 famous honorary members of the « Paixhanslia » Lodge.

« Paixhanslia's » ancestor was called « Lucke » . Cheerfulness, good mood, music and singing were the key elements.

« Paixhanslia » was founded in 1855 (4 years before his big brother « Schlaraffia ») . Martin Brown, a business-owner, was elected as its first president - his nickname : « Captain Schnautzle » .

The headquarters of the Vöcklabruck Lodge replicates, on a small scale, a medieval castle that looks like a tavern : « Paixburg » Castle. The foundation manuscript (« Luckenbrief ») adorns its walls. It is located in the double-basement at « Stadtplatz » Number 22 and 22a. The patrimonial building has been scrupulously preserved according to the architectural standards established between 1575 and 1625.

A 17th Century statue of the Virgin Mary placed on the façade in a niche on the upper-floor is remarkable. Near the old Town Hall (« Alte Rathaus » , Number 15, 17) , the building (which formerly housed the Court of Justice) is only 20 meters away from the « Burgtor » (City Tower) .

By consulting a map dating back from 1700, it can be described as an imposing « semi-detached » manor with its 2 gables, its 2 entrances ... and its 2 cellars. The secondary part of the « castle » occupies the right-side cellar while the main-part occupies the other - on the main-square side, or « Stadtplatz » . Later, the 2 spaces will be connected by a narrow passage. The building has changed several times of owner. It served as a community centre, barracks, school, Municipal Theatre, District Office and Court of First Instance. The unvaulted parts of the structure underwent multiple renovations between 1978 and 1982, but the double stone cellar has remained in its original state. Prior to the arrival of « Paixhanslia » , the basement was used as a warehouse for goods, for weapons, for coal, and as a storage-room.

A humorous poem of 8 stanzas, created on July 19, 1862, by writer, novelist and composer Franz Stelzhamer (1802-1874) , entitled « A lustige Eicht » (a Merry Stallion) , became the official hymn of « Paixhanslia » . The motto uses first stanza.

Stelzhamer, the author of the National anthem of Upper-Austria who wrote more than 270 poems, resided in Salzburg during the winter, but spent his summers in the town of Vöcklabruck.

Anton David (born on 25 May 1832 in Mauerkirchen) , a member of the « Paixhanslia » Chapter (nicknamed « Paixhans Blasele ») who is also the choir-master of the Vöcklabruck Liedertafel, composed an unskillful music adaptation for men's choir of the poem. Fortunately, Bruckner will had its touch to slightly improve the score.

(The carillon of the town of Ebelsberg plays Anton David's melody.)

That same David/Bruckner arrangement still opens each meeting of the brotherhood.

« A lustige Eicht »

« A lustigö eicht da herrgott selm gweicht » : singende jugend, G131 (1948) .

A'lustig Eicht

Hat da Hergott selm gweicht,  
Selm gweicht und selm gsöngt,  
Ruck'n Huat, wannsta gögnt.

Und da sei aft der Narr nöt,  
Der ziftert und zöhlt,  
Der'n Apfel eh arn anbeißt,  
Zerst speidelt und schölt.

Vothua da koan - lazt  
Zwögna - Nachat und Aft,  
Hau, dö Bira, weil s' 'n hat,  
Dadl laßt s' 'n, san Saft.

Zwanzger is Zwanzga.  
der erst wie da löst  
Floigt gern ab als wia's Vögerl  
Bald's kann, aus'n Nöst.

Da erst und da löst  
Hat ain'n Klang und ain'n Glanz,  
Und vospielet oda gwunga,  
Ganz ausggspielt wird d'Schanz.

Hat'n d'Kellnerin kripst,  
Kringnt'n Spielleut, ain Ding !  
Kains derf kenna, mein Geldkatz  
Is s'schwar oda gring.

Mit an Juchatza kimmi  
Mit an Kreuzsprung gehts furt,  
« Schlick einö ! » « schleck obi ! »  
Hm, Hadern ain Burd.

Drum a'lustigö Eicht  
Hat da Herrgott selm gweicht,  
Selm gweicht und selm gsöngt

Und a'Glück is 's, wenn s'gögn't.

(Vöcklabruck, 19 July 1862.)

The manuscript is now at the Upper-Austrian Library.

Personalities (and their nickname) which are members of « Schlaraffia »

Beethoven, Ludwig van : « Florestan » .

Erhardt, Heinz : « Alberich von Schalk » .

Ginzkey, Franz Karl : « Jakobus vom Attersee » .

Göthe, Johann Wolfgang : « Faust » .

Grillparzer, Franz : « Jaromír » .

Haydn, Franz-Josef : « Symphonie » .

Jungmair, Rudolf : « Freidhof » .

Kaplan, Viktor : « Turbine » .

Löns, Hermann : « Mümmelmann » .

May, Karl : « Kara Ben Nemsí » .

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus : « Don Juan » .

Petzelt, Otto : « Daheim » .

Rosegger, Peter : « Heimgarten » .

Rubens, Peter Paul (Oder) : « Malerfürst » .

Schiller, Friedrich : « Funke » .

Schubert, Franz : « Erbkönig » .

Stifter, Adalbert : « Hochwald » .

Stelzhamer, Franz : « Piesenham » .

Stolz, Robert : « Servus Du » .

Wagner, Richard : « Parsifal » .

## « Lucke »

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**Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1884-1885**

**Saturday, 20 September 1884 :**

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

Herr Anton Bruckner, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof-Organist, Professor. (Harmonielehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.) »  
Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören Victor Abeles (« 15 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Hermann Abheiter (« 17 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Ludwig Großbauer (« aus Losenstein, 13 Jahre - Kontrapunkt, Klavier II. , Chg. ») hörte Kontrapunkt bei Professor Franz Krenn, Max Herold (« 14 Jahre - Harmonielehre. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 15 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Klavier III. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Cyrill Hynais (« 22 Jahre - Klavier A. III. ») , Alexander Krauß (« aus St. Martin, 13 Jahre - Violin V. III. , Harmonielehre. ») , Doktor Franz Marschner (« aus Prag, 30 Jahre - Kontrapunkt II. ») , Josef Meyer (« 17 Jahre - Orgel V. I. ») , Johann Müller (« aus Maustrenk, 28 Jahre -

Harmonielehre, Klavier I. , Chg. ») , Carl Paur (« aus Moor, 23 Jahre - Orgel V. , Harmonielehre, Klavier I. , Chg. ») , Anton Steibl (« 17 Jahre - Violin A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Adolf Steininger (« aus Altmannsdorf, 16 Jahre - Orgel V. , Harmonium, Klavier II. , französische Sprache. ») , (?) Hugo Troizsche (« 17 Jahre - Harfe A. I. , Kontrapunkt, Chg. ») , Carl Weber (21 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier II. ») , Rudolf Wilfert (« 18 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , General der Musik. ») , (?) Heinrich Wottowa (« 17 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Thimothée Xanthopoulos (« aus Smyrna, 19 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , (separater Eintrag :) Klavier A. II. ») und Peter Zachariades (« aus Constantinopel, 24 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. , Chg. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Gottfried Brzibohaty (« 15 Jahre - Fagott V. III. , A. M. , Klavier I. ») , Josef Chimani (« 11 Jahre - Violin V. C. II. ») , Robert Erben (« aus Troppau, 22 Jahre - Komposition A. III. ») , Rudolf Fitzner (« aus Ernstbrunn, 16 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Ludwig Grandé (« aus Teltsch, 19 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Chg. ») , Carl Lasner (« 19 Jahre - Violoncello V. III. , Klavier I. ») , Johann Ostariasch (« 19 Jahre - Fagott V. III. , A. M. ») , Marie Pohoryles (« aus Tarnopol, 16 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Theodor Tschöpe (« aus St. Veit, 19 Jahre - Cymbalom V. II. (Rept.) , Klavier II. , General der Musik. ») , Georg Valkler (« 18 Jahre - Komposition A. I. ») .

Von den 6 Orgelschülern gehörten drei zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern zwei halb und einer ganz vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 6 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, 12 Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 147 und Kontrapunkt von 21 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelklassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 26.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelklassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 26.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

### Brothers « Gaudeamus » !

While Anton Bruckner humbled himself at the « Riedhof » Hotel restaurant, seating beside eminent doctors and physicians, he behaved like a gang-leader among his students and disciples at Vienna's 1st District popular guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse Nummer 12 » (or sometimes, at the « Red Hedgehog » and other known inn-restaurants) . They had to spend the full-evening at his service, essentially to please him. Individual punishment was given for any early departure. The desire to go to the Opera, the Concert, or the Theatre was absolutely inexcusable ! The crowded place made him sweat like a pig. He unsuccessfully tried to cool himself by waving his multi-coloured handkerchief. Seated, surrounded by thick smoke, he ordered for everyone and mostly for himself so that the « Pilsner » beer-mug would arrive fresh and foamy. A team of selected waiters was especially assigned to his table. Friedrich Klose mentions that, now and again, the meat, superficially touched by the utensils, passed through his greasy fingers before ending in his mouth. Even the clothes of the surrounding « clientèle » were not safe in front of this broad, gossipy, humorous bunch of people. Discussion topics that not tied Bruckner were rejected ; same thing for friends or new-comers with displeasing or inappropriate behaviour misconduct. In spite of the fear of upsets and outbursts, everyone present was fascinated by this teacher, an old student of Simon Sechter, purely motivated by goodness. Each student had enjoyed

the lessons by Bruckner until the end.

...

Some students gave weird nicknames to Bruckner, just for fun. For example : « You Stocking ! » or « You Garter ! » . But if one of them mischievously ridiculed him, Bruckner would take the young man by the hand, accompany him right to the door-step of the classroom, then make him stand outside for a little while. After 15 minutes, Bruckner would open the door and allowed the pupil back inside.

Once, the young Felix Mottl was asked to get-out of the class but he was reluctant to do so. So, Bruckner spoke to him in a comfortingly way :

« Do you think that “ Herr ” Felix can also stand outside ? »

...

Observers have reported Anton Bruckner's instruction as more inspiring than useful in practice. But all music instruction is like that. The pupil must add from his own resources that which cannot be taught by anyone.

Bruckner demanded respect and conscientious application from his pupils. Occasionally, he spoke to them bluntly and even roughly, but his lovable nature prevented anyone from feeling hurt, with perhaps 1 or 2 exceptions.

He once noticed a girl among his students.

« Are ladies interested in counterpoint now ? » , he asked.

He repeated the question at the following lessons until the girl stayed away. His students remonstrated.

On another occasion, when he entered the classroom, he noticed a Jewish boy sitting in the front-row.

He looked at him for a while, put his hand on the boy's head, and asked, almost with compassion :

« My dear boy, don't you really believe that the Messiah has already come to earth ? »

Professor Bruckner's originality, charisma, familiar anecdotes and touches of humour were seen as « quasi-revolutionary » in the venerable auditorium of the University of Vienna. In response to questions from his students (such as Hanslick's vicious attacks against him) , he used the piano to reply. The « Gaudeamus » became a privileged audience which heard excerpts of his recent compositions. Although the atmosphere in the classroom was sometimes a bit too lively, the magnetism and good-nature of this brilliant musician always managed to set the « right tone » .

...

Anton Bruckner's odd way of speaking isolated him, but he had close and rather patriarchic relationships with young people and with his pupils. They constituted a group of equal minded and equal ranking men who worked on the prejudiced public and held high the banner of musical progress.

Bruckner himself once remarked :

« I owe my success to my students. They go around and tell other people about my music. »

The picture of Anton Bruckner's relations with his pupils is of heart stirring character. His pupils repaid him for many things he could not enjoy as did his contemporaries. They are the most immediate sources of information about the man. Their reports are far more reliable than later conjectures and artificial or arbitrary constructions erected by many a wishful thinker.

Anton Bruckner's lectures at the University were somewhat popular in character, since he thought it impossible to teach harmony in one semester. They were well-attended, partly by students who were impressed by his prominence and partly by persons who wanted to demonstrate their fealty to the Wagner Party. His extreme, even humorous, figures of speech and analogies, with the help of which he illustrated the secrets of chord relationships, were very appealing although quite unusual in the auditorium of a University. Sometimes, Bruckner referred to personal matters, such as the attacks he had to endure from Eduard Hanslick, and he demonstrated on the piano how right he was and how wrong his opponent. Another time the « Gaudeamus » , as he called his students, were the first audience in Vienna to enjoy the music he had been writing when he left his desk for the lecture-hall. He played a portion of it for them. Though the atmosphere of the class was sometimes rather too animated, the magic of the genial musician and his good nature soon established the desired mood.

Anton Bruckner's fundamental thesis was :

« First the rule, then free creation. »

He started the first lesson by writing one note on the black-board, saying :

« First, God made Adam. »

Then, he added the 5th and went on :

« He soon gave him Eve, and the 2 did not remain alone. »

With that, he put down the 3rd.

The 2nd was :

« A poor devil, since nothing is left for him. »

In order to explain the liberties of single tones which build the dominant 7th, he called the fundamental :

« The house father, to whom is given the greatest liberty. »

The 7th was :

« His wife. »

The first :

« The little daughter. »

And the 5th :

« Mister Son, who has more liberty of motion. »

The diminished chord was characterized as :

« A poor thing, because of its tight nature. »

The 7th, if not prepared, became :

« The aunt, since she drops in unexpectedly ! »

At the Conservatory, Anton Bruckner's methods met with opposition from his colleagues. Such opposition to progressive musicians was typical of the Conservatories and music-schools at the time. Their practice was the observance of « tradition » .

Bruckner taught the rules of harmony as axioms, without explaining their origin or foundation. He thought 3 years of study necessary for this course alone. In fact, a pupil not familiar with the foundations of harmonic principles, will need a longer time of training than the student who knows something about their origin and purpose.

Observers have reported Bruckner's instruction as more inspiring than useful in practice. But all music instruction is like that. The pupil must add from his own resources that which cannot be taught by anyone.

Though Anton Bruckner's instruction at the Conservatory was thorough, it was his private pupils who felt its full-weight.

Anyone who wanted to take private lessons had to take a sort of « examination » . If he passed, Bruckner would suggest he start his study of harmony from the very beginning anyway and advance slowly.

Fellow faculty members at the Vienna Conservatory were often rude and cruel to Bruckner. Some ignored him altogether ; but, generally, the students loved him and his music.

...

« De Brevitate Vitæ » (On the Shortness of Life) , more commonly known as « Gaudeamus Igitur » (So Let Us Rejoice) or just « Gaudeamus » , is a popular academic commercium song in many Western countries, mainly sung or performed at university graduation ceremonies. Despite its use as a formal graduation hymn, it is a jocular, light-hearted composition that pokes fun at university life. The song is thought to originate in a Latin manuscript from 1287. It is in the tradition of « carpe diem » (seize the day) with its exhortations to enjoy life. It was known as a beer-drinking song in many early universities and is the official song of many schools, colleges, universities, institutions, student societies.

The lyrics reflect an endorsement of the bacchanalian mayhem of student life while simultaneously retaining the grim knowledge that one day we will all die. The song contains humorous and ironic references to sex and death, and many versions have appeared following efforts to bowdlerise this song for performance in public ceremonies. In private, students will typically sing ribald words.

The song is sometimes known by its opening words, « Gaudeamus igitur » or simply « Gaudeamus » . The Centuries of use have given rise to numerous slightly different versions.

The proposition that the lyrics originate in 1287 is based on a manuscript held in the « Bibliothèque nationale de France » in Paris. A poem starting with the words « Subscribere proposui » (I have suggested signing it) has 2 verses that closely resemble the later « Gaudeamus igitur » verses, although neither the first verse nor the actual words « Gaudeamus igitur » appear. The music accompanying this poem bears no relation to the melody which is now associated with it. A German translation of these verses was made in about 1717, and published in 1730 without music. A Latin version in a hand-written student song-book, dating from some time between 1723 and 1750, is preserved in the Berlin State Library (formerly located at Marburg) ; however, this differs considerably from the modern text. The current Latin lyrics with a German translation were published by Halle in 1781 in « Studentenlieder » (Students' Songs) written by Christian Wilhelm Kindleben (1748-1785) , who admitted to making important changes to the text.

Kindleben's 1781 Latin version, with a translation to English :

(The pseudo-Latin word « antiburschius » refers to opponents of the 19th Century politically active German student fraternities. The letter « j » , used in some modern transcriptions, does not occur in Classical Latin.)



Gaudeamus igitur  
Iuvenes dum sumus.  
Post iucundam iuventutem  
Post molestam senectutem  
Nos habebit humus.

Ubi sunt qui ante nos  
In mundo fuere ?  
Vadite ad superos  
Transite in inferos  
Hos si vis videre.

Vita nostra brevis est  
Brevi finietur.  
Venit mors velociter  
Rapit nos atrociter  
Nemini parcetur.

Vivat academia !  
Vivant professores !  
Vivat membrum quodlibet ;  
Vivant membra quælibet ;  
Semper sint in flores.

Vivant omnes virgines  
Faciles, formosæ.  
Vivant et mulieres  
Teneræ, amabiles,  
Bonæ, laboriosæ.

Vivat et res publica  
et qui illam regit.  
Vivat nostra civitas,  
Mæcenatum caritas  
Quæ nos hic protegit.  
Pereat tristitia,  
Pereant osores.  
Pereat diabolus,  
Quivis antiburschius  
Atque irrisores.

Quis confluxus hodie  
Academicorum ?  
E longinquo convenerunt,  
Protinusque successerunt  
In commune forum.

Vivat nostra societas,  
Vivant studiosi ;  
Crescat una veritas  
Floreat fraternitas  
Patriæ prosperitas.

Alma Mater floreat,  
Quae nos educavit ;  
Caros et commilitones,  
Dissitas in regiones  
Sparsos, congregavit.

...

Let us rejoice, therefore,  
While we are young.  
After a pleasant youth  
After a troubling old age  
The earth will have us.

Where are they who, before us,  
Were in the world ?  
Go to the heavens  
Cross over into hell  
If you wish to see them.

Our life is brief  
Soon it will end.  
Death comes quickly  
Snatches us cruelly  
To nobody shall it be spared.

Long live the academy !  
Long live the professors !

Long live each student ;  
Long live the whole fraternity ;  
For ever may they flourish !

Long live all girls,  
Easy (and) beautiful !  
Long live (mature) women too,  
Tender, lovable,  
Good, (and) hard-working.  
Long live the state as well  
And he who rules it !  
Long live our city  
(And) the charity of benefactors  
Which protects us here !

Let sadness perish !  
Let haters perish !  
Let the devil perish !  
And also the opponents of the fraternities  
And their mockers, too !

What a gathering  
of academics is there today ?  
From far away they gathered,  
Immediately they advanced  
Into the public forum.

Long live our fellowship,  
Long live the students ;  
May truth alone thrive  
May brotherhood flourish  
(and) the prosperity of the country.

May our Alma Mater flourish,  
Which has taught us ;  
Dear ones and comrades,  
(And) the scattered into places  
Various, she congregated.

Felix Mottl : The bad student

Felix Mottl was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory in 1870. He studied music theory and counterpoint with Anton Bruckner ; composition with Otto Dessoff ; and conducting with the director, Josef Hellmesberger senior, who denotes very early-on his full-potential. His passage there will be marked with success.

One day, Professor Bruckner gave back to the student Mottl an exercise which he considered « too freely executed » , and said :

« Here, at the Conservatory, everyone must follow the rules. It is forbidden to write a single note that is not in its place. But once outside these walls, if you compose according to the method, I will expel you from the class ! »

### Student Josef Schalk : « Herr Generalissimus »

With younger brother Franz, Josef Schalk was a student of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory, and a friend of composer Hugo Wolf also a student of the Master. As President of the Vienna Wagner Society, Schalk was active in arranging performances of Anton Bruckner's work. He also popularized his teacher's music by arranging it for piano performance, writing articles and arranging for its publication. He played a comparable role in popularizing Hugo Wolf's music.

Bruckner is said to have referred to him as « Herr Generalissimus » .

### Standing-room at the Opera House

**1890** : Diminutive in stature, the 30 year old Hugo Wolf became a cult-figure to the next generation of music students.

Music-critic and composer Max Graf wrote in his memoirs :

« Hugo Wolf belonged to us and we belonged to him. We stared at the pale man who stood in the standing-room section of the Vienna Opera House, just like ourselves, while Johannes Brahms sat in a box like God sitting on the clouds. »

...

Max Graf's description of musical politics of the 1890's (when Hugo Wolf was « a slender man in his thirties ») , characterized by Wolf's presence in the standing-room section of the Vienna Opera House with Graf and other young musicians, devoted to Wagner, fanatical believers in modern music at a performance of Bruckner's 4th Symphony, music about which Wolf, Graf, and their company were all excited, « while Brahms sat in a box like God sitting on clouds » .

Max Graf :

We students were anxious to have Bruckner's opinion of Brahms and went to a Philharmonic concert at which one of Brahms' Symphonies was performed. Brahms was enthroned as usual in the director's box while Bruckner stood among his students quite far back in the standing-room section.

When the concert was over, we asked Bruckner how he liked Brahms' music, and he answered :

« Doff your caps, gentlemen. He is Doctor Brahms - I like my music better. »

### University student Max Graf

In 1890, I entered the University of Vienna, where Anton Bruckner was teaching harmony and composition. That great composer who, with Johannes Brahms, had brought the tradition of the Classical Symphony to a close, was at that time still unrecognized.

The most influential music-critic of Vienna, and the great adversary of Richard Wagner, Eduard Hanslick, tenaciously opposed any music in which he scented the Wagneresque. He failed to understand Anton Bruckner's music, which proceeds, essentially, from other sources than the Wagnerian, and is imbued, in a Catholic spirit, with the sacredness of the Mass.

« Do come to Bruckner's lecture to-day - there's always lots of fun ! » , said one of my fellow-students, and I promptly agreed to come.

It was the first time I had heard the name of Anton Bruckner. But the prospect of having « lots of fun » was irresistible for a freshman aged 18. I arrived in good time at the lecture-room of the Philosophical faculty where this musician, of whom I knew nothing up to that time, gave his lectures on counterpoint. My colleague had described him as a « queer fool » and I expected to be amused.

I knew the room in which the entertainment was supposed to take place. It was the same room in which Professor Eduard Hanslick gave his lectures on musicology, for which I had registered. How well I remember the quaint, old-fashioned piano next to the reading-desk. How well, too, I recall the expectant tension with which I had been looking forward to the famous critic's first lecture - and how distinctly I remember my disappointment ! The little old man who had dared fight Richard Wagner, the mightiest genius of modern music, with the graceful periods of a drawing-room hero, mounted the podium without raising his eyes, almost timidly. He drew a manuscript from his pocket and, in a high-pitched voice, read us a lecture which dealt with the life of Beethoven in a most superficial way, bare of scientific foundation. Now and then, he interrupted his monotonous report, tripped to the piano, played some passages from one of Beethoven's compositions with a very out-of-date fingering, and thereafter, resumed the dull ripple of his lecture.

Previous to this, I had attended courses of several important men of the University of Vienna, and I was well aware how much inspiration and stimulation the fascinating courses of brilliant teachers could convey to the students. I had

become enthusiastic over the elegantly-phrased and witty lectures of Adolf Exner, who, through the description of a Roman journey, had introduced us to the field of Roman Law ; and I had been captivated by the stogy declamation of the idealistic philosopher Franz Brentano. Edmund Bernatzik's lectures on anarchism, Reich's lectures on Ibsen and Menger's on questions of social politics had introduced me to the spiritual movements of the time. I was most eager to learn and went about listening to all sorts of courses without, as yet, knowing where I would finally settle-down. Eduard Hanslick, however, had neither the slightest gift of speech nor the ability freely to communicate with his students. He, therefore, did not appeal to me and I never attended another of his lectures.

Anton Bruckner had become a lecturer on theory of music at the University of Vienna contrary to Eduard Hanslick's wishes.

Bruckner exclaimed, again and again :

« That's what he'll never forgive me ! »

Hanslick, extremely touchy like all vain little men, actually never forgave Bruckner in spite of all the bowing and scraping the latter indulged in whenever he encountered the dreaded critic.

The small lecture-room where I sat with my colleague awaiting the merry performance soon was crammed, and, after the academic quarter had elapsed, there entered a crowd of people : first Anton Bruckner, bowing again and again, and behind him, like a rustling train, old and young men, and a very pretty girl, too. All of us greeted the queer musician by solemn trampling which my friend and I prolonged for fun, much to Bruckner's joy. We were highly-amused at his bows and appearance. Of course, he wore his Upper-Austrian loose jacket, comfortably cut-out of home-woven fabric. His trousers were loose and baggy. The big head was close shaven, and innumerable wrinkles furrowed his face. When he began telling us a lengthy story in Upper-Austrian dialect, he reminded me of an old peasant, battered by wind and weather.

Bruckner glanced about furtively when he told us :

« Just imagine, gentlemen, one of the honourable critics wrote that I was a second Beethoven ! Good Lord, how can anyone dare say such a thing ! » , and he quickly made the sign of the cross on his forehead as if to avert the sin.

The « fun » I had expected during that first lecture was only partly realized, for suddenly something happened that I can never forget. From a nearby church, the « Angelus » sounded and when that little bell rang, Anton Bruckner interrupted his lecture, knelt-down and began to pray : « Ave Maria »

Having finished his prayer, Bruckner stepped-up to the music black-board on the wall, and began his lecture.

Bruckner had been a pupil of Simon Sechter, that mighty fortress of counterpoint to whose home he made a pilgrimage every week from Linz, where Bruckner was cathedral organist at the time. Sechter's entire life was dedicated

to counterpoint. Every day, after he got-up, he sat at his writing-desk, working-out a new fugue. Not before having finished the last organ-point, over which the 4 voices streamed to the final chord, did he have his breakfast.

Sechter's doctrine, which was delivered to us by Bruckner like a holy heritage, was built upon 2 strong pillars. The one which inspired Bruckner with greatest respect was the theory of the « Fundamental Bases » , a world of spirits in the bass, which accompanied the harmonies like shadows in the depths ; and the theory of « natural harmonies » which form the laws of all beauty of harmonic progression. Everywhere, there was law and order, even holiness. The fundamental steps of the bass which Bruckner invariably noted in his scores under the last line of the staff, had cosmic importance. Thus, we understood the greatness and sometimes, the rigidity and solemnity of Bruckner's harmonies. Bruckner, the pupil of Sechter who was a kind of architect of harmonies, pondered over chords and chord associations as a mediæval architect contemplates the original forms of a Gothic cathedral. They were his path to the Kingdom of God.

Bruckner explained Sechter's principles to us by using many comparisons, taken from everyday life, in the dialect of Upper-Austria. He sounded like a peasant telling humorous stories to the children in a farm-house. For instance, he compared an unexpected dissonance in music with a « dear auntie » who unexpectedly came on a visit, spreading terror and confusion in the household until she is cajoled-out of the place again.

« Where is dear auntie, where is dear auntie ? » , he shouted, bending-over the piano-keys.

He struck a chord, again and again, until the necessary missing-note was sounded. Then, Bruckner would beam and bow and exclaim :

« Oh, there she is, our dear auntie ... ! »

The interval of a 2nd was a « poor fellow » who had « to wait in a corner till he was called » ; and the 7th, a « damned wretch whom you may not trust » .

Such metaphors were inter-mingled with memories from Bruckner's life or complaints about Hanslick. One might find such intermezzi scurrilous or naive, but they were the stannings of a child-like soul in an artificial and complicated world which this pure and saint-like man could not comprehend. It was difficult not to become aware of the radiance in Bruckner's face. There was something in the mobile features of this old man which was far greater than the erudition, knowledge and profundity which we found in other professors at the University.

One time, with infinite care, Bruckner wrote some chords on the black-board and pointed-out a certain dissonant sequence which he said was « quite wrong, perfectly incorrect » and « strictly forbidden » . Remarking that this very dissonance which he had just criticized so harshly had been used only twice, once by Beethoven, once by himself, he sat-down at the piano and began playing a passage from the Adagio of his 7th Symphony, where this « perfectly incorrect » and « strictly forbidden » dissonance occurred. It was the first of Bruckner's music I ever heard.

During my 4 years of University studies, I did not miss a single one of Bruckner's lectures. I had been led to him, first, by the prospect of « having fun » . I had been disappointed in this expectation. The new « Brother “ Gaudeamus ” » (that was Bruckner's name for his students) , had forgotten how to laugh in this first lecture, but he had been taught how to admire ingenious creative power.

Meeting this humble genius in Vienna was the greatest experience of my life. I let elegant Viennese society laugh about Bruckner.

### University student Rudolf Steiner

Rudolf Steiner greatly admired the Austrian composer Anton Bruckner, remarking that « something essentially spiritual, which is the foundation of all music, still lived in Bruckner » .

In « Bruckner Propositions III » , Constantin Floros writes :

« In the 1920's especially, Bruckner was celebrated as a mystic “ par excellence ” as a composer whose work could be grasped from the stand-point of the mystical experience behind it. He was claimed by anthroposophists and theosophists as one of their own. »

...

Throughout his life, Steiner held Anton Bruckner in high-esteem. This inspired Erich Schwesbch to write a book entitled « Anton Bruckner. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Entwicklungen in der Musik » (Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to the Perception of Developments in Music) . In 1922, Schwesbch lectured on « Bruckner's Musical Mission » at Steiner's Nest-East Congress, in Vienna. Both here and in his book, he considers the significant part which the zodiac plays in the scheme of things :

« ... The keys in music represent space in soul and spirit, and, depending on the key, experiences can differ. They (keys) determine in a way the constellation of a theme in a Symphony, the law by which it enters in, and assert their will, just as the constellations of the zodiac determine the rhythm of 12 months of the year, each with its special nature and its special effect upon the human soul. »

...

Rudolf Steiner inscribed for Bruckner's lectures on the theory of harmony at the University of Vienna in the Winter Semester of 1879 and the Summer Semester of 1880. He became a philosopher, teacher, seer and investigator of the spiritual world, which was as real to him as the material world. Steiner was the founder of anthroposophy, or spiritual science. It involves such subjects as the nature of the human being, reincarnation and karma, esoteric Christianity, education, curative education, medicine, bio-dynamic farming and much more. Steiner would refer to many scientists, philosophers, writers, and occasionally composers when speaking of art and music. Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner and



Bruckner were mentioned as representing a bridge to the world of Spirit.

An understanding of what Steiner had to say can only really be gleaned from his lectures and books, particularly « The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone ». According to his biographer Günther Wachsmuth, he called attention to the idea that, at early stages in the evolution of humanity, « the musical experience blended with a religious experience ». Then, there was still a consciousness that the action of the Godhead was expressed in the intervals of the 7th, the 5th, the 3rd. Man still shared in the experience of the « cosmic sound of jubilation of the gods » and the « cosmic mourning of the gods ». But, in the last few Centuries, the human being has more and more lost this experience and is for that reason in danger of becoming unproductive in music.

In the lecture cycle « True and False Paths in Spiritual Investigation », Steiner speaks of Bruckner's music :

« The Christ Impulse can be found in music. And the dissolution of the Symphonic into near-dissonance, as in Beethoven, can be redeemed by a return to the dominion of the cosmic in music. Bruckner attempted this within the narrow limits of a traditional framework. But his posthumous symphony (i.e. , the 9th) shows that he could not escape these limitations. »

It is emphasized that he is not criticizing Bruckner's music « per se » ; he considered that Bruckner came near to realizing the spiritual in music.

...

Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, and Anton Bruckner became subjects for discussion at many cultural gatherings. Fritz Lemmermayer, who had the necessary connections, even went to Bayreuth to attend the dress-rehearsal of Richard Wagner's « Parsifal ». But people were also moved by Bruckner's Masses, performed on Sunday mornings in the Chapel of the Imperial Palace (« Hofburgkapelle ») , with the composer himself playing the organ. Rudolf Steiner had several conversations with Anton Bruckner. He took an intense interest in the visual arts (the paintings of Arnold Böcklin, for instance, touched him deeply) and with the basic questions of æsthetics he had addressed in the final Chapter of Gæthe's Theory of Knowledge (« Knowledge and Artistic Creation ») . He made an impression on his audience when he developed his thoughts on this theme in a public lecture, on November 9th, 1888, given to the Vienna Gæthe Society, at the invitation of Karl Julius Schröer.

...

Vienna, 4 years after the fall of the multi-national Empire : the former capital city and residence of the Habsburg Monarchy was in chaotic confusion, having lost its identity, and loudly screaming its desperation ! There was the misery of refugees, corruption of officials, poverty and beggars at every street-corner. The monetary standard suffered ceaseless devaluation : 1,000 « Kronen » bill and, in exchange for it, barely more than a meager breakfast ! 10 times that amount, and it was not even enough for a Theatre ticket ; 50 times that, and it was just enough for paltry lodgings in an inn !

On the streets of the inner-city, past the Palaces of the aristocracy where the patrons of Beethoven had resided, in whose magnificent halls Mozart had given concerts - there, the young Rudolf Steiner, too, had walked at one time. He had strolled along the Belvedere to the « Technische Hochschule » (the Technical College) ; had walked-down the « Ringstraße » to the University to listen to a music conference given by professor Anton Bruckner ; or had stood at the « Hohe Markt » on his way to the nearby apartment of Karl Julius Schröer.

It was 33 years since he had left Austria to move first to Weimar and, then, to Berlin, until he finally established the last centre of his international activity in Western Switzerland, in an area where 3 countries meet. Now, 33 years later, he was returning to Vienna with his world-wide and growing spiritual movement. The famous building of the « Musikverein » , with all its side-rooms, meeting-halls, study-rooms, and all its personnel had been put at his disposal for 2 weeks.

There, in the largest building of this musical city, this city whose music and lyric art had united nations, there a festive, joyful Whitsun mood ruled the meeting entitled « For the Comprehension of Western and Eastern World Contrasts » . How to build the bridge between West and East out of the new spirituality, the bridge destroyed by the past's lack of spirit - this was what the 2,000 listeners were to focus on for 12 days ! 12 days of Pentecostal contemplation !

The beauty of Providence appeared to have chosen Vienna as the city for the second Congress of the Anthroposophical Movement. During these spring days, the genius of this locality seemed to harmonize with the blessings of the spirit of Whitsuntide. A multi-national union of musical artists had reigned in Vienna for Centuries, mysteriously called there by fate. The creative beauty of sounds reconciled the geniuses of all nations, for the language of music is common to all people. It defies all borders. It requires no rights of translation. It represents the universal bridge over the chasm torn open by materialism and agnosticism.

The faces of those who sit in a concert-hall often appear up-lifted as if by an inner-light. There is no colour to look at with their eyes ; there is nothing tangible to touch with their hands. There is no taste to titillate their palates ; there is no smell to tempt their noses. Yet, they sit devoutly without stirring, as if involved in a preliminary, spirit-training exercise of concentration. Concert-halls, where the Classic-Romantic art of music found its domicile, could become sites for new temples through the benevolence of spiritual geniuses, temples where people can receive a premonition of their inner-soul being, though still immersed, dream-like, in the starry night's kingdom of rhythms with which the soul harmonizes in sleep.

In the course of the past Centuries, had not Vienna been to the development of music what Athens had once been to the creation of sculpture and architecture ? Both cities : seed-beds for gifted geniuses ! Yet, just as Plato and Aristotle appeared only after the arts had come into full-flower, so it was only after Bruckner's great accomplishments that the young Steiner left Austria, for the end of the Classical and Romantic epoch of music coincided with the beginning of the Michael age, which led to the birth of anthroposophy.

...

It is always a great experience when a composition by an artist who basically lives completely in the element of music, such as Anton Bruckner, is played on the piano. In Bruckner's composition, the piano seems to disappear from the room ! One forgets the piano and thinks that one is hearing other instruments ; this is, indeed so, in Bruckner's case. It proves that something of the essentially spiritual, which lies at the basis of all music, still lived in Bruckner, though in a very instinctive way.

...

In the spring of 1923, Rudolf Steiner stayed in Stuttgart several times. On February 27th and 28th, as well as on March 6th and 7th, eurythmy performances took place, and Rudolf Steiner gave an address before each of them. The Domach eurythmists, who were in Stuttgart just at that time, were able to attend both lectures, which were held for Waldorf school teachers and musicians on March 6th and 8th, in « The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone » . In the lecture on March 8th, he gave first the spatial forms for the intervals and stressed that these are all contained in his « standard forms » . In addition, Rudolf Steiner spoke, in the same lecture, about the « spiritual origin of the musical instrument » .

It is to be assumed that he visited the « Eurythmeum » before March 8th, as was his custom on his trips to Stuttgart. (The leadership and management of this Conservatory was incumbent upon Marie Steiner.)

During one of these visits, Hedwig Köhler, who taught tone eurythmy, did a performance with her students of an arrangement of the orchestral movement from the 8th Symphony by Anton Bruckner. After this performance, Rudolf Steiner drew the spatial arrangement for a « eurythmic orchestral » piece, with quite differentiated forms for the string instruments, the reed instruments, and the brass. (An original is not available.) The lemniscate is the basis for the string instruments ; the form of the instrument is the basis for the woodwinds. The percussion instruments stand on a raised platform, in the centre.

...

Much more so than in Stuttgart, the musical element was a fully-integrated part of the activities at the Vienna Congress. This became evident in the distinctive artistic performances, scheduled for the afternoons and culminating on Whit-Monday in the Bruckner celebration to be presented by members of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Bruckner-Choir (« Wiener Bruckner-Chor ») under the direction of Professor Ignaz Leo Weber and, also, the Maireck-Buxbaum String Quartet. In addition to the 2 String Concerts by the Thomastik Quartet, 2 eurythmy presentations under the direction of Marie Steiner took place in the « Volksoper » . A performance of recitation, an evening of arias and songs by Valborg Svardstrom-Werbeck, and 2 lectures : one by Albert Steffen entitled « The Position of the Artist Between East and West » ; and the other by Erich Schwebsch called « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » were also on the program.

...

The eurythmy performance on 27 August 1923 opened with « The Rune of the 4 Winds » by Fiona Macleod, first published in 1896, in : « From the Hills of Dream » .

In the eurythmy performance, there followed another poem by Fiona Macleod, « The Moon-Child » and, then, a Prelude by Johann Sebastian Bach, a couple of poems by Albert Steffen, a piece by Anton Bruckner, the song « April, April » by William Watson, and theme and variations from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Violin Sonata.

After an interval, the second part began with 2 Intermezzos by Johannes Brahms and a poem by Eduard Mörike. Then, came the fairies' lullaby « You spotted snakes with double tongue » from « A Midsummer Night's Dream » by Felix Mendelssohn and the song « When daisies pied and violets blue » from « Love's Labour's Lost » . The whole performance was concluded with further musical pieces by Piotr Ilitch Tchaikovsky and Robert Schumann.

...

The Whitsun presentation, in the morning, tried to free religion as an element of humanity from the spell of dogmas, and something similar happened in the afternoon when Erich Schwesbch spoke of « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » . Bruckner had started as a church musician, but soon crossed from the monastic confines to the free artists' world of his Symphonic inspirations.

Schwesbch wrote in an essay he had published before the Vienna Congress in the weekly « Das Gœtheanum » :

« Nobody would consider the late “ 150th Psalm ” a church creation, and someday comprehending the “ Te Deum ” will depend not on grasping the traditional church concepts but on the super-sensible, cosmic experience of reality contained in it. »

Erich Schwesbch's lecture given that Whitsun Sunday, between the afternoon's artistic presentations, was intended as a preparation for the great Anton Bruckner Concert scheduled for the afternoon of Whit-Monday. This is why Schwesbch referred particularly to the mighty Mass in F minor, the String Quartet in F major and the « Te Deum » . Schwesbch, the art-instructor of the 11 per classes of the Stuttgart Waldorf School, had just recently published a biography of Bruckner. On the basis of the foundations of spiritual-scientific biographies, he was able to point to the spiritual background of these 3 musical works. The Mass was composed after completion of the 1st Symphony and after Bruckner's recovery from a difficult, critical illness. The String Quartet was conceived around the year 1879, between completion of the 5th Symphony and the beginning of work on the 6th Symphony. The « Te Deum » belongs to the time of Bruckner's final period of maturity.

Just as Rittelmeyer, a former Protestant preacher, succeeded in reaching the hearts of the Catholic Viennese, so Schwesbch, a former school inspector of a Prussian high-school in Berlin, was able to illustrate how Bruckner, a man who grew-up among the peasantry in Upper-Austria, rose to the heights of unique creative genius. Here, through anthroposophy's view of the human being, a cosmopolitan spirit had become active in an exemplary way !

Then, Sunday evening approached to which I was looking forward with the greatest anticipation because the 4th lecture by Rudolf Steiner was scheduled for that time. In the program, the lecture's title was « Anthroposophy and World Evolution from the Stand-point of Geography » . The lectures describing the relationship of anthroposophy to natural science, psychology, and history had preceded this one. The inner-theme revolved around a new teaching of the earth's life, a geography of the etheric containing at the same time a higher-ethnology.

...

The entire building was occupied by many scientific or artistic programs. For instance, in one hall, there were discussions in the fields of chemistry and physics ; in another, in those of biology or psychology, medicine or pedagogy, sociology or economics ; while, in another, the interpretation of the German lectures was proceeding in French or English. For persons had come from various parts of Europe and from great distances, including America. It was really a great gathering of companions at the very time when mutual understanding in the outside-world had sunk to its lowest-level. The good spirit which worked at the « Goetheanum » was here also to teach the human beings in the Congress of Vienna mutual understanding.

Side by side with the scientific undertakings of the Congress, one experienced the religious questions and the artistic impulses. On Pentecost Sunday, June 4th, Doctor Friedrich Rittelmeyer spoke on « The Spirit of Pentecost and Religious Renewal » . The artistic part of the conference was introduced by Albert Steffen in a lecture on « The Position of the Artist between West and East » and a lecture by Doctor Erich Schwebisch on « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » . Out of Albert Steffen's lecture was later developed one of his most beautiful literary productions, and Doctor Schwebisch, inspired by Rudolf Steiner's long-continued high-evaluation of Bruckner, produced later a book which helped greatly in expanding the appreciation of this composer. During the Congress, there was a magnificent production of Bruckner's great Mass in F minor by a combination of 3 musical organizations of Vienna. Classical music was represented by a program produced on modern instruments built by the violin-maker Thomastik. All of this artistic production came to a conclusion in the lecture of Rudolf Steiner.

### Bruckner's cosmic musical background in relation to the Zodiac

(Raymond Cox)

Rudolf Steiner was the founder of the Anthroposophical Society. His vast survey of the spiritual evolution of man included many diverse subjects and disciplines - the nature and spiritual background of music and the other arts among them. Steiner's teachings arose-out of his personal and clairvoyant research into the world of spirit. In his early (1906) lecture series « Concerning Music » , the effect of music upon man was discussed. Steiner explained that the individuality of a musician unites in a karmic \* way with the physical characteristics of his heredity. Steiner's most important lectures on music came in 1923. They included « The Experience of Tone in the Human Being » and « The World of the Hierarchies and the World of the Tones » as well as the seminal course, « The Arts and Their Mission » .

\* karma (Sanskrit) : Sum of person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate in the next ; destiny.

Throughout his life, Steiner held Bruckner in high-esteem. This inspired Erich Schwebsch to write a book entitled : « Anton Bruckner. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Entwicklungen in der Musik » (Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to the Perception of Developments in Music) . In 1922, Schwebsch lectured on « Bruckner's Musical Mission » at Steiner's West-East Congress, in Vienna. Both here and in his book, he considers the significant part which the zodiac plays in the scheme of things :

« The keys in music represent space in soul and spirit, and, depending on the key, experiences can differ. The keys determine in a way the constellation of a theme in a Symphony, the law by which it enters in, and assert their will, just as the constellations of the zodiac determine the rhythm of 12 months of the year, each with its special nature and its special effect upon the human soul. »

Stuart Easton, in « Man and the World in the Light of Anthroposophy » (New York, 1975) , describes Steiner's insights into the arts from various points of view. Easton finds the zodiacal implications of great importance. In a section dealing with music, he quotes Steiner as saying that Pythagoras' « Music of the Spheres » is a reality, and that there is an area of the spiritual world into which an initiate enters and becomes « clairaudient » . Some of the great composers, including Bruckner, have been able to enter this world. They could capture and retrieve the sounds they heard in a way that could be sung by human voices or played by human beings on musical instruments. The 12 signs, or constellations, of the zodiac have been connected by tradition with the 12 parts of the human organism. But they also have a connection with the original 12 consonants, from within which the vowels sound forth to create human speech and song. Similarly, in the cosmos or macrocosm, the planets play the part of the vowels and sound forth through the « fixed » stars of the zodiac in greatly varied tones. Man after death experiences (actually, sees and hears) the world of stars and planets as qualities of soul and spirit belonging to the different constellations.

Steiner likens sound to « a window opening on to a spiritual world. In the future, we shall try to penetrate behind the sounds - each sound, in itself, will have a moral and spiritual value. » He always said that we do not experience musical notes as such and that our souls create within us the intervals between the notes. This is what Elsie Hamilton, a student of Steiner, calls the « spiritual experience in time between the 2 notes » . One cannot help recalling, in this respect, the significance of the pauses and spaces which are so characteristic of Bruckner's Symphonic movements.

With regard to the zodiac, special attention must be given to the thoughts of Anny von Lange and, particularly, her book called « Man, Music and Cosmos » (Rudolf Steiner Press, 1992) . Here, Bach, Wagner and Bruckner are prominent figures, Bruckner taking-up the whole of the concluding chapter. One of the book's striking features is the description of the relation of the various major and minor keys to certain qualities in human beings that are expressed through them - together, with the connection with the zodiac. (Minor-keys represent the return of the soul to its own inner-world ; major-keys, the movement of the soul forward to a world outside itself.) Bruckner's use of the key of D minor is touched upon twice, as is its place in the zodiac : the Ram, « Aries » . When it occurs in Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, it denotes a process of development towards individuality and earthly existence seeking expression :

« Man stands “ between heaven and earth ”. He grasps the possibility of mentally combining both regions. »

The second occurrence is in Bruckner's « uncompleted » 9th Symphony, which offers a parallel with Bach's « The Art of Fugue » . Bruckner's process of development would have ended with the crowning Finale of the 9th. According to von Lange, Bruckner trod an unconscious path from his 1st Symphony onwards, united as an artist with the world of divine origin, and protected from any deviation as one « who knew himself to be a child of God » .

Von Lange does not include in her study Bruckner's early F minor and D minor (« Die Nullte ») Symphonies, and she indicates that the process of spiritual development, for Bruckner, really began with the 3rd. What, then, of the 2 C minor Symphonies, Nos. 1 and 2 ? These are represented by « Gemini » (the Twins) and show the composer setting-out to gain Mastery in his creative activity. The 1st Symphony finds joy in this creation and was written as the « outer » world sounding through the composer, while the 2nd was composed more from within. C minor is described as the world of Capability. The Twins operate between the duality of right and left in the body, between active and passive existence, between giving and receiving. When Bruckner reaches another Symphony in C minor, the 8th, it is in a higher-sense of creation (von Lange says : « creative play ») and he is now Master of this realm :

« It is the control of the unity of content and form in which one's every faculty works without question. »

We are left with the major-key Symphonies to consider. No. 4 in E-flat has « Aquarius » (the Waterman) , as its zodiacal counterpart. It is described by von Lange as an « Equilibrium » . Here, the attainment of the sphere of E-flat confirms the discovery of the « I » : Bruckner is growing mature in a cosmic world-consciousness. The E-flat element forms an axis in the zodiac with the « Feeling » element of A major, the key of Bruckner's 6th Symphony. In this axis, the soul is said to be connected to the regulating power of the harmony of the spheres. The 6th Symphony is represented by « Leo » (the Lion) , and it reveals the power of love. Highly-inspired though it is, the 6th remains a preliminary trial for the next stage of the process, which is found in the 7th.

Erich Schwebsch remarks of the 6th :

« Through the 12 spaces, which, as zodiacal spaces, form the whole heaven of sound for our music today, Bruckner lets the phases of the main-theme ring through all 12 keys. »

The 7th Symphony brings a new experience in the round of the zodiac. Its key of E major is a key of light and illumination. The word is « Contemplation » and the sign is that of « Virgo » (the Virgin) . Anny von Lange provides another poetic description :

« A feeling of freedom arises like a sigh of relief, clear and light, as though one were standing before a wide sunlit landscape. The relationship between the “ I ” and the universe, illumined by a knowledge which is still strongly united with feeling, is connected with the warmth of the sun and leaves a happy impression of undefiled purity. A work of resounding light has to be developed. On this path to the heights, dimensions are attained which sound in a divine, star-like way to the (by now, clairaudient) ear of the maturing Master. »

Bruckner's 5th Symphony lies on the axis of « equilibrium » between his 4th and 6th Symphonies. The sign is « Pisces » (the Fishes) , and the description is « Destiny » . The « angel-consciousness » of the 4th Symphony was such that it had to be acquired anew, step by step. B-flat, the key of the 5th, is the natural progression from E-flat. The B-flat Symphony represents Bruckner's complete achievement of outward Mastery.

To quote von Lange again :

« It must prepare the way to a conquest of the personal realm and to a powerful all-embracing love. The difficulty, the solitude and the responsibility of an overwhelming artistic destiny must be made to sound but, also, the up-lifting grace it brings. »

At the 1922 Anthroposophical Congress, in Vienna, Professor Ignaz Leo Weber directed the Vienna Bruckner-Choir (« Wiener Bruckner-Chor ») in performances of Bruckner's Mass in F minor and « Te Deum » .

At a « matinée » concert in the Leipzig Conservatory, on 13 October 1940, an address by Erich Schwesbch preceded the first performance of Bruckner's String Quintet, in its original form by the Strub Quartet of Berlin with Emil Seiler. The concert also featured Franz Schubert's Quartet Movement (« Quartettsatz ») in C minor and the premiere of Bruckner's 2 discarded sketches for the Trio of his 9th Symphony, arranged by Armin Knab.

### Rudolf Steiner and Friedrich Eckstein

Alfred Percy Sinnett's « Esoteric Buddhism » , the first theosophical work to come into Rudolf Steiner's possession through a friend, made a repugnant impression on him. It was only in Friedrich Eckstein that he first met a great scholar of Classical occultism and of the Cabbala.

« Towards the end of the first chapter of my life, I felt an inner-need to attain clarity concerning certain orientations of the human soul. One of these orientations was mysticism. I found it difficult to gain any relation to mysticism as it appeared in the various epochs of mankind's spiritual development, in “ Oriental wisdom ” (Marie Lang) , “ Neo-Platonism ” (Friedrich Eckstein) , the “ Christianity of the Middle-Ages ” (the circle around Marie Eugenie delle Grazie) and in the strivings of the Cabbalists. »

...

In 1889-1890, just before leaving Vienna, Rudolf Steiner spent time with another group of people who would play an important part in his life, up to his departure for Weimar. This group met for spiritually inspiring conversations at the house of the theosophist Marie Lang. It included prominent and spiritually open-minded people such as Friedrich Eckstein, an expert in ancient occult knowledge who was personally acquainted with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society. Eckstein was just 10 days younger than Rudolf Steiner. Their very dissimilar paths did not cross for the first time at Marie Lang's house. Eckstein grew-up in Perchtoldsdorf, near Brunn, the son of a wealthy factory-owner. In Vienna, he was widely known as a worldly and financially independent genius. He was at



home among the upper-classes, highly-educated in philosophy and well-versed in the natural sciences. He discussed specialized issues (the time-space problem, for instance, that occupied Rudolf Steiner so deeply) with eminent scholars such as the mathematician Oskar Simony or the physicist Ernst Mach.

Eckstein was a knowledgeable patron of modern art. He had studied with composer Anton Bruckner, acting as his private secretary for a period of time and, later, made friends with the writers Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Karl Kraus, and Hermann Bahr and, also, with Sigmund Freud. Rudolf Steiner met Eckstein frequently in Eckstein's « haunt », « Café Griensteidl » and, later, at the « Hôtel Impérial », often joining him at his table. After Eckstein had called on Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in Oostende, toward the end of 1886, talking with her over several days, she made him President of the Vienna-branch of the Theosophical Society. Rudolf Steiner consulted him for more information about the spiritual stream represented by Blavatsky. That Eckstein possessed an impressive knowledge of esotericism and occult traditions was known to Rudolf Steiner from earlier encounters in the circle around Karl Julius Schröer, where they had discussed the symbolism and esotericism in the works of Gœthe. Friedrich Eckstein, in turn, was interested in Steiner's book on Gœthe's « Theory of Knowledge » and his introductions to Gœthe's scientific writings, which were discussed in various artistic and intellectual circles in Vienna. (« What was created there had been unknown before : an amazing picture of Gœthe's view of the world. » - Fritz Lemmermayer)

Now, in Steiner's final year in Vienna, they met regularly as part of the circle around the sophisticated theosophist and later suffragette Marie Lang with whom Friedrich Eckstein had been in contact since 1887.

...

Rudolf Steiner's former « mentor » and now friend, Professor Karl Julius Schröer, had initially encouraged his interest in Gœthe and, perhaps, importantly to Gœthe's esoteric symbolism, now, also, introduced him to Friedrich Eckstein and, thus, ultimately, to many others within the Lang circle. Notably, Friedrich Eckstein mediated between the 2 worlds in which Rudolf lived, the outer-world, the cultural circles of Vienna ; and, the inner-world of Felix and the « Master » . One of the most knowledgeable men of his age, Eckstein was a chemist, industrialist, music-lover, alpinist and traveller ; also, he had a profound knowledge of traditional occultism. It was to him that Steiner could go if he wanted any exposition of occult (hidden) facts :

« Steiner was in complete harmony with Gœthe's way of looking at nature, but it was Eckstein who could explain to him the symbolism and occult (hidden) terminology in the poet's writings. »

And, as Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke says :

« Steiner had read Sinnett's " Esoteric Buddhism " , soon after its German translation (1884) , and asked Eckstein to explain the secret doctrine. In due course, Eckstein introduced Steiner to Rosa Mayreder and the theosophical circle of Edmund and Marie Lang. Steiner perceptively described them as " homeless souls from Wagnerland " but, nonetheless, however, empathized with the subjective pietism of Marie Lang and remained the lifelong friend of Eckstein, who had shown him the occult key to Gœthe's symbolism. Under the influence of the circle, Steiner studied Oriental thought,

Medieval mysticism, neo-Platonism and the Cabala. By the time Steiner left Vienna, in 1890, to take-up his post as editor of Goethe's scientific works, in Weimar, his interest in both theosophy and German idealism was firmly established. »

Although Eckstein outlived Steiner, it is clear from his autobiography that Rudolf Steiner never unveiled to him the insights, which he had already gained.

...

Because of the way it mingled material and spiritual realities, as well as other obvious short-comings, the theosophy of Franz Hartmann had not convinced Rudolf Steiner when he came across it, in Vienna, in the circle around Marie Lang and Friedrich Eckstein. (« He simply declared it to be spiritually feeble. ») Yet, Rudolf Steiner had, at the time, appreciated Marie Lang's and Friedrich Eckstein's obvious spirituality - as he had the circle of truly seeking individuals who gathered around Marie Lang. Toward the end of his time in Vienna, he read the first theosophical books (Mabel Collins' « Light on the Path » and Alfred Percy Sinnett's much discussed « Esoteric Buddhism »), but he probably did not go much further than that. (« I met various theosophists but nothing in what they had to say induced me to develop an interest in the kind of writings propagated by this Theosophical Society. »)

Rudolf Steiner stayed in touch with Eckstein and Lang after leaving Vienna ; he also read new theosophical publications while he was in Weimar, writing critical reviews in which he dealt with the, then, controversial phenomena of hypnosis and spiritism (they were for him as justified as they were problematic) as well as the dangers of taking on without reflection the Eastern spirituality favoured in theosophical circles. In a book review of 1892, he wrote that he did indeed think highly of the « intuitive Eastern wisdom » and its imagery. (« It is characteristic of the Eastern spiritual life that it creates images that express in the most detailed and pictorial way the great thoughts of humanity. ») At the same time, he spoke of the (entirely different) role that fell to Central Europe that consisted in the conscious taking hold of the « I ». This task could not be by-passed by borrowing from ancient Eastern wisdom or by making recourse to « spiritistic suggestions ». (« In basing their doctrine on the suggestions of a consciousness that is detached from the " I ", the spiritists are mocking science, because science can only rest on judgments formed by the " I ". By adopting views suggested to them from outside, they place themselves on the same level with those who believe in Revelation. It shows the dullness and cowardice of today's rationality that people often seek to gain knowledge of the world without thinking. ») In Berlin (3 years before he gave his first lectures at the Brockdorff's house) Rudolf Steiner occupied himself again with the theosophist Franz Hartmann, who enjoyed great popularity in Germany and Austria. When Hartmann founded the « International Theosophical Brotherhood » and published a German translation of the « Bhagavad-Gita », Rudolf Steiner wrote in 1897 (in his « Magazin für Litteratur ») that the theosophists failed to recognize the responsibility of Central Europe for the advancement of knowledge and referred to the followers of Hartmann as ignorant and arrogant :

« They shrug their shoulders at the European approach to science, deriding its reliance on reason and insisting that the truth can only be found on the Oriental path. Nothing but empty phrases borrowed from Eastern writings without a trace of substance. Their inner-experiences are mere hypocrisy. Adopting phrases from writings that in themselves

constitute profound literature, and using them to declare the entire Western striving for knowledge to be worthless, is nothing short of impertinent. The Theosophists know nothing of the depth and inwardness that pertains to the Western approach to science and, yet, they reject it as superficial and purely conceptual.

Their talk of highest-knowledge (which they do not possess) and their mystifying way of citing foreign knowledge without comprehension nonetheless seems to mesmerize a number of people today. The Theosophical Society is spread all over Europe and has followers in all the major cities. Their opaque ramblings about experiencing the divine within seem to attract many more people than the clear, bright, conceptual knowledge of the West. »

...

In late-March 1925, Rudolf Steiner lay on his sick-bed in the studio of the joinery work-shop, in Dornach. It was a high-ceilinged room with a skylight. At the foot of his bed soared the wooden sculpture which he had carved with the aid of his pupil, the sculptress Edith Maryon. It depicted the « Representative of Humanity » striding between the adversary powers of Lucifer and Ahriman. Steiner was working on the book, later published as his autobiography, which appeared in weekly instalments in « Das Göttheanum » magazine. Books and periodicals lay around on tables and stands. These probably included a book by Friedrich Eckstein, whom Steiner, in his autobiographical reminiscences published on 25 January 1925, had mentioned warmly ; at this, in gratitude, Eckstein had sent him his book entitled « Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » (Memories of Anton Bruckner) with the dedication :

« In memory of long-past days of joys of the spirit. »

For Steiner, this was a warm greeting recalling his youthful experiences in Vienna, when he had met Eckstein. In a letter to Eckstein, at the end of November 1890, Rudolf Steiner had said that the importance of this meeting for his own development was equalled only by one other of that time, about which however he must remain silent :

« There are 2 experiences in my life which I count among the most important of my existence, so that I would be a quite different person if they had not occurred. Of one I must remain silent ; the other is the fact that I became acquainted with you. »

There can be no doubt that the first of these 2 experiences refers to Steiner's encounter, at the age of 19, with his Master, which he later described to Edouard Schuré.

### Rudolf Steiner at the coffee-houses

Goethe's « Theory of Knowledge » as well as the introduction to the second volume of Goethe's scientific writings were written by Rudolf Steiner in various locations : in Richard Specht's house, in his parents' house in « Brunn am Gebirge » , in the room where he moved to in 1886, at « Kollingasse » Number 5, close to the Specht's, and, not least, in the Griensteidl coffee-house, where he spent much of his time :

« In the days when the “ café ” was still free from clamour and the smell of beer, wine or food ; when the aroma of freshly roasted coffee and Turkish tobacco, which many guests smoked in long pipes, wafted through all the rooms ! Loud words were not tolerated since they might disturb the readers »

(Friedrich Eckstein)

« The Orient, too, lent its colourful sounds to Viennese music. Turkish merchants, wearing turbans and silk robes, were no unusual sights in Vienna even during Mozart’s time. When he wrote his opera, “ The Abduction from the Seraglio ” where, right at the beginning, Turkish cymbals, drums and triangles conjure up the fairy-tale atmosphere of the Orient, 100 years had already passed since Sultan Soliman’s Turkish army had pitched its tents around Vienna. As the army withdrew, the first coffee-house was opened in Vienna, and coffee was served in the Turkish way, brewed heavy and fragrant. Since that time, Vienna remained an oriental coffee-house city, where one dreamed, planned and did business while having coffee. Tobacco, too, came from Turkey, and still in the time of Franz-Josef, one saw in all stores where tobacco was sold, the picture of a Turk with a long pipe in his hand, puffing forth clouds of smoke. Vienna was near the Orient, and Count Metternich liked to have it said that the Orient began right outside the eastern city limits. Therefore, it is no wonder that Mozart and Beethoven wrote Turkish Marches, and that Goldmark became one of the masters of modern oriental painting in music. »

(Max Graf)

### University student Christian von Ehrenfels

Christian von Ehrenfels, who studied composition under Anton Bruckner from 1880 to 1882, recounted his teacher’s « naïveté » . Once, Ehrenfels arrived to find the Master reading Friedrich Schiller’s « Wallenstein » .

Pacing-up and down, he queried the student :

« It is really true that Wallenstein wanted to betray the Emperor ? »

...

The Austrian philosopher Christian von Ehrenfels (Maria Christian Julius Leopold Freiherr von Ehrenfels) was born on 20 June 1859 in Rodaun, near Vienna ; and died on 8 September 1932. He is known as one of the founders and precursors of « Gestalt » psychology.

Ehrenfels grew-up at his father's Castle at Brunn-am-Walde in Lower-Austria. He joined secondary school in Krems and first studied at the « Hochschule für Bodenkultur » in Vienna, and then, changed to the University of Vienna.

There, he studied philosophy, was a pupil of Franz Brentano and Alexius Meinong, promoted under the supervision of Alexius Meinong, following him after his move to the « Karl-Franzens-Universität » in Graz in 1885, on the topic of «

Größenrelationen und Zahlen. Eine psychologische Studie » (Relations of magnitude and numbers. A psychological study) . He obtained his habilitation in 1888 in Vienna with the work « Über Fühlen und Wollen » (On feeling and willing) . From 1896 to 1929, he was professor of philosophy at the German university of Prague. Interested in his lectures were among others Max Brod, Franz Kafka and Felix Weltsch.

The idea of « Gestalt » has its roots in theories by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Ernst Mach. Max Wertheimer is to be credited as the founder of the movement of « Gestalt » psychology. The concept of « Gestalt » itself was first introduced in contemporary philosophy and psychology by Ehrenfels in his famous work « Über Gestaltqualitäten » (On the Qualities of Form, 1890) . Both he and Edmund Husserl seem to have been inspired by Mach's work « Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen » (Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations, 1886) to formulate their very similar concepts of « Gestalt » and « Figural Moment » , respectively.

His analysis of the transition of a melody to another key became famous. Ehrenfels explained that a melody consists of individual sounds, but that it is considerably more than the sum of these notes. The individual notes would be able to join themselves for completely different melodies, while the melody would remain the same, if transposed into another key and containing single tones. This new opinion, that came-up to a « perception of the whole » compared to its « parts » Ehrenfels called « Gestaltqualitäten » (Figure qualities) .

« In the case of all things that have several parts and in which the whole is not like a heap, but is a particular something besides the parts, there must be some such uniting factor. »

In the 1890's, Ehrenfels (who was a passionate fan of Richard Wagner) befriended a fellow-Wagnerite, the British born German « völkisch » thinker Houston Stewart Chamberlain, « the Evangelist of Race » . Ehrenfels, who despite being a Wagnerite and a friend of Chamberlain's did not generally associate himself with the more extreme racist and anti-Semitic wing of the Wagner movement that Chamberlain came to be the leader of. Ehrenfels never accepted Chamberlain's anti-Semitism, but he was influenced by Chamberlain's theory that the Aryan race was the greatest and best race of them all. Chamberlain was later to have a love-affair with Ehrenfels's wife, Baroness Emma von Ehrenfels.

Ehrenfels argued in numerous cultural-scientific and sexual-political writings against the cultural harmfulness of monogamy and for the utopia of a polygynian social order. He defended the opinion that monogamy would hinder a Darwinistic reproduction (logic and procreation) selection, which would have a devastating effect on society in a cultural-biological way and, therefore, monogamy should be combated. With those theories, Ehrenfels exposed himself to massive criticism, because he offered with his theories unimaginable thoughts to contemporary Western conventions. The basis of Ehrenfels's thinking about a new sexual order were expressed in a series of essays published in several academic journals in Germany and Austria between 1902 and 1910. In his essays, Ehrenfels began with the argument that men are not naturally monogamous, and that monogamy was something that had come to Europe with Christianity. Ehrenfels stated through monogamy had some useful functions such as the « iron discipline » it imposed on European men, on the whole Europeans had suffered terribly from the un-natural condition of monogamy, which had seriously interfered with the Darwinian progress of ensuring the survival of the fittest (Ehrenfels was an avid Social Darwinist) . Ehrenfels believed polygamy was what nature had intended for men as it allowed the « fittest »

men to father as many children as possible with as many as women as possible in a process of « virile selection » . Ehrenfels wrote with disgust that monogamy was « that type of sexual life ... that corresponded to the needs and capacities of women, at the cost of men » . By contrast, Ehrenfels believed that women were naturally monogamous, and that all that women desired was one good husband to look after them. Ehrenfels further believed that all social problems were caused by un-natural state of Christian monogamy, which caused a « splitting » between a man's « day consciousness » when he professed to believe in Christian marriage, and his « night consciousness » , when a man's naturally aggressive, animistic sex-drive come into play. Ehrenfels argued that this « splitting » within men between their « day consciousness » and « night consciousness » caused men all sorts of psychological trauma, and led to men acting in irrational, often violent ways. The specific example of the sort of male irrationality brought-up by Ehrenfels concerning this « splitting » was that of men abusing the prostitutes they visited. Additionally, Ehrenfels argued this psychological « splitting » led to men to treat their wives badly as men were forced into the un-natural condition of monogamy, and that the feminist movement and the entire « Women's Question » had arose as a response ; Ehrenfels believed the « Women's Question » would naturally resolve itself if only husbands would learn to treat their wives better. Finally, Ehrenfels argued that the monogamy was at the root to the « Social Question » (by which meant Ehrenfels meant the rise of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party) as it encouraged men to leave their fortunes to their children, something that Ehrenfels believed to be natural, but also something that « very often contradicts the demands of social justice » . As a result of wealth being spread by « privilegistic » means as opposed to « meritocratic » means, the poor felt resentment and were voting for socialist Parties, which promised to abolish inequality. Ehrenfels believed that humanity was naturally unequal, and the demand for universal human equality had to be fought as it totally un-natural. In a 1908 essay, the proud aristocrat Baron von Ehrenfels called the demand for universal equality being made by the Social-Democrats « preposterous » .

Moreover, Ehrenfels was obsessed with the fear of the « Yellow Peril » , and believed that Asian peoples were a deadly threat to European civilization. Ehrenfels believed that Asians were especially dangerous enemies of the Europeans because in East Asia, polygamy was accepted as a natural part of the social order. Ehrenfels warned that this process of « socially victorious » Chinese men taking as many wives as possible was ultimately a grave threat to the West. As a result of polygamy, genetically superior Asian men were fathering as many children as possible with as many women as possible while genetically superior European men were fathering children by only one woman. As a result of European monogamy and Asian polygamy, the Europeans were losing-out to the Asians, and it was only a matter of time before this genetic edge allowed the Asians to destroy European civilization. As a Social Darwinist and a racist, Ehrenfels saw all history as an endless racial struggle with the fittest « races » surviving. Ehrenfels took it for granted that the whites and Asians were natural enemies, and always would be. In Ehrenfels's view-point, the fact that Chinese were capable of working hard while eating less than Europeans were an important sign that the Asian « race » was thanks to polygamy was starting become the stronger « tougher race » .

Ehrenfels wrote with alarm that :

« The average constitutional strength of the Chinese, their resistance to over-work and ... noxious and prejudicial influences of all kinds ... exceeds that of the civilized peoples of the West to an astonishing degree. »

Ehrenfels warned that if this progress was allowed to continue, then the « beautiful Aryan race » to whom Ehrenfels compared to « clear mountain streams » and « purest white milk » would be swept away by the Asian « torrents of mud » . Ehrenfels stated that racist anti-Asian immigrant laws like the Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States were a good first step, but were insufficient to stop the rise of the « tough, fecund Mongol race » .

Ehrenfels proposed solution was to do away with monogamy, and create a new social order based on polygamy. To begin with, the State would take complete control of human sexuality. In Ehrenfels's new society, the « highest goal » would be the « improvement of the human constitution » by allowing only the fittest white men to breed. In Ehrenfels's new society, only those white men who proved themselves to be social « winners » would be allowed to marry, and the number of wives a man could have would be based upon his degree of success. The more successful the man, the more wives he would have. The State would assign a man his wives after determining his social success and other features such as health, looks, morality and intelligence. Women, by contrast, would be allowed only one husband at a time. All women would be forced to live in communal barracks at the expense of the State, where they would help each other raise their children and where their husbands would visit for sex. In this proposed new society, Romantic love would be done away with, and relations between men and women would be only sexual. For men who were « social losers » , a certain number of the genetically less fit women would be sterilized and turned into the « courtesan class » who would be set aside for the sexual use of the « loser » men in brothels. Since in Ehrenfels's view-point, all that men really wanted from women was sex, not love, in this new society men would not suffer the psychological problems caused by monogamy, thus ending the « splitting » . Since this new society would be meritocratic, this would solve the entire « Social Question » as there would no more inherited wealth and privilege. Furthermore, in this new society, women living in their communal barracks would help each other with raising children, so women would have more time for leisure, and as such Ehrenfels believed that women would come to see this new society as a huge improvement over the previous monogamist society. Their husbands now free of monogamy would treat them better, and so the entire « Women's Question » would dissolve as women would lose interest in feminism (which Ehrenfels saw as very un-natural) . To end the « Yellow Peril » once and for all, Ehrenfels suggested that the « white nations » band together to conquer all the Asian nations before it was too late, and create a new world racial order with a hereditary, racially determined « caste system » . In Ehrenfels's vision, whites would serve as the oligarchic « Aryan » military and intellectual castes and the Asians and blacks as the slave castes supporting the whites. To prevent Miscegenation, interracial sex would be a capital crime with offenders to be publicly hanged.

Until the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Ehrenfels believed that these sort of radical changes would only happen sometime in the far-future, or as Ehrenfels put it in 1902 :

« The Aryan will only respond to the imperative of sexual reform when the waves of the Mongolian tide are lapping around his neck. »

After Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, Ehrenfels wrote :

« The absolute necessity of a radical sexual reform for the continued existence of the western races of men has ... been raised from the level of discussion to the level of a scientifically proven fact. »

In a 1907 essay, Ehrenfels wrote that radical sexual reform was « now a question of “ to be or not to be ”... We have no time to lose » .

Ehrenfels suggested as a starting-point, the Austrian government begin to allow soldiers upon completing their military service to have polygamous marriages, with those soldiers who proven themselves especially intelligent, brave and physically fit to have the largest number of wives. Subsequently, Ehrenfels made a public appeal to « manly Aryan men » who had proved themselves to be both « social winners » and « studs » to disregard monogamy and marriage, and to start impregnating as many women as possible to give the « white race » a genetic edge in the coming war against the « Yellow Peril » . Before the Russian-Japanese war, it has been the Chinese who had personified the Asian threat to Ehrenfels ; after the war, the Asian enemy of the future was the Japanese.

In his essays in 1907-1908, Ehrenfels wrote that the Chinese lacked « all potentialities ... determination, initiative, productivity, invention and organizational talent » .

While the Chinese were now a listless mass of allegedly mindless Asians, Ehrenfels wrote that Japan was « a first rate military power » , and should the Japanese conquer the Chinese, the Japanese would engage in selective breeding to create a race of « healthy, sly, cunning coolies, virtuosos of reproduction » in China. Once that happened, Ehrenfels warned that a vast Sino-Japanese army would set to conquer the world consisting of genetically superior soldiers whom the Western powers would be unable to stop.

Ehrenfels's ideas were not widely accepted by the public, but the very fact that he was allowed to publish essays on his new society in intellectually prestigious, learned academic journals in Germany and Austria show that his ideas were part of the intellectual main-stream in the first years of the 20th Century. Social Darwinism and racism were part of the intellectual main-stream in the West as was the widespread belief that white men were starting to become « soft » , and if white men continued to lose their masculine « hardness » , inevitably this would lead to process of « racial degeneration » , which would end with the whites becoming enslaved to the « Yellow Peril » .

However, Ehrenfels's ideas did meet with disagreement. In December 1908, Sigmund Freud invited Ehrenfels to give a lecture on his proposed new society. The audience generally offered polite dissent from Ehrenfels with one participant calling his new society an « adolescent sexual fantasy » . Ehrenfels's proposed new society earned him criticism from the Catholic Church which objected to his attacks on Christian monogamy ; from feminists who were offended by his idea that women should be kept essentially as chattels and treated as sex objects by men ; and from the Romantic everywhere who were upset about his plans to abolish Romantic love. The American historian Edward Ross Dickinson wrote the « pieces » of Ehrenfels's thinking were all main-stream, but the way he brought them together was « idiosyncratic » . Dickinson suggested that these ideas were rooted in Ehrenfels's own tormented sexuality as he was both fascinated and repulsed by sex. Ehrenfels had been brought-up in an extremely conservative, sexually repressive Roman Catholic family, and from his teenage years onwards, always felt deep shame and guilt about his sexual desires. Despite his obsession with sex, Ehrenfels was enraged by pornography (which he wanted to see ruthlessly stamped-out) and by the « indecent » popular culture of Vienna, which he saw as far too sexualized. Ehrenfels was especially offended by the « Animier-kneipen » (hostess bar) , a type of popular bar in Austria where the buxom waitresses wore



very low-cut dresses and were encouraged to flirt with the male customers in order to get them to buy more drinks ; in the « Animier-kneipen » , the waitresses were paid commissions based on their nightly sales of alcohol. Ehrenfels was deeply disgusted by the sight of women flaunting their sexuality to manipulate men, and wanted the « Animier-kneipen » banned. Besides for that, Ehrenfels complained constantly about « indecent puns » used by ordinary people, the « courtesan style » in modern fashion and by the « pornography of the humorous weeklies, in comic songs, farces and Operettas » .

Dickinson wrote that when Ehrenfels wrote about men suffering from what he called the « tortuously shackled animal personality » created by monogamy, he was almost certainly writing about himself. Dickinson suggested that based upon a reading of Ehrenfels's private letters, that his concerns about psychological « splitting » within men were based upon his own visits to prostitutes, where he saw johns abusing the prostitutes, and that he may himself had badly treated the prostitutes he had sex with (his letters are somewhat ambiguous on this point) . The frequently which Ehrenfels brought-up the example of how psychological « splitting » was causing men to abuse prostitutes may very well had reflected a guilty conscience on his part about past abuse that he had inflicted on the prostitutes whose services he had used.

In a 1908 essay entitled « The Yellow Peril » , Ehrenfels wrote that 13 years earlier in 1895, he « arrived, on the basis of personal experience, which it would be superfluous to recount here, at the following 2 alternatives :

“ Either I am an individual of totally corrupt sex instincts, or our monogamous sexual order is an institution with completely corrupting tendencies. ” »

In the late-19th Century, what the British historian John Tosh called the « flight from domesticity » novels became very popular, which were a major influence on Ehrenfels. The « flight from domesticity » novels typically dealt with a ruggedly tough male who lived life on his own terms, usually alone and always in some remote frontier place, and who almost never had a relationship with a woman or children. The heroes in the « flight from domesticity » novels were usually a frontiersman, a hunter, a cowboy, a scout or some other suitably adventuresome, manly occupation. Because the heroes in the « flight from domesticity » novels lived in the wild in harmony with nature, they were always portrayed as being more morally purer and authentic than the people who lived in modern civilization. The hero in the « flight from domesticity » novel was always the « strong silent type » , the taciturn tough guy who lived uncompromisingly by his own code of honour and who embodied typical male values like courage and self-reliance far better than did the men who lived in civilization. Typical of the « flight from domesticity » novels were the Allan Quatermain novels by the British novelist Henry Rider Haggard dealing with the adventures of a British frontiersman in 19th Century South Africa ; the Western novels by the German novelist Karl May dealing with the adventures of the German immigrant cowboy Old Shatterhand and his Apache best friend Winnetou in the American Old West ; the Scott Allen Cameron novels by the Canadian novelist Ralph Connor about a Mountie singly-handedly upholding the law in the Rocky Mountains ; and Western adventure novels by the Irish-American novelist Thomas Mayne Reid.

The typical hero in Reid's novels which were extremely popular in the United States and Europe was described as

being :

« gallant, skillful at arms, far more at ease around men than around women, has lots of time for trappers and soldiers but little for the upper-classes and intellectuals, and is much happier hunting and killing than thinking » .

Tosh argued by the end of the 19th Century, the burdens of being a husband and a father in a modern, industrialized, urban society were such that many men fantasized about « chucking it all » to escape domesticity ; to live a life unburdened by the demands of a job, children, a wife or any other social obligation. Hence the popularity of the « flight from domesticity » novels, which celebrated the « masculine primitive » . Ehrenfels's ideas about his new society where men would live apart from women and children, would not participate in raising their children and whose relationships with their wives would be entirely sexual bear a very strong resemblance to the themes in the « flight from domesticity » novels. Significantly, Ehrenfels believed that in his new society where men would not be burdened by the demands of family life would allow them to live more fuller and adventuresome lives like the type depicted in the « flight from domesticity » books. Ehrenfels's own fantasies about manly Aryan heroes battling the « Yellow Peril » who would single-handedly kill hundreds of the « evil » Asians while sleeping with every white women in sight, but never having a relationship or raising children appeared to be a sexualized version of the macho fantasies found in the « flight from domesticity » novels. It should be noted that not all of the « flight from domesticity » writers took the same racist line as did as Ehrenfels, with May in particular being very sympathetic towards the plight of Native-Americans in his Old Shatterhand novels. In many of the « flight from domesticity » books, non-white peoples like the Zulus and the Apache were depicted admiringly if rather patronizingly as « noble savages » who in their primitive state had preserved certain spiritual qualities that people in the industrialized West had long since lost. What Ehrenfels like many other men at the time seemed to have liked in the « flight from domesticity » novels was the celebration of the « masculine primitive » ; a purer, rawer, tougher form of masculinity that was alleged to exist in the wild than that found in civilization.

In April 1895, the German Emperor Wilhelm II had a nightmare where all the nations of Europe appeared as « prehistoric warrior goddesses » who were protected by Germany which took the form of the Archangel Michael. To the East, they were threatened by a dark, stormy cloud in which a Chinese-style dragon carried a Buddha wreathed in fire under which marched millions of Asians who destroyed all in their path, killing all whites. After his nightmare, which Wilhelm regarded as a message from God about the coming, apocalyptic great « race war » between Europe and Asia which would decide the future of the 20th Century, he had a painting of his nightmare done by his Court painter Hermann Knackfuß in September 1895. The painting, which was known as the « Yellow Peril » painting was very popular in its time. Ehrenfels saw the « Yellow Peril » painting in December 1895 and was greatly impressed. From 1895 onwards, Ehrenfels was greatly influenced by the « Yellow Peril » propaganda put-out by the German government, in which Wilhelm repeatedly warned of the alleged Asian menace to the West. As a Wagnerite who deeply involved in the various Wagner Societies in Vienna, Ehrenfels got to know Prince Philip von Eulenburg, the German ambassador to Austria-Hungary and an anti-Asian racist who promoted the fear of the « Yellow Peril » to anybody who would listen. More broadly, Ehrenfels's « Yellow Peril » anti-Asian racism was part of an environment in which non-white men were depicted as threatening to rape white women. In this racist view-point, to protect their women from being raped, white men would have to wage a « primitive » and « primordial » racial war against the « Yellow

Peril » , which justified both white supremacy and male supremacy. The same sort of language and imagery was always frequently invoked with the fears about a « race war » with the blacks and the Jews. European racists often considered the Jews to be a race apart from the rest of humanity, and so the Jews were lumped in with the blacks and the Asians.

Dickinson noted that for Ehrenfels, the fear of the « Yellow Peril » was always expressed in water imagery ; noting how Ehrenfels warned of a « flood » of Chinese coming to the West, that the Chinese were a « torrent of mud » in which Europe was drowning in, that the Japanese were a « polluting liquid » , and that Europeans would not respond to this menace until the « waves » of Asians were up to their neck. The German historian Klaus Theweleit wrote that the same threatening water imagery was frequently used in the writings of « Freikorps » men during the inter-War period, but the only threats were the Jews and the Communists (usually the same thing in these writings) rather the Asians which threatened to subsume German men. Theweleit wrote that Right-wing German men who had served in the « Freikorps » during the inter-War period were obsessed with proving their masculinity by establishing their « hardness » , and that the water imagery reflected their fear of women, the erotic, love, intimacy, and of dependence, all things that threatened to make them less than manly. Theweleit argued in his 1977 book « Männerphantasien » (Male Fantasies) that the water imagery was associated with sexuality and a loss of self-control.

Reviewing Theweleit's book in 1987, the American historian Paul Robinson wrote that :

« ... one can't read it without feeling that Mr. Theweleit is onto something : the piling-up of examples eventually begins to take its toll on even the most skeptical. »

Dickinson argued that men like Ehrenfels felt the same sexual anxieties about their masculinity as did the writers examined by Theweleit, but only he projected these anxieties onto the « Yellow Peril » rather than « Judeo-Bolshevism » . To be in love can often mean a certain loss of self-control as those in love often invoke the images of being « swept away » or « swallowed-up » . Dickinson argued that for Ehrenfels, a self-proclaimed macho « manly man » and Aryan « alpha » male, the prospect of being in love with someone was terrifying as it meant the possibility of losing control, and he projected those fears (which were always expressed in the water imagery) onto the Asians.

Ehrenfels often denied quite vehemently that marriage had anything to do with love, writing before his own marriage that marriage was :

« (...) in the final analysis the sexual provision for 2 persons of the opposite-sex through mutual, exclusive and contractual agreement to inter-course. Our morality tries to cover the matter ... instead of sexual provision we speak of a unity of souls and the contractual agreement to coitus ... is more or less transparently veiled by the term “ community of bed and table ”. »

Dickson wrote that Ehrenfels's efforts to deny that a man could ever love a woman suggested a huge fear of emotional dependence on his part.

Dickinson noted that Ehrenfels's intense bouts of depression together with periods of manic activity suggested a degree of emotional instability on his part, adding :

« A number of prominent men of the period more or less conform to the same pattern. Gail Bederman has described related personality structures in Granville Stanley Hall and Theodore Roosevelt. Both exhibited manic restlessness, quasi-messianic self-regard, insecure masculine sexuality, a fear of racial degeneration and bizarre theories regarding the regenerating evolutionary power of masculine sexuality and the genocidal instincts of all males - who, each believed, naturally sought to exterminate men of other races as part of the struggle for the survival of the fittest. Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany, while probably closer to outright mental illness, exhibited similar traits-including manic activity, intellectual eclecticism, megalomania, occasional nervous break-downs, genocidal cogitations, and concern with the “ Yellow Peril ”. »

Ehrenfels projected feminine qualities onto the Chinese, always using feminine verbs when writing about the Chinese, and always compared China to a woman after 1904. The German language has 3 sorts of verbs : masculine, feminine and neutral. Ehrenfels's fear of the Chinese reflected his fear of the feminine which might overwhelm the masculine through the powers of love and sex. By contrast, Ehrenfels always used masculine verbs when writing about the Japanese, and he often compared the Japanese to a rival male that was seeking to dominate the « woman China » in competition to the European powers that were also compared to males. Dickinson argued that Ehrenfels's constant use of this sort of sexualized language of power, aggression and domination when writing about China reflected his own fear of sex, love, sexual dependence, his sexual adequacy as a man, and most of all, emotional dependence. Dickinson further noted the great irony of Ehrenfels's life, namely that his own biography disapproved his theories about men as sex-crazed animals incapable of love for either the women in their lives or their children. By all accounts, Ehrenfels did indeed deeply love his wife and his 2 children.

Dickinson noted that many of Ehrenfels's ideas seem to anticipate National-Socialism, but this was not the case. Within the first decade of the 20th Century, some of the more radical members of the eugenics - Social Darwinist movement in Germany were already advocating killing the physically and/or mentally disabled as the best way of improving the Aryan race. Ehrenfels was deeply horrified by these ideas, and made it clear that in his proposed new society, the mentally and physically disabled would be prevented from marrying, and this was enough. Had Ehrenfels lived long enough, he would have been appalled by the Action T4 programme launched by the German government in January 1939 to exterminate all physically and mentally disabled people in the « Reich » (which by that included Austria) . Likewise, Ehrenfels was opposed to anti-Semitism, writing there was no « Jewish bogey » threatening the « Aryan race » ; called anti-Semitism « silly » and argued that the Jews would be very useful allies for the Aryans in the coming war with the Asians. In this, Ehrenfels parted company with his friend Houston Stewart Chamberlain who believed in the coming great « race war » that the Asians together with the blacks would fight under the leadership of the Jews against the Aryans.

### Baroness Emma von Ehrenfels

Ehrenfels's wife Emma was befriended by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. His daughter was the author Imma von

Bodmershof and his son Rolf, a professor of anthropology who converted to Islam in 1927 and assumed the name Omar. Omar Rolf's wife, Elfriede von Bodmershof, was a literary person. As well, she registered the pseudonym « Kurban Said » as belonging to her for the novels « Ali and Nino » as well as « Girl from the Golden Horn » .

However, Lucy Tal whose company E.P. Tal had published « Ali and Nino » wrote her lawyer saying :

« I had never heard of the Baroness ... Also my late husband's right hand and secretary knew nothing of the Baroness. Only much later, when for some reason, we looked at the “ Buchhändler Börsenblatt ”, we discovered the Baroness as “ Kurban Said ”. Of course, under the Nazis pseudonyms were born, people unrightful had themselves as authors ... »

The Czech Zionist, philosopher and friend of Kafka, Felix Weltsch, wrote many essays and memos about Ehrenfels, who himself was of partly Jewish descent. Weltsch was one of Ehrenfels's most important pupils.

## Works

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« Brutus » , bourgeois tragedy.

« Richard Löwenherz » , bourgeois tragedy.

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« Der Kampf des Prometheus » , libretto.

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Über Fühlen und Wollen : Eine psychologische Studie, Carl Gerold & Sohn, Vienna (1888) .

« Über Gestaltqualitäten » , in : « Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie » , 14 (1890) ; pages 249-292 (On the Qualities of Form, 1890) .

« Werttheorie und Ethik » , in : « Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie » , 17 (1893) ; pages 26-110, 200-266, 321-363, 413-425.

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« Richard Wagner und seine Apostaten. Ein Beitrag zur Jahrhundertfeier » , H. Heller, Vienna and Leipzig (1913) .

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« Das Primzahlengesetz, entwickelt und dargestellt auf Grund der Gestalttheorie » , O.R. Reiland, Leipzig (1922) .

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### University student Josef Laser

Professor Bruckner always required respect and full implication from his pupils. He spoke to them rather bluntly (sometimes in an abrupt and awkward manner) , but his good nature prevented them from feeling a certain discomfort.

This ambiguity is illustrated by the story from Johann Kerschagl's reminiscences of attending Bruckner's lectures at the Vienna Conservatory, the occasion when Bruckner entered the classroom and noticed a small Jewish boy sitting in the front row, gazed a while at him, then put a hand upon his head and said to him, « almost compassionately » :

« Dear child, do you really believe that the “ Messiah ” has not yet come to earth ? »

According to Kerschagl's memoir, as retold by August Göllerich (Göllerich / Auer, Band IV.1 ; pages 532-533) , the whole place burst into laughter, but Bruckner was altogether serious.

Kerschagl identifies the student in question as the cellist Josef Laser, who later played in the premiere of Bruckner's 9th Symphony under the baton of Ferdinand Löwe in Vienna, in 1903 ...

**Wednesday, 11 February 1903 (7:30 pm) : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer Saal » . Ferdinand Löwe conducts the « Wiener Symphoniker » and the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » mixed-choir.**

Soloists : Agnes Bricht-Pyllemann, soprano ; Gisela Körner, alto ; Hermann Winkelmann, tenor ; Richard Mayr, bass.

**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)

According to 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.

### University : Bruckner and female students

Another somewhat negative aspect of Bruckner's role at the University must be noted. He did not believe that women would have any interest in learning harmony and counterpoint.

Although regulations allowed full-access to the « fair sex » , he managed to oust them.

Bruckner said :

« Ladies are now interested in counterpoint ? »

He will put this kind of pressure during each lecture until the female student decides to leave. The class will admonished him about this objectionable behaviour.

### Female student Elisabeth Rotter

Elisabeth (« Elsa ») Noé von Nordberg, born Rotter (1879-1937) , was a famous harpist and student of Anton Bruckner. Rumour said that she was able to play a score by heart after only having read it once before. In still medieval times for women's rights, this gifted musician was not allowed to play with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, a male domain back then.

Her husband was Karl Noé von Nordberg, a psychiatrist heading a sanatorium. Highly-talented but bi-polar, « Elsa » received treatments for her mental condition.

### Female student Laura Kahrer (Rappoldi)

The distinguished Austrian composer, virtuoso pianist and piano teacher Laura Rappoldi, « née » Kahrer, was born on 14 January 1853 in Mistelbach near Vienna, Lower-Austria ; and died on 2 August 1925 in Dresden, Germany (« Alter Katholischer Friedhof, Friedrichstraße ») .

Laura Kahrer was only 11 years old when she played her own compositions for Benedikt Randhartinger, who had been a friend of Franz Schubert.

From 1866 to 1869, she studied in Vienna at the « Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » under Josef Dach (piano) , Otto Dessooff (composition) and Anton Bruckner (counterpoint) . She took the First Prize at the age of 16.

After travelling as a concert-player through the principal towns in Germany, studied under Franz Liszt and Hans von Bülow, and rose to the front-rank of German pianists. She undertook many concert tours and performed in Prague, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Moscow and other cities.

In 1874, she married the violinist Eduard Rappoldi. Their son Adrian was born in 1876 and he became a violinist like his father. In 1880, Laura gave-up travelling on request of her husband. She continued to perform in Dresden and became a professor at the Conservatory in that city in 1890. In 1921, she led a Master-class for the piano.

### Female student Marie Pohoryles

Anton Bruckner proposed marriage to his pupil Marie Pohoryles, a Polish Jewish young woman who seems to have taken lessons from him for almost 10 years.

### Female student Mathilde (Aloisia) Kralik

Mathilde Kralik was the daughter of Bohemian glass industrialist Wilhelm Kralik von Meyrswalden (1807-1877) from Eleonorenhain. After the death of his first wife Anna Maria Pinhak (1814-1850), he married Louise Lobmeyr (1832-1905) on 28 May 1851. Mathilde was the 4th of 5 children from his second marriage to Louise « née » Lobmeyr. Her brother was Richard Kralik von Meyrswalden, the poet philosopher, historian and arts administrator.

Her first compositions were lyrical poems and hymns based on her brother's works. The family regularly had music in the house, as her father William played the violin and her mother Louise played piano. In this way, the musically gifted children not only learned the milieu of Classical chamber music, but, also, string orchestra furnished music of the time by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Early on, the parents recognized the musical gifts of their daughter, and the financial circumstances of her father allowed Mathilde the best music teachers of her time.

Mathilde Kralik took piano lessons from her mother, and, later, was a pupil of Anton Bruckner, Franz Krenn and Julius Epstein. She passed the 1876 entrance examination for the Conservatory of the Society of Friends of Music, and studied at the Conservatory, from 1876 to 1878. She won the 2nd prize for a Scherzo for piano quintet and received First Prize for her thesis, « Intermezzo from a suite ». Kralik graduated from the Conservatory with a diploma in composition and the Silver Society Medal.

Mathilde Kralik's works became popular in the concert scene of Austria. On 19 April 1894 and on 19 April 1895, her compositions were performed at the « Kleine-Saal » (« Brahms-Saal », 598 seats) of the « Musikverein ». In the 1889-1899 season, the Quartet Duesberg presented her 1880 composed Piano Trio in F major (1880). On 12 January 1900, Josef Venantius von Wöb hosted a concert in the « Große-Saal » (2,063 seats) of the « Musikverein » where Matilda took « The Baptism of Christ » after a poem by Pope Leo XIII was presented. Her « Christmas Cantata » for solo, choir and orchestra was also staged. On 20 March 1908, in the « Kleine-Saal », a concert included 4 songs and arias from her fairy-tale Opera « Blume and Weißblume ».



Mathilde was Honorary President of the Women's Choir Association Vienna, and a member of the Vienna Bach community, the Austrian Composers, the Association of Writers and Artists Club of Vienna and the Viennese Musicians.

In October 1905, her mother Louise died at age 74. The death of her mother affected Kralik and her work stagnated for half a year. From 1912 onward, she lived in their home alone until she took an apartment in Vienna with Doctor Alice Scarlat (1882-1959) .

The Opera « Blume und Weissblume » was presented in 1910, in Hagen, Westphalia, and, in 1912, in Bielsko, and was popular not only because of these 2 performances, but also because of sensationalist coverage in the press. The former Capuchin friar Nicasius Schusser had written an Opera called « Quo Vadis » , in which he took 52 pages from Mathilde Kralik's Opera, note for note. Mathilde responded in the press, but gave-up legal action against Schusser. After World War I, the popularity of Mathilde Kralik's work declined, and she died on 8 March 1944, in Vienna.

...

Born into a highly-cultured and musically accomplished upper-class family, she took on the « official » full-name of Mathilde Aloisia Kralik von Meyrswalden after the Austrian Emperor elevated her father, a wealthy Bohemian industrialist, to the minor nobility as Wilhelm Kralik Ritter von Meyrswalden. Louise, her mother, provided her early piano training ; and the entire family made music at home together. After moving to Vienna in 1870, Mathilde's parents saw to it that their precocious daughter studied with the very finest musical pedagogues - including private counterpoint lessons with Anton Bruckner, who was later one of her professors after she was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory in 1876. While there, she became a part of the musical circle that included Gustav Mahler.

After completing her formal studies there with great distinction in just 2 years, Mathilde and her older brother and champion, Richard (a noted poet, philosopher and cultural historian) soon rose to the fore-front of Vienna's artistic life. She was particularly close to Richard. Despite being trapped in an era of pervasive, male-dominated artistic chauvinism, Mathilde soon established her reputation as a pianist and composer of particular ability. The siblings' regular musical and literary « salons » consistently attracted the city's intelligentsia and artistic « élite » .

Even Eduard Hanslick, the notoriously vicious Viennese critic, found Mathilde to be :

« A genuine, original talent which holds great promise for the future. »

While she composed in multiple genres, she was best-known during her lifetime for her smaller-scale works like Lieder, piano and chamber music, and sacred choral pieces. Her larger-scale works were seldom heard, one exception being her fairy-tale Opera, « Blume und Weißblume » : one of her 3 works in that genre. She remained musically active throughout her long life, though her deeply Romantic style went-out of fashion as the 20th Century unfolded.

**Hugo Wolf : the expelled student**

Hugo Wolf entered the Vienna Conservatory in **September 1875**, studying harmony with Robert Fuchs, piano with Wilhelm Schenner, and composition with Franz Krenn. His stay at the Conservatory was short. He left in 2 years, dismissed, the official records say, on account of a breach of discipline. It appears that he was more sinned against than sinning. Some wild youth had sent to Josef Hellmesberger senior, the head of the Conservatory, a letter warning him that he had only one more Christmas to enjoy, after which his end would come ; the missive was signed with the name of « Hugo Wolf » . According to the account that seems most to be relied on, that of Paul Müller, who had the story from the composer himself, Hugo went to Hellmesberger to explain that the joke was not his. The scared Director raised an alarm ; Wolf tried to establish his innocence by producing a specimen of his own hand-writing, but could not obtain a hearing. Hellmesberger was firmly convinced that his life was in danger, and, for some time, the terrible Wolf, a desperate villain of 17 or so, was kept under the eye of the Vienna police. He was of course, at once, banished from the Conservatory.

(In a letter to Oskar Grohe dated **Friday, 2 May 1890**, Wolf says he stayed 1 year at the Vienna Conservatory, where he learned very little. He educated himself, he adds.)

Both Hugo and his father were greatly downcast at this turn of events ; succeeding as it did so many records of failure at other schools, this dismissal seemed to set the seal of the vagabond upon the boy. He himself raged furiously at the authorities for placing on him the stigma of dismissal from an institution which he was only too anxious to leave ; he talked, indeed, of bringing an action against them. But the fact remained that he was now outside the great Vienna Conservatory, and that it would probably not have been easy for him to enter another even had he desired to do so. The boy had, henceforth, no other schools and no other Masters than those he made for himself. Both in literature and in music, he took his education into his own hands. He read voraciously everything he could get hold of, being guided by a singularly sure and catholic taste. He took-up the study of music with intense earnestness, mostly extracting for himself the principles of structure and other points of technique directly out of the works of the great Masters. The concerts at Vienna gave him plenty of material to reflect upon ; we find him begging Felix Mottl to get him some pupils, so that he may live decently and be able to stay in Vienna, instead of spending the winter in Windischgrätz where he will hear no music. The 2 brothers, Josef and Franz Schalk (the former died in 1900) done good service in Wolfs cause ; the latter, the well-known Vienna conductor, befriended him and placed their musical possessions at his disposal. He spent day after day in the big Vienna Library, absorbed in music of every kind, but chiefly that of Beethoven and of Bach, dissecting it, committing it to memory. One day, in later years, his friend Paul Müller called upon him and happened to see in his room a dilapidated copy of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas. Turning the leaves over, he noticed many indications on them of careful study, and remarked upon them to Wolf.

Wolf said very seriously :

« Yes, those were bad days. I lived at that time in a garret, and had no piano ; so, I used to take-out the Sonatas separately, and go and study them in the “ Prater ”. »

**Alfred Stroß : the troubled student**

Alfred Stroß (1858-1886) : Estimable pianist and composer of keyboard music. His unfortunately early death in Vienna came as a result of his insanity (at the time, the neuro-pathologist Doctor Theodor Meynert was treating him) . Stroß had been one of Anton Bruckner's students and an acquaintance of Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, Friedrich Eckstein, Rudolf Steiner and Fritz Lemmermayer.

Rudolf Steiner was present during Bruckner's lectures on harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna. He joined the Master at the « Café Griensteidl » , during the period 1886 to 1890.

Alfred Stroß devoted a Symphonic work to Anton Bruckner.

From Rudolf Steiner auto-biography :

« Alfred Stroß, the composer, was a gifted man, but one tinged with a profound pessimism. When he took his seat at the piano in “ delle Grazie's ” home and played his “ études ” . One had the feeling ; Anton Bruckner's music reduced to airy tones which would fain flee this earthly existence. Stroß was little understood ; Fritz Lemmermayer was inexpressibly devoted to him.

Both Lemmermayer and Stroß were intimate friends of Robert Hamerling. Through them, I was led later into a brief correspondence with Hamerling. Stroß finally died of a serious illness in spiritual darkness. »

...

« We often had the opportunity to hear also the 4 women artists of the Austrian Tschamper Quartette ; there, Fritz Lemmermayer melodramatically recited Hebbel's “ Heideknabe ”, to a fiery piano accompaniment by Alfred Stroß. »

...

« Besides these, the Saturday evening callers were the historian of the Church and other theologians, and, in addition, I met now and then the philosopher Adolf Stöhr, Goswine von Berlepsch, the emotionally moving story-teller Emilie Mataja (who bore the pen-name of Emil Marriot) , the poet and writer Fritz Lemmermayer, and the composer Stroß. Fritz Lemmermayer, with whom I was later on terms of intimate friendship, I came to know at one of delle Grazie's afternoons. A highly noteworthy man. Whatever interested him he expressed with inwardly measured dignity. In his outward appearance, he resembled equally the musician Rubinstein and the actor Lewinsky. With Hebbel, he developed almost a cult. He had definite views on art and life born-out of the sagacious understanding of the heart, and these were unusually fixed. He had written the interesting and profound romance, “ Der Alchemist ”, and much besides that was characterized by beauty and depth. He knew how to consider the least things in life from the view-point of the most vital. I recall how I once saw him in his charming little room in a side-street in Vienna together with other friends. He had planned his meal : 2 soft-boiled eggs, to be cooked in an instantaneous boiler, together with bread. He remarked with much emphasis while the water was heating to boil the eggs for us : “ This will be delicious ! ” In a later phase of my life, I shall again have occasion to speak of him.

Alfred Stroß, the composer, was a gifted man, but one tinged with a profound pessimism. When he took his seat at the piano in delle Grazie's home and played his " études ", one had the feeling : Anton Bruckner's music reduced to airy tones which would fain flee this earthly existence. Stroß was little understood ; Fritz Lemmermayer was inexpressibly devoted to him.

Both Lemmermayer and Stroß were intimate friends of Robert Hamerling. Through them I was led later into a brief correspondence with Hamerling, to which I shall refer again. Stroß finally died of a serious illness in spiritual darkness.

»

### Stroß's piano compositions

There are 2 extensive works by Stroß, who are still little mentioned in the world of art, to be considered as Opuses :

**Opus 1** : 20 « Silhouettes » . The work is consistently harmonious and rhythmically unusual, and interesting in many aspects.

The natural course of the melody, however, suffers quite often of the undeniably deliberate intention of the harmonic sequences, but it can not be denied that the talent of the composer, apparently still in the « Sturm und Drang » period, is quite considerable.

If « Herr » Stroß succeeds in shaping his style more naturally, then, his compositions may penetrate more and more into all circles.

The « Silhouettes » are only accessible to those players whose musical skills are not only outstanding in pianistic and technical terms, but are also of particular musical significance. Their interpretations demand a real music sense.

**Opus 2** : « Fantasy Pieces » (« Fantasiestücken ») .

In the « Fantasiestücken » , whose dance rhythms contribute significantly to each piece, there are many appealing moments.

It seems as if the composer was more careful here in his harmonies. In addition to the choral accords which are quite sought-after, no trivial passages are encountered.

Undoubtedly, the composer will still speak of himself. At any rate, his first works are seriously pointed-out, for they deserve whole-hearted attention.

### Doctor Theodor Meynert

The German-Austrian psychiatrist, neuro-pathologist and anatomist Theodor Hermann Meynert was born on 15 June

1833 in Dresden and died on 31 May 1892 in Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

Meynert treated pianist Alfred Stroß, friend of the young Rudolf Steiner (Fritz Lemmermayer. « Erinnerungen an Rudolf Steiner, Franz Brentano, Anton Bruckner, Fercher von Steinwand, Robert Hamerling » ; page 39) .

...

Theodor Meynert was a Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Vienna while Sigmund Freud studied there. He doesn't make much of a splash in « The Interpretation of Dreams » , but he does appear briefly (in disguised form) in one of the dreams featuring Freud's father. While interpreting this apparently « absurd » dream, Freud comes to the realization that the father-figure in it isn't his real father - it's totally « Teddy » Meynert.

As Freud writes :

« Here, the figure for whom he (his father) stood was no less a person than the great Meynert, in whose footsteps I had trodden with such deep veneration and whose behaviour towards me, after a short period of favour, had turned to undisguised hostility. »

As with so many of the other colleagues who appear in Freud's dreams, Meynert's presence opens up intriguing questions about the role that various father-figures played in Freud's professional and personal life.

...

Thanks to Theodor Hermann Meynert the Vienna School of Medicine came to rival that of the Salpêtrière and Queen's Square. He inspired the work of Paul Emil Flechsig (1847-1929) , Karl Wernicke (1848-1905) and Auguste-Henri Forel (1848-1931) , and influenced Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) . He may be seen as a prophet of things to come.

Meynert was born in Dresden to a writer and an Opera singer. The artistic background and certain Bohemian characteristics never left him. The family moved to Vienna when he was 8. Here, he spent long and rather wild student days and received his medical doctorate in 1861. Sobering down, and driven by an intense desire to emulate his teacher, Carl von Rokitansky (1804-1878) , he was habilitated as « Dozent » in 1865, and then, began lecturing on the anatomy and function of the brain. In 1866, he was named prosector of the « Wiener Landesirrenanstalt » , and, in 1870, was appointed director of the psychiatric clinic and professor « extraordinarius » of psychiatry. In 1873, he became full-professor of nervous diseases. From 1885, he held the title of « Hofrath » . He was succeeded in the chair by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902) , remembered for, among many things, coining the term « sadism » .

Meynert's main-achievements were in research on the anatomy and the physiology of the brain. He formulated a new theory of brain functions, which he attempted to bring in accord with pathological observations. He is now chiefly remembered for his 1869 description of dorsal tegmental decussation or « fountain decussation » .

Meynert's ideas drew many visitors to Vienna even though he had the reputation of being a poor teacher. Auguste-Henri Forel (1848-1931), who spent 7 months (1871-1872) with Meynert at the old insane asylum on « Lazarettgasse », had to hold back his great disappointment in Meynert's lectures and laboratory. His department, Forel relates, was disorderly and filthy, not unlike the Oriental Quarter of Vienna, and through it all romped Meynert's 2 children.

Bernard Sachs (1858-1944), as a novice attempting to learn neuro-anatomy in Meynert's laboratory in 1892, found it disconcerting that he had to struggle alone with a series of brain sections for a month before the Master would show the least interest in him. « A very stormy day », said Sachs to Meynert on greeting him one morning. « I have not yet had time to think about it », was the reply; and Sachs remarked to himself, « That settled that. » Meynert tried to be amiable to his assistants, but was seldom cordial. Urbanity was a luxury in which his brilliant mind would not allow him to indulge.

Meynert was described as having a massive head surmounting a short body, a sprawling bushy beard, and mane-like hair which had the habit of falling down into his eyes. He had an expression of melancholy; his wife had died early, and death had robbed him of his 17 year old son. Despite his troubles, or perhaps because of them, there was robustness in his poetry, regarded highly by the critics of that day. The same may be said about his drawings of the brain, to be found in the Neurological institute of Vienna to this day.

Meynert was also active as a journalist, being editor of the « Wiener Jahrbücher für Psychiatrie » as well as co-publisher of the « Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten » (Berlin). With Max Leidesdorf (1818-1889), he was co-publisher of « Vierteljahrsschrift für Psychiatrie » (Neuwied and Leipzig). He was for 1 year president of the « Wiener Verein für Psychiatrie und forensische Psychologie ».

« The main-function of the central organ is to transmit the fact of existence to an ego gradually shaping itself in the stream of the brain ... If we look upon the cortex as an organ functioning as a whole then the information that it subserves the processes of the mind is all that can be said ... to think further about the cortex is impossible and unnecessary ... But our hope to understand eventually the function of the hemispheres is raised again by the opposite assumption which leads us straight to an organology of the central surface .... Between these 2 theoretical possibilities, the facts have to decide. »

...

The father of Theodor Meynert was a writer and his mother a singer at the Court Opera. Meynert, a « curious mixture of artist and naturalist », became a doctor of medicine in 1861 and, in 1865, he presented a thesis that authorized him to teach in third level education: « Bau und Leistungen des Gehirns und Rückenmarks mit Beziehung zu deren Erkrankungen » (Structure and activity of the brain and spinal cord in relation to their pathology). In 1868, his authorization was extended to include psychiatry. An experienced dissector, he was appointed director of a psychiatric hospital in Lower-Austria in 1870. By 1873, he occupied a chair of psychiatry and, in 1875, he became the director of the psychiatric clinic attached to the University of Vienna.

Meynert's scientific contributions are related to his work on the pathology of the brain, such as mapping the topography of the sensory and motor pathways and identifying the nerve endings in the cerebral motor cortex and the linking pathways of the « cerebellum », as well as functional antagonisms that are important for the history of the evolution between the cerebral cortex and the rest of the brain. Meynert is recognized as the founder of the cyto-architectonics of the cerebral cortex. He devoted himself to establishing psychiatry as an exact science based on anatomy. He formulated the antagonism between the cortex and the sub-cortical zones as being the key to the abnormal function of cerebral mechanisms in mental illness. He left his mark on theories concerning the causal links between cerebral pathologies and psychoses as a result of deficits in cerebral nutrition related to vaso-motricity. His article « Amentia » (1890-1983) describes and demonstrates the interaction between organic and psychological factors.

In July 1882, when he entered the General Hospital of Vienna as an intern, Sigmund Freud had already abandoned his career as a researcher with Ernst Brücke for financial reasons. Having worked as an assistant physician in Meynert's clinic, from May 1 to September 31, 1883, he continued his laboratory research into the anatomy of the brain for another 18 months. However, his initial high-esteem for Meynert was transformed into a critical distance with regard to the « idol Meynert enthroned in the heavens ». Meynert later distanced himself from Freud because of the latter's interest and experience with Jean-Martin Charcot's ideas in Paris and his therapeutic involvement with hypnotism.

...

Theodor Meynert believed that disturbances in brain development could be a predisposition for psychiatric illness and that certain psychoses are reversible.

In 1861, Meynert earned his medical doctorate, and, in 1875, became director of the psychiatric clinic associated with the University of Vienna. Some of his better-known students in Vienna were Josef Breuer, Sigmund Freud, who, in 1883, worked at Meynert's psychiatric clinic, and Julius Wagner-Jauregg, who introduced fever treatment for syphilis. Meynert later distanced himself from Freud because of the latter's involvement with practices such as hypnosis. Meynert also ridiculed Freud's idea of male-hysteria ; though some authors believe this to be due to his own hidden suffering of the illness, prompting a reconciliation with Freud near to his death. Other famous students of Meynert's were Russian neuro-psychiatrist Sergei Korsakoff (1854-1900) , German neuro-pathologist Carl Wernicke (1848-1905) and Swiss neuro-anatomist Auguste-Henri Forel (1848-1931) . Meynert's work was an important influence in the career of German neuro-pathologist Paul Flechsig (1847-1929) .

Meynert's work was largely focused on brain anatomy, pathology and histology, including the mapping of its intricate pathways and topography. He made many contributions involving the study of the cellular architecture of the brain and is often considered to be the founder of cerebral cortex cyto-architectonics.

Meynert developed theories in regards to correlations between neuro-anatomical and mental processes. He conceptualized that a coupling between one mental association and its temporal successor as a literal contact between cortical nerve cells linked to one other by nerve fibres, and a series of cortical associations could, therefore, be construed as being a « train of thought » . He also theorized that ideas and memories are to be envisioned as being

attached to specific cortical cells.

In regards to mental illness, Meynert conceptualized that a conflict existed between the cerebral cortex and the sub-cortical regions as the primary cause for abnormal function of cerebral components. Also he formulated that a causal connection existed between cerebral pathologies and psychoses due to a lack of « cerebral nutrition » related to vasomotor functionality. Meynert's aim was to establish psychiatry as an exact science based on anatomy. In his 1884 text-book, « *Psychiatrie. Klinik der Erkrankungen des Vorderhirns* », Meynert forewords with the statement :

« The reader will find no other definition of “ Psychiatry ” in this book but the one given on the title-page : “ Clinical Treatise on Diseases of the Forebrain ”. The historical term for psychiatry, i.e. , “ treatment of the soul ”, implies more than we can accomplish, and transcends the bounds of accurate scientific investigation. »

He has several anatomical structures named after him, including the basal optic nucleus of Meynert, the « *substantia innominata* » of Meynert and « *Meynert cells* », which are solitary pyramidal cells located in the cerebral cortex near the calcarine fissure. In 1869, Meynert described the dorsal tegmental decussation of the left and right tectospinal and tectobulbar tracts, located in the « *mesencephalon* » (mid-brain) . This was to become known as « *Meynert's decussation* » or as « *fountain decussation* » .

### University of Vienna : Inauguration of the Renaissance style main-building

**Saturday, 11 October 1884** : Emperor Franz-Josef inaugurates the Renaissance style main-building on « *Franzensring* » (today known as « *Universitätsring* ») by architect Heinrich von Ferstel.

**Sunday, 19 October 1884** (letter presumably completed on October 20) : Letter from August Göllerich junior to his mother and sister who live in Wels :

« (...) Today, I have assisted to the first lecture of Professor Anton Bruckner at the new Vienna University (...) »

The construction of the main-building took place between 1877 and 1884, according to plans by the architect Heinrich von Ferstel that combined the forms of the Renaissance and the monumentality of the Baroque era. On the site of the former military parade area on Vienna's splendid new « *Ringstraße* », the Parliament, the City Hall and the University were all built at the same time. The architecture of these 3 monumental buildings echoes the democracy of the Greeks (in the Ancient Grecian style of the Parliament) , the aspirations of the bourgeoisie in the Middle-Ages (in the Gothic City Hall) , and the flowering of Humanism (in the Renaissance style of the University) . In 1871, Ferstel had studied the older university buildings in Bologna, Padua, Genoa and Rome during a trip to Italy. In the creation of the arcaded court-yard, the architect used the model of the « *Palazzo Farnese* » in Rome. It was intended to be a « *campo santo* » to commemorate renowned university teachers and a recreation area for young people engaged in studies. The first memorial was erected in 1888 to commemorate the lawyer Julius Glaser. Today, there are some 150 sculptures and reliefs of Viennese scholars, and among them (as the only woman) is the poet and honorary doctor of the University, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. Especially noteworthy is the commemorative group by the sculptor Carl



Kundmann (1892) , which is dedicated to the Austrian educational reformers Leo Graf Thun-Hohenstein, Franz Exner, and Hermann Bonitz. There are also remarkable sculptures by such important artists as Franz Xaver Messerschmidt, Caspar Zumbusch, Richard Kauffungen, Josef Tautenhayn junior, and others. The centre of the court-yard has been occupied since 1910 by the Kastalia Fountain, the « Spring of Wisdom » , that was created by Edmund Hellmer. In 1926, it was decreed that a term of 10 years must pass between the death of a scholar and the erection of a memorial in the arcade.

In spite of the grand proportions of the whole complex (with a ground-plan of 161 metres by 131 metres) , the original intention of accommodating all bodies (faculties) of the University in one central building could not be fulfilled. In addition to the official rooms of the Rector, 2 ceremonial halls and the central administration the building was able to accommodate the 4 Deans, the University Library and many departments and lecture-halls. But a considerable proportion of the University's institutions had to be located in many other buildings away from the centre.

### WAB 102 : Liszt says NO

**October 1884** : During his stay in Vienna, Franz Liszt will refuse the dedication of Bruckner's 2nd Symphony (**WAB 102**) .

### Death of Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger

**Monday, 29 November 1884** : Death of Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger. His final words were the last verses of the « Stabat Mater » :

« Christe, cum sit hinc exire, da per matrem me venire ad palmam victoriae. Quando corpus morietur, fac, ut anime donetur. Paradisi gloria. »

His breathing ceased and he died without having uttered the « Amen » . His remains were interred at the Linz Old Cathedral but, in 1924, moved to the new cathedral he had commissioned back in 1855.

### Viennese premiere of Berlioz's « Te Deum »

**Sunday, 14 December 1884** : Hans Richter conducts the Viennese premiere of Hector Berlioz's « Te Deum » at the « Musikverein » .

Anton Bruckner's pupil and friend, August Göllerich junior, recalls the evening spent with the composer :

« I climbed to the organ gallery, the cheapest section of the “ Großer Musikvereinsaal ”, and stood with Bruckner (...) through a badly cut and poorly prepared performance of the Berlioz “ Te Deum ” (...) . The Master was completely captivated, though he had a threatening expression on his face. After the concert, although the work had clearly made an impression, not a word escaped his lips for a long time. He quickly and firmly grabbed my arm and stormed off to

the restaurant “ Stadt Frankfurt ” where he invited me to his favourite meal at the time : (roasted) capon and apple “ purée ”.

(Capon is the name given to a castrated rooster. The capon dates back to the time of the Greeks and Romans. This bird is known for its over-sized, meaty breast and tender, super-moist texture.)

Suddenly, he gave me a hefty poke on the side with his elbow, and burst-out with a summary of his conflicting deliberations :

“ And ecclesiastical, it isn't !! ” »

Bruckner had criticized the work in part because the performance he attended did not take place in a church.

That concert came at a time when Bruckner was completing his own setting of the « Te Deum » . Presumably, his remark indicates he thought Berlioz had crossed the line separating the sacred from the profane. Bruckner did not endow his « Te Deum » with gigantic proportions, as Berlioz done with his own (1855) .

...

August Göllerich junior relates this anecdote in his chapter about Viennese concert life and Bruckner's work on his own « Te Deum » in 1884. In the context of a discussion of Bruckner's large sacred compositions, while admitting the futility of trying to read the composer's mind through Göllerich's filter, it is tempting to speculate as to the nature of the deliberations inspired by Berlioz's monumental work. At the very least, it is safe to say that « And ecclesiastical, it isn't ! » states the obvious : the Berlioz performance had not taken place in church. Göllerich's narrative suggests a more critical stance on Bruckner's part. Perhaps, the composer was pondering issues of musical style : had Berlioz, whom he admired, provided an appropriate setting for a sacred Latin text - a text that had been very much on Bruckner's mind in recent months ? Or by « kirchlich » did he mean « liturgical » , thus questioning the appropriateness of the Berlioz work for use as service music ? Perhaps, venue and content intersected in Bruckner's mind, and the Berlioz performance caused him to deliberate on broader, one might say Wagnerian, issues of where and how sacred and secular overlap. He had already been accused himself of turning the « Credo » of the F minor Mass into a religious « Wolf's Glen Scene » . Given that he would finish his career with a Symphony dedicated to God, and propose his « Te Deum » as a suitable Finale, it may not be far fetched to speculate that weighty æsthetic questions of meaning and function in sacred as opposed to secular music were on his mind as he climbed to and from the organ gallery that evening in 1884.

## Capon

A capon (from the Latin : « caponem ») is a cockerel or rooster that has been castrated to improve the quality of its flesh for food.

The origins of caponized chickens are contested. Such culinary practices existed Far-East within ancient China as well

as Europe from Greek and Roman Empires.

One of the earliest records of caponization occurred during the time of the Roman Republic. The « Lex Faunia » of 162 B.C. forbade fattening hens to conserve grain rations. To get around this, the Romans instead castrated roosters, which resulted in a doubling of size. It was also practised later throughout medieval times with gastronomic texts describing capons as preferred poultry since the ordinary fowl of the farm-yard was regarded as peasant fare and « popular malice crediting monks with a weakness for capons » .

William Shakespeare mentioned capon in the famous « All the world's a stage » monologue from his play « As You Like It » (written around 1600) . He similarly describes capon as a food of the wealthy. The monologue describes human life as consisting of 7 stages, and the 5th stage is a middle-aged man who has reached the point where he has acquired wisdom and wealth.

The monologue describes the 5th stage as :

« The Justice, In fair round belly, with a good capon lin'd. »

### Vienna : Restaurant-Hotel « Zur Stadt Frankfurt »

**1380** : First mention of the building located at Conscription Number 1086.

**1490** : The Freyswald family was the owner.

**1522** : The building was temporarily confiscated until 1525, then sold after the return of the owner.

**Second half of the 15th Century** : First mention of the building located at Conscription Number 1087.

...

The Hotel « Zur Stadt Frankfurt » (At the City of Frankfurt) (located at « Seilergasse » Number 14, in the inner-city) was first mentioned in **1567** as « Wirtshaus “ Zum goldenen Ochsen ” » , « At the Golden Ox » tavern.

Giacomo Girolamo Casanova recalled that he stayed « At the Red Ox » Hotel in **1766**. Later, the German writer, philosopher, dramatist, publicist and art-critic, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing also stayed there.

**Beginning of the 19th Century** : « At the Golden Ox » (« Zum goldenen Ochsen ») was one of the most distinguished hotels in Vienna - on par with « At the Wild Man » (« Zum wilden Mann ») located on « Kärntnerstraße » .

Although the restaurant « At the Golden Ox » Hotel was considered one of the finest in Vienna, it was renamed « Zur Stadt Frankfurt » in **1830**. During this period, it was sometimes erroneously called « Gasthof “ Zum roten Ochsen ” » , « At the Red Ox » Inn.

**1843** : The « Handbook for Travellers of Southern Germany » described the « Zur Stadt Frankfurt » Hotel as :

« Good, clean and comfortable, with excellent restaurant. »

**1844-1845** : The building located at Conscription Number 1087 was purchased by the owners of the « Zur Stadt Frankfurt » . The hotel was expanded during a reconstruction project.

**1870's** : The restaurant was a cherish meeting-place for Vienna's upper-bourgeoisie.

**Sunday, 12 July 1896** : The hotel was closed.

The site was then transformed into an apartment building.

**1905-1911** : The owner was Alexander von Pallavicini.

### Christmas and New Year greetings

**Wednesday, 24 December 1884** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Christmas and New Year greetings. 10 Florins are enclosed. Greetings to his brother-in-law Johann Hueber.

### Leipzig : Hôtel « Hauffe »

**Thursday, 25 December 1884** : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Anton Bruckner will leave tomorrow morning with the North Western Railway. Franz Schalk could expect him to be on his way home (in Olmütz ?) on Saturday morning. He was to leave for Leipzig on Monday, because on this day (**Monday, 29 December 1884**) , the dress-rehearsal of the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) took place. Bruckner was expected to descend to Josef's recommendation at the « Hôtel Hauffe » (located at « Roßstraße » Number 15) . Franz should be told by Bruckner of the concert by the Wagner academic Society of Vienna (on **Monday, 22 December 1884**) , in which singer Richard Hirsch had polished his « Wotan » monologue. Greetings to Arthur Nikisch.

For over 70 years, the « Hôtel Hauffe » was one of the leading hotels in Leipzig. Built in 1869, it was the corner-house from the « Roßstraße » to the « Roßplatz » (Today, the place corresponds to the passage through the « Ringbebauung » to the « Auguste-Schmidt-Straße » , the former « Roßstraße » .)

This 4 storey building presented 19 windows on the « Roßstraße » and 5 on the « Roßplatz » . 12 axes on the « Roßstraße » offered a basement. The attic was fully-organized for staff-accommodation. It had more than 100 rooms, lounges and function-rooms as well as restaurants. It also offered single rooms with bathrooms.

The « Hauffe » received numerous well-known personalities :

Richard Wagner stayed here.

Johannes Brahms had a grand piano installed in his room during his stay.

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky stayed here during the winter of 1888.

The presence of Eugène d'Albert is documented by his signature on a sheet of writing paper (dated 29 October 1900) with the letter-head of the house.

**Wednesday, 5 August 1891** : The world's first American Express Travelers Check (with a counter-signature, a newly-patented procedure) was paid-out (the amount : \$ 50) at « Hôtel Hauffe » . The redeemer : William C. Fargo, nephew of William G. Fargo, one of the 3 founders of the American Express Company.

**March 1898** : German dramatist and novelist Gerhart Hauptmann stayed at « Hôtel Hauffe » .

**Around 1900** : A leaflet says :

Its facilities are quite up-to-date and offers the utmost comfort to international visitors. (...) The hotel is also chosen by the highest-circles of society. (...) Through all the rooms, which were designed with the greatest of care, elegance goes together with practicality. We find this expression in the large salons on each floor as well as in the series of individual rooms, and extends to the very impressive interior of the bathrooms, which the hotel possesses.

Renowned writer Karl May was also a guest at « Hôtel Hauffe » ...

**Tuesday, 19 August 1902** : Karl and Emma May accompanied by Klara Plöhn arrived in Leipzig. Until August 21st, they stayed in 3 adjoining-rooms, where Klara was quartered between Emma and Karl. Klara Plöhn's mother, Wilhelmine Beibler, who also lived at the hotel, was called by her daughter to mediate between the disputed spouses. However, their efforts remain unsuccessful. According to a later statement by Emma May, Karl and Klara broke the marriage in Leipzig.

Algernon Bastard's « Gourmet's Guide to Europe » of **1903** rated the « Hôtel Hauffe » the second best place to eat in Leipzig, and Bastard's first choice perhaps had not yet opened in 1880.

« That evening, perhaps uniquely during his time in Leipzig, Swiss semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure invited 2 of his fellow-linguists to the sort of dinner he was accustomed to in aristocratic homes, though not in restaurants on his modest allowance. It made such an impression on one of his guests, Brugmann, that he recalled it in detail nearly 40 years later :

“ The evening of the day of his doctoral oral examination, Johann Baunack and I were invited by him to a most exquisite supper (just us 3) at the ' Hôtel Hauffe ' : there was very fine red wine and I especially remember the

phenomenally thick asparagus we had. ” »

**Thursday, 11 May 1916** : Max Reger studied various compositions at the « Hôtel Hauffe » on the evening of his death (victim of a heart-attack) . The proofs of « Acht geistliche Gesänge » , including « Der Mensch lebt und bestehet nur eine kleine Zeit » , were found next to his bed.

**1930's** : The « Hauffe » became Adolf Hitler's headquarters establishment in Leipzig.

**1940** : Closure of the « Hôtel Hauffe » . Appropriation of the facilities by the District government of Leipzig.

**Saturday, 4 December 1943** : During a bomb-attack on Leipzig, the building was completely destroyed.

**1953-1956** : The site where « Hôtel Hauffe » was erected was used for the construction of the « Ring » promenade.

**Leipzig : Hotel « Stadt Rom » and « Hôtel de Russie »**

**Saturday, 27 December 1884** : Beginning of the granted Christmas pause for Anton Bruckner. He arrives in Leipzig at 11:00 am. In the evening, he hears a performance of Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » (conducted by Arthur Nikisch ?) . After the representation, he is invited by the Leipzig Theatre to attend a reception held at the Hotel « Stadt Rom » which offered at the time a coach service to the « Dresdner Bahnhof » .

**From Saturday, 27 December 1884** : Anton Bruckner will meet in Leipzig the German chorus-master Carl Hansel, the conductor and composer Carl Riedel, the Luxembourg conductor and composer of German origin Gustave Kahnt, and perhaps, Hans von Bülow at the « Hôtel Hauffe » . (The « Hôtel de Russie » or « Russischer Hof » , located on « Peterstraße » Number 19-20, is also mentioned as possible meeting-place.)

**« Wiener Salonblatt » : Wolf's on Bruckner's 7th Symphony (1884)**

Hugo Wolf obtained his position as music-critic for the « Wiener Salonblatt » through the influence of the Köcherts, who were influential advertisers.

The newspaper was published each 2 weeks between 1870 and 1938.

**Sunday, 28 December 1884** : Music-critic Hugo Wolf, aged 24, writes in the « Wiener Salonblatt » (number 53, page 6) about a recital given in the afternoon. He insists on the performance of the Finale of Bruckner's 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) in the version for 2 pianos, 4 hands. The article fuels firm discussions between Wolf, Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe and Friedrich Eckstein.

« Bruckner evening, organized by “ Messieurs ” Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk.

Bruckner ? Bruckner ? Who is he ? Where does he live ? What can he do ?

Such questions can be heard in Vienna (...) . So, it was worth the effort to give a little more attention to this brilliant musician than it has been the case, and it is a truly disturbing sight to see this extraordinary man banished from the concert-hall, who is among the now living composer (Franz Liszt excluded, of course) the first and greatest claim to be performed and admired.

Hugo Wolf. »

### Rott's ultimate compositions

**Winter 1884-1885** : Anton Bruckner would have been interested in Hans Rott's compositions before his death on 25 June 1884.

### Bruckner-Wolf friendly association

**Beginning in 1885** : Hugo Wolf was one of the unconditional supporters of Anton Bruckner. After their joint-concert in Berlin on **Monday, 8 January 1894**, there ensued a friendly association.

### Bruckner writes to his student Alfred Stroß

Anton Bruckner had not found a music-publisher in Leipzig. Alfred Stroß, when he wrote to Professor Alexander Winterberger, asked the theme in B minor, which was based on an improvisation played at the organ of the new Leipzig « Gewandhaus » .

**Thursday, 15 January 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Alfred Stroß (Vienna) .

« Dear Good Friend !

I have “ not ” found a publisher. If you write to Professor Winterberger, would you ask him about the theme in B minor that he gave me at the “ Gewandhaus ” (in Leipzig) .

Sincere thanks for your kindness, noble friend !

Yours,

Bruckner

P.S. : Monday's “ Extrablatt ”, terrible. Wednesday's “ Deutsche Zeitung ”. »

Critic by Doctor Josef Königstein in the « Illustrierten Wiener Extrablatt » (12 January 1885) : « terrible » .

Critic of the String Quintet (WAB 112) by Doctor Theodor Helm in the « Deutsche Zeitung » (14 January 1885) : « very well » .

...

Autograph Letter about the 7th Symphony : Elusive autograph signed letter and envelope from the influential Austrian composer and organist Anton Bruckner who writes regarding the world-premiere of his 7th Symphony. Autograph material of any kind from Bruckner is extremely rare. Sold together with a vintage postcard photograph.

1 page, double-sheet, 8vo. Dated « 15.01.1885 » . To the composer Alfred Stroß, envelope post-marked Vienna. In fine condition, tiny tears to 2 edges, envelope torn along the right edge.

Translation :

« Dear, good friend ! I've found NO publisher. When you write to Professor Winterberger, you will want to ask him for the theme in B minor that he gave me in the “ Gewandhaus ”. Thank you for your support, dear noble friend. Your Bruckner » , and adding a postscript : « Special edition from Monday was terrible. The German newspaper by Wednesday, very good. »

The composer is referencing reviews of his 7th Symphony which was first performed on December 30, 1884. The premiere, given under Arthur Nikisch and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra in the Opera House of Leipzig brought Bruckner the greatest success he had known in his life. The Symphony was eventually published by Albert J. Gutmann, in 1885.

### Bruckner writes to his sister « Sali »

Anton Bruckner's intimate feelings are sometimes hidden in his wishes for the good health of everyone, but they are always present. He worried about his own health nearly enough to make himself ill.

Bruckner was reasonably well and wished to stay so. At times, Rosalia would send her brother packages - parcels of meat, as is apparent in later correspondence. Anton had particular problems with his stomach and could not eat smoked meat, which was the customary method of preserving it ; this was the only type that could be sent to him during this era. Of course, he was concerned about Rosalia's health, too, and wished her a speedy recovery.

On **Monday, 9 February 1885**, Anton Bruckner wrote to his brother-in-law, including his sister's name in the salutation ; however, the letter really was to Johann Napomuk Hueber (the husband of « Sali ») . The message is newsy and mostly about the Symphonies, but a few other details stand-out :



Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to couple Johann Nepomuk and Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

« My Dear Brother-in-law and “ Sali ” !

Thank you for the letter. “ Sali ”, do not send anything. Here is 10 “ Gulden ”. I am well and wish that “ Sali ” may also be healthy soon ! The good woman has no idea of what I have to do ! Then, the correspondence from at home and abroad !!! Now, “ Holland ” is added to the list, where, on the 4th of this month, my 3rd Symphony was performed with very great success. In Leipzig, on January 28th, the second performance of my 7th Symphony was given before the Royal couple. The newspapers are full of admiration just like the Dutch (papers) . In “ March ”, it (Symphony No. 7) is going to “ Munich ”. (The performance in Hamburg is, likewise, imminent.) Unfortunately, I need a great deal of money. In The Hague (in Holland) , they really want to see me “ in person ”.

Hearty farewell ! Greetings to all !

Your brother and brother-in-law,

Anton Bruckner »

Bruckner's brother-in-law and younger married sister. Bruckner was the eldest of 11 children, most of whom died either at birth or in infancy. He remained close to his sister Maria-Anna, who served as his house-keeper in Vienna, his sister Rosalia, who was married to Johann Nepomuk Hueber and lived in Vöcklabruck, and his brother Ignaz, who lived in St. Florian. Little is known of his sister Josefa.

From time to time, Bruckner would receive gifts of food from Ignaz. Here, he may be referring to food. His stomach gave him problems, and he may be saying that he has to watch his diet.

Bruckner always reimbursed family members when he received gifts of food or services from them. The sum of 10 « Gulden » is a generous one for the time ; perhaps, the value of \$ 20, today.

**Bruckner writes to Arthur Nikisch**

**Wednesday, 25 February 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) :

« Dearest, Most Noble Friend !

Accept my inexpressible thanks, for that which I am most kindly indebted to you. May God reward you for the very noble and brilliant deed which you have done for me. If only I knew how I could give you a little joy. Just write and tell me how ! A few days ago, I received the “ Leipziger Nachrichten ” with the wonderful articles by Professor Vogel. When you see him, please tell him of my heartfelt thanks ! Take care of your health ! I kiss the hands of your noble “ fiancée ”. Likewise, the gracious wife of the Director. Again, I thank the Director from my heart for his great noble-

mindedness and for the sublime kindness to me ! Has the Director already been in Vienna ? I was unable to find-out and would like to see him. “ Herr ” Levi still has the better score of the 4th ( “ Romantic ” ) Symphony. What is going on with the 7th ? Have you most kindly had the parts corrected ? “ Please, send me the bill. ” Have you sent the parts to Hamburg ? Or will it be later ? Or does “ Herr ” Levi have them already ? I am as ill-informed as a child ? The 3rd Symphony in D minor was performed in The Hague (Holland) ; I received magnificent letters about it. Are publishers, in fact, not to be found ? Everything on earth has already happened to me, and I am becoming entirely indifferent toward noble mankind. I know nothing from Munich. How are the 2 movements which were recently received ?

Most sincerely thankful, once more, I am, with greatest respect and admiration,

Eternally gratefully yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Othmar von Türk

**Monday, 2 March 1885** : Anton Bruckner (Vienna) sends his photograph to Marie Demar (Vienna) , with this inscription :

« For my highly-respected, dearest friend and admirer of the arts, “ Fräulein ” Marie Demar, as a little remembrance.

Anton Bruckner »

Marie Demar (1865-1946) : Female friend of Bruckner. He greatly admired her, so much so that their friendship became quite a serious matter (in 1885-1886) , and it was reciprocal.

Portrait of Anton Bruckner taken on **Monday, 2 March 1885** at the studio (« Atelier ») of the photographer of Slovenian origin Othmar von Türk, located at Number 4 « Breite-Gasse » in Vienna's 7th District.

1 autographed letter, 2 sheets of white paper of 22.3 x 14.5 cm ; 1 autographed photograph of 11.7 x 6.6 cm with text by the composer. These documents are now at the Austrian National Library.

Othmar von Türk was born in 1843 in Landstraß, Lower-Carniola in southern Slovenia (« Kostanjevica na Krki » which could be translated as « Kostanjevica on the Krka River ») which is part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Around 1870, he opened his studio in Vienna. In 1875, he received the title of Imperial-Royal photographer of the Austrian Court. Well-known by all the Viennese, he photographed numerous celebrities from all walks of life (monarchy, nobility, politicians, artists, musicians, composers, etc.) . He died in Vienna around 1904.

(He is also known as : Othmar Türk, Otmar von Türk, Otmar Türk, Othmar von Tuerk, Otmar von Tuerk, Othmar Tuerk, Otmar Tuerk, Otmar Türk von Ramstein, Othmar Türk von Ramstein, Othmar von Türk-Ramstein, Othmar von Tuerk-Ramstein, Othmar von Ramstein Türk, Othmar von Türk-Ramstein.)

### **WAB 107 : The Munich trip**

**7-8 March 1885** : Anton Bruckner leaves Vienna for Munich on Saturday night, by train. (Levi sent Bruckner money for the trip.)

Gap in Bruckner's prayer records from the evening until **Sunday, 15 March 1885**.

Karl Almeroth who promised to accompany Bruckner, could not postpone a planned event with the Werndl family. So now, secretary Friedrich Eckstein is accompanying the Master.

Bruckner won't sleep during the whole night.

They arrive in Munich on Sunday morning, at **7:00 am**.

After a visit at the Theatine Church of St. Cajetan (« Theatinerkirche St. Kajetan ») and a breakfast « café » and accommodation at the « 4 Seasons » Hotel on « Maximilianstraße » (with a special rate of 2.50 Marks !), both go to Hermann Levi's apartment for a short piano rehearsal of some parts of the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**).

Levi sat-down at the piano and played the work for Bruckner, asking for advice on how to interpret it.

It was beautiful, he said, but the Finale needed modification.

Together, they made some changes in dynamics and phrasing.

And then, they take the direction of the « Odeon-Saal ».

**11:30 am** : Rehearsal of the Symphony with the Court Orchestra. Franz Strauß (father of Richard Strauß) proved to be the best brass-player.

Levi paused often to ask the composer what he thought, listening patiently to Bruckner's suggestions. The composer was delighted because, in Vienna, Hans Richter had not involved him in rehearsals at all, assuring Bruckner that he knew best how to present music.

Following the rehearsal, Levi invited Bruckner and Eckstein to his home for lunch and offered to let them stay with him. Both turned the offer down.

...

When the Schwabinger Gate was broken down in 1817, the « Theatinerkirche » became a major visual-point with the construction of the « Ludwigstraße ». The façade of the « Ludwigskirche » with 2 steeples was later constructed as balance to the « Theatinerkirche », which stands diagonally opposite.

A small chapel in the « Theatinerkirche » contains the tombs of King Maximilian II (who reigned from 1848 to 1864) and his consort Queen Marie.

The crypt also contains the Prince's Tomb, where among others these members of the Bavarian Royal Family were buried :

Tomb of Queen Marie of Bavaria.

Princess Henriette Adelaide of Savoy.

Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria (reigned from 1651-1679) .

Maximilian II Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria (reigned from 1679-1726) .

Charles VII, Holy Roman Emperor (reigned from 1726-1745) .

Maximilian III, Elector of Bavaria (reigned from 1745-1777) .

Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria (reigned from 1777-1799) .

King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria (reigned from 1799-1825) .

King Otto of Greece (reigned from 1832-1862) .

Luitpold, Prince Regent of Bavaria (reigned from 1886-1912) .

Princess Alexandra of Bavaria.

Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria.

Duchess Maria-Anna Josepha of Bavaria.

Duchess Marie Gabrielle in Bavaria.

Prince Heinrich of Bavaria.

The « Theatinerkirche » has 2 organs :

The older side-organ which has the function of a choir-organ (built by Anton Bayr in 1782) is located opposite the pulpit.

The (newer) main-organ is located in the jube (back-gallery) . The instrument, like much of the city of Munich, suffered damage during the Allied bombings of World War II.

Another organ predates both and was built in 1686 when the church was initially constructed.

Between 1947 and 1950, the side-organ was re-built by local organ-builder Carl Schuster.

In 1960, a modern main-organ was built by Eisenbarth from Passau, generally over-hauled in 2009 by organ-builder Schingnitz from Iffeldorf.

...

The « Münchner Fremdenblatt » (Number 69) , page 7 :

« Guests arrived at the « 4 Seasons » Hotel. (...) Bruckner, Professor, Vienna (...) »

### **WAB 107 : Hermann Levi's toast**

**Tuesday, 10 March 1885** : Munich premiere of Bruckner's 7th Symphony.

(The creation was given in Leipzig, in December 1884, under Arthur Nikisch.)

**7:00 pm** : Second subscription-concert by the Royal Court Chapel Orchestra conducted by Hermann Levi at the « Odeon-Saal » .

The rather extensive « programme » risks to have a deterrent effect on the audience ...

Robert Schumann : 5 Songs (partly on texts by Justinus Kerner) for voice and piano (sung by Lili Dreßler) .

Johannes Brahms : Romances from Tieck's « Die schöne Magelone » for voice and piano (sung by Eugen Gura) .

Friedrich Sander : « Legend and Capriccio » , 2 « études » for violin and orchestra.

Étienne Nicolas Méhul : Overture « La chasse du jeune Henri » (Young Henri's hunt) .

Giovanni Battista Viotti : Concerto No. 22 in A minor for violin and orchestra (soloist : Benno Walter) .

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

The applause are rapturous.

After each movement, the audience calls the composer out onto the stage several times.

A funny thing happens during the « Adagio » movement : when the cymbal is struck at the dynamic high-point of the movement, Riehl, a professor for æsthetics, gasps « Ugh ! » to which Levi turns around and hisses « Shush ! » .

At the end, Bruckner receives laurel wreaths from 2 different associations, one comes from the « Allotria » Society. In the audience that evening :

Hermann von Kaulbach, Franz von Defregger, Fritz von Uhde, Paul Heyse, Joseph Karl Stieler, Konrad Fiedler, Baron Karl von Ostini, Franz Fischer, Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Friedrich Eckstein, Karl Almeroth, a young man named Busch, Hans Schilling (music-student of professors Thoms, Ranftler and Horbelt who play in the Orchestra) , probably Franz von Lenbach, and perhaps Ferdinand von Piloty.

Bruckner enjoys what is probably the greatest triumph of his life - currently basking in his own golden era.

The work is received warmly by the Munich press.

The « Süddeutsche Presse » founds the concert a significant milestone in music :

« Writing today about the music academy's second subscription-concert, we feel that a remarkable incident, something great, has taken place, and we are still captivated by it. Rapturous, enthusiastic applause escalated to an ovation. (...) The composer was called-out on to the stage, again and again, to accept the audience's thanks. But they were thanking Royal Conductor Hermann Levi as well, who, with true congeniality, knew how to present this work. It is to his merit that we know of the work at all. Under his charming verve, the Orchestra performed very well, as if magnetic current flowed from the conductor to the musicians and from the musicians to the audience. »  
Post-concert celebrations for Levi and Bruckner which bring together the musicians and a large part of the intellectual and cultural « élite » of the Bavarian capital are held by both Societies in their respective green-room.

The banquet of the « Allotria » Society, organized by the Fiedlers, includes Kaulbach, Defregger, and Heyse.

(Because of his imposing and unique features, Munich's artists were keenly interested in painting Bruckner.)

Still under the shock, Levi pronounces a very glowing speech, describing his author as :

« The sole heir of Beethoven. »

He gives Bruckner a « toast » :

« This is the most significant Symphonic work since Beethoven's death. »

In gratitude for the presentation of his work in Munich, Bruckner decided to dedicate Symphony No. 7 to the King of Bavaria and asked Levi to intervene on his behalf. Levi turned to Perfall, and Perfall wrote to the King. A few weeks later, Levi was able to tell the composer that the dedication would be accepted. On **May 10**, Bruckner sent a letter of dedication to Ludwig II, « the truly royal benefactor of the immortal Master, the ideal German monarch », who was always in his thoughts. Levi suggested playing the Symphony again in a private performance for the King, but never did because one month after receiving Bruckner's letter of dedication, Ludwig II was declared incompetent and deprived of the right to rule and Luitpold, the third son of Ludwig I, was made Prince Regent of Bavaria. On **13 June 1886**, Ludwig II was found dead in Lake Starnberg.

### Hermann von Kaulbach and Bruckner's nose

**Wednesday, 11 March 1885** : Friedrich Eckstein accompanies Anton Bruckner at the Munich studio of German painter Hermann von Kaulbach (1846-1909) .

Kaulbach will produce a life-size (but not completely successful) portrait of Bruckner, seen from profile, without taking into account the composer's pressing request :

« Please, make my nose a bit smaller ! »

(Oil on cardboard, 74 cm x 56 cm.)

Bruckner was 5 feet 9 inches tall, was wearing wide-necked shirts, loose pants and never tied his jacket.

The work is on display at the Upper-Austrian National Museum, at Linz Castle (« Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum - Schloßmuseum, Linz ») .

Kaulbach is renowned for his high-society portraits. He often paints people (Germans and even Americans) , in the French taste of « fin-de-siècle » . He became one of the best paid portraitists in the German Empire.

At lunch time, German painter Joseph Karl Stieler joins Bruckner and Eckstein at Kaulbach's apartment.

Bruckner plays at the piano excerpts from the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) and the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) .

## Tears in homage to Wagner.

**Thursday, 12 March 1885** : Anton Bruckner attended a performance of Richard Wagner's beloved « Die Walküre » at the « Odeon Hoftheater » . Conductor Hermann Levi indulgently replaced the scheduled Opera, Victor Ernst Nessler's « Der Trompeter von Säkkingen » (The Trumpeter of Säkkingen) , to please his famous guest.

Princess Amalie Maria of Bavaria and Josef Schalk are in the audience. Bruckner and Eckstein sit next to Levi in the orchestra pit. Levi pointed-out particularly nice passages during the performance. Bruckner's interest was in the music, not in the stage-play.

During intermission, Levi had the 4 tuba players repeat a few characteristic passages from the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) .

When the Opera performance was over, Levi asked the musicians to remain seated until the last concert-goer had left the hall.

Bruckner then asked Levi to perform the Adagio in homage to Wagner.

Levi honours his guest and address the Orchestra :

« In these halls, we have often enough played for the King alone. We have among us today a Prince of music. I ask you to please play, once again, the Adagio of his Symphony, just for him. »

The brass-section (tubas and horns) play 3 times in a row the « Trauermusik » from the coda. Bruckner sat listening, with tears streaming down his face.

He wrote to a friend :

« I can't describe the scene inside this dark Royal Theatre. »

...

The day before leaving Munich, Bruckner improvised on the organ at a church for all of his newfound friends. Bruckner left Munich a very happy man.

From Vienna, he wrote :

« My mind is still wholly in Munich, it has become my artistic home. »

Munich will become the crossroads of the Bruckner « cult » in Germany.



## Back in Vienna

**Sunday, 15 March 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) :

« Dearest Friend ! Noble Benefactor !

I have just returned from Munich where, on the 10th of the month, there was an extremely magnificent performance of my 7th Symphony. The audience received it very “ enthusiastically ” ; the conductor and the Orchestra also applauded vigorously. 2 laurel wreaths. Next performance, in the autumn. The reviews very good. Also, especially splendid : “ Neueste Nachrichten ”, “ Suddeutsche Presse ”, and such.

At a large reception for musicians, “ Herr ” Levi declared :

“ This is the most significant Symphonic work since Beethoven’s death. ”

He added that the performance of this work is going to be the pride and high-point of his artistic career. And the banquets ! The king will also be informed. The Intendant' likewise sent for me. My portrait was painted by (Hermann von) Kaulbach and I was photographed “ twice ”.

Upon your request, “ Herr ” Levi will send you the 4th Symphony.

Please, give my compliments to my benefactors, especially to the Director and “ Herr ” Vogel, and hand-kisses for the ladies. I “ kiss you a thousand times ”, as the source of all good for me ! And thank you, thank you in all eternity ! Herewith, I send only the review from the “ Neueste Nachrichten ” ; when you have read it, I ask you most graciously to pass it on to “ Herr ” Vogel with my most sincere request about publication - if, at all, feasible. Perhaps, this will make a good impression on the publishers ! After the performance of “ Die Walküre ”, “ Herr ” Levi had the funeral music from the “ Adagio ” of my (7th) Symphony played, for me 3 times, by the tubas and horns. You will get a chuckle-out of this.

How are you ? So, write back to me. I kiss the hand of your dear “ fiancée ”.

Filled with gratitude and respect and admiration for you, most noble benefactor, I am and remain  
Your most thankful

Anton Bruckner

N.B. : To “ Herr ” von Vogel, my respect and thanks for his kindness in the press. »

A portrait and 2 photos

**Monday, 16 March 1885** : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz about the 7th Symphony 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. »

**Wednesday, 18 March 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) :

« Right Honourable Baron !

Please, permit me to tell you something of the happiest week of my life, due to the glorious events in Munich. The performance took place on the 10th of this month. I was at the last 2 rehearsals. In the beginning, the Orchestra was hostile, but, then, enthusiastic for me. The performance was ideal and excellent beyond all measure.

The reaction was, as they say, indescribable jubilation and enthusiasm ; even the conductor and the Orchestra applauded most vigorously. No one could remember such a scene in the “ Odeon ”. At the reception for the musicians, “ Herr ” Levi toasted me :

“ To the most important ' Symphonic ' work since Beethoven's death ! ”

And he continued :

“ The performance of this splendid work ” (as he called it) “ is the crown of his artistic activity ! ” (as far as concert life is concerned, of course) . 2 magnificent laurel wreaths !

What a disparity on the part of “ Herr ” Richter who is said, 2 weeks ago, to have declared me a crazy person “ without form ” ; and, then, as these witnesses maintain, he declared the Brahms 3rd Symphony (which is said to have failed, again, on Sunday) to be the new “ Eroica ” (naturally, Hanslick liked it) . My Symphony (No. 7) remains in Munich. “ Herr ” Levi is not allowing them to ruin me, in Vienna. He wants to take care of the publication. He and the Intendant want to refer the matter to the King and the Symphony is to be performed, again, in November. On the 11th of the month, my friends from Vienna and I attended a performance of “ Die Walküre ”, in Munich. Magnificent, as I had not heard this wondrous work in its entirety, since 1876. And, after the audience had left, “ Herr ” Levi, upon my request, had the “ Trauergesang ” from the second movement of the 7th Symphony performed 3 times, by the tubas and horns, in remembrance of the late, highly-beloved, immortal “ Meister ” Wagner, whereupon innumerable tears flowed. I cannot describe the event in the darkened “ Hoftheater ”. “ Requiescat in pace !!! ” The reviews are all glorious ; many say “ marvelous ”. The finest was in the “ Neueste Nachrichten ” (through “ Herr ” Forges, as I hear) and the “ Süddeutsche Presse ”. Thank God, I now have Munich ; in it, I have enough success to last me the rest of my life. I permit myself to send you only one review ; it is from the “ Neueste Nachrichten ”.

In veneration, I kiss the gracious hand of the Baroness. Right Honourable Baron, I beg for your further favour and affection. I have your article to thank for the performance in Holland (The Hague) , as well as innumerable others !  
Endless thanks !

With deepest respect, I remain

Your most thankful servant,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : In Holland, they want all of my Symphonies. »

### Edgar Hanfstängl

Chief-Clerk, Commercial Purchaser and Art-Publisher Edgar Hanfstängl was born on 15 July 1842 in Munich ; and died on 28 May 1910 in Munich. He is a significant figure because he was the son of a famous Bavarian Court photographer connected with the circle of Ludwig II, and became a close confidant of the Duchess Sophie-Charlotte in Bavaria. He was also the father of Ernst Hanfstängl, the political figure.

Edgar Hanfstängl was the son of the photographer Franz Hanfstängl (1804-1877) and his first wife « Frau » Franziska Hanfstängl-Wegmeier (1809-1860) . Edgar completed a training as commercial purchaser in Stettin and with a London wholesaler. At the beginning of the 1860's, Edgar set-out for Asia, to work as financial clerk to the « Clark Tea Wholesaler's Company » . In 1867, he returned to Munich to his father's Art-business, where he was put to work as head-clerk. In the same year, he embarked upon a love-affair with the « fiancée » of Ludwig II of Bavaria, Princess Sophie-Charlotte. On November 12, 1868, Edgar took-over the photographic work-shop and expanded the business to the « Franz Hanfstängl Art Publishing-House » .

The engagement between Sophie in Bavaria and Ludwig II was arranged at the behest of her father Duke Max Josef, even though the King, considering his own distinctly homosexual character, was concerned that she would not be happy in the union. The engagement was agreed upon, on 22 January 1867. 3 days later, Sophie met Edgar in his father's photographic studio, where he had recently arrived as senior clerk after his travels abroad. Possibly, they had known each other since childhood, when Franz Hanfstängl was a readily welcomed guest in the artistic circle of Duke Max.

The many photographs of the Royal bride which, then, had to be prepared, and additional work which brought Edgar regularly to Possenhofen Castle, brought them more closely together and they fell in love. Their meetings, attended by the utmost secrecy, occurred in the Pähl Castle, the Palace in Munich, and even at Possenhofen. 5 love-letters, which Sophie-Charlotte wrote to Edgar Hanfstängl, between July and September 1867, have been preserved. The wedding was called-off by Ludwig, in October.

Edgar was not able to make-up his mind to marry, until 1882. Edgar's wife, the Berlin-born Katharine Wilhelmina Heine (1859-1945) , produced for him 5 children : Edgar (1883-1958) ; Egon (1884-1915) ; Erna (1885-1981) ; Ernst « Putzi » (1887-1975) ; and Erwin (1888-1914) . From 1907, the eldest son Edgar took control of his father's Art-business.

Edgar's only daughter Erna found, after her father's death, an envelope with the hand-written endorsement by her father :

« Letters of Princess Sophie-Charlotte - burn these unread. Edgar. »

Erna did not carry-out her father's wishes but, instead, handed-over the letters, in February 1980, to the author Heinz Gebhardt, in order « once (for all) to set the record straight » and he published details of the love-affair with excerpts from the correspondence in his history of the Hanfstängl family business.

Edgar Hanfstängl, Sophie's « dear, beloved friend » , died on 28 May 1910. He was buried in the old Munich south cemetery in the Hanfstängl family-plot.

## Josef Löwy

Anton Bruckner was photographed at the studio of Josef Löwy in Vienna at the beginning and at the end of his career (1854 and 1894) .

The Austrian painter and photographer Josef Löwy was born on 16 August 1835 in Preßburg (today, Bratislava in Slovakia) ; and died on 24 March 1902 in Vienna. He is buried in Viedeň, Rakousko.

Son of Hermann and Rosalia Löwy.

Mathilde Löwy (1854-1908) had married Josef, in 1875.

Brother of Ignaz Löwy, Marie Weinberger and Babette (« Betty ») Buchwald.

Active in Vienna from 1860's to the 1880's, at « Weihburggasse » Number 31 and « Parkgasse » Number 17. He also worked from 1856 to 1902 in Baden.

Löwy was a very prominent and talented Viennese photographer whose studio became one of the leading establishments in the Austrian capital city between the decades 1870 and 1900. Trained as a lithographer and having received an artistic education at the Vienna Academy, Löwy eventually entered the field of photography in 1861. Since 1864, he regularly exhibited in photographic salons, leading to his participation in the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition, where his work was awarded with medals. This exposure led to his appointment as an official photographer to the Austrian Court, in the same year. Member of the « Société française de photographie » , from 1874 to 1885.

Löwy had varied interests in photography. His studio production was highly-multifaceted. It included a wide-range of subjects - from Royal portraits to documentation of industrial sites. Of particular interest are the Löwy studio's studies of Theatre actors and Opera singers, which stand-out due to their expert use of « mise en scène » (staging) and performance. After the photographer's death, the studio was taken-over by his widow, Mathilde, who run the operation until 1908. It was then purchased by Löwy's nephew and (presumably) assistant, Gustav Löwy who renamed the business into « Art Institute J. Löwy » .

### Bruckner writes to Kaulbach

**Thursday, 26 March 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to painter Hermann von Kaulbach :

« High-Master “ Herr ” von Kaulbach.

I allow myself thereby to send you the requested Hymn from my choral-book.

I am still fully in the spirit of Munich, which is my now my musical home, and where I was so completely happy. It is the Metropolis of art ! I sit at your magnificent table, sipping the most precious wines.

(Page 2 :) With my charming amiability, I kiss the hands of your wonderful lady who is sitting next to me ! I still see your High-Master, the most famous artist, painting my picture splendidly ! What an honour for me ! I can still hear our lady singing so splendidly !

Thanks for everything ! This was the most beautiful week of my life ! Even now, I am looking forward to the time when I will be back in Munich to listen to the best conductor and the best Orchestra in the world ! And with my high-patrons !

(Page 3 :) With the expression of deepest gratitude and respect, I am in the most heartfelt reverence.

High-Master, I thank you,

Anton Bruckner, m.p.

Vienna, 26 March 1885.

N.B. : My Quintet will be played in Munich on Tuesday. May it be so, as in Vienna !

N.B. : The “ Libera ”, a true Gregorian chant, is taken from the “ Missale ”.

N.B. : Please do not forget “ Herr ” Doktor (poet of a Romantic Opera text “ à la Lohengrin ”) .

(Page 4 :) And do not forget ! “ Herr ” Landgraf greets you sincerely and will soon come to Munich. »

### WAB 108 : Marie Demar and « Linzer-Torte »

The 8th Symphony was dedicated to Emperor Franz-Josef I although, at one stage, the repeatedly lovelorn 63 year old Bruckner sought to dedicate it to a young girl he met at the Opera, Marie Demar.

The Adagio is the huge, generous heart of the Symphony ; a consoling, palpitating dream in D-flat major whose opening is the closest Bruckner ever came to an evocation of the erotic.

« Looking deeply into a young girl's eyes. » : a statement that would seem to offer more psychological scope than his statement to Carl Hrubý that the theme had come to him « after a glass of “ Pilsner ” beer » .

...

Anton Bruckner was 61 when writing the Adagio of the 8th Symphony, and according to Max Auer, in love « zu einem jungen, schönen, kaum der Schule erwachsenen Mädchen » (a pretty young girl barely out of school) or « kaum dem Kindesalter entwachsene Marie Demar » (hardly more than a child, Marie Demar) - although, giving no reference, Constantin Floros says she was 20 years old. They met-up during the intervals in the 4th gallery at the Vienna Court Opera, where they would discuss together the Richard Wagner Opera and he would ply her with « Linzer-Torte » (reputedly one of the oldest cakes, for which Linz is famous and of which the « Bakewell Tart » is a distant relative.) She was obviously very musical to have gone willingly to the Opera and, later, a student at the « Conservatoire » , and was apparently very taken with Bruckner, no doubt much flattered that the famous organist, University professor and composer should take time-out to talk with her. Looking through the « Hofoper » programmes, I see, for example, that Lilli Lehman sang Isolde, on **16 January 1885**, and it could well have been that they both were there. The image that Max Auer describes is of the couple walking in the **spring of 1885** in the large Vierma amusement park, the « Prater » , with her parents behind, and Bruckner whistling the « Dance of the Apprentices » from « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , as Marie danced around him.

...

The « Linzer-Torte » (or « Linzertorte ») is an Austrian torte with a lattice design on top of the pastry. It is named after the city of Linz.

The « Linzer-Torte » is a very short, crumbly pastry made of flour, unsalted butter, egg yolks, lemon zest, cinnamon and lemon juice, and ground nuts, usually hazelnuts, but even walnuts or almonds are used, covered with a filling of redcurrant jam or, alternatively, plum butter, thick raspberry, or apricot jam. It is covered by a lattice of dough strips. The dough is rolled-out in very thin strips of pastry and arranged to form a criss-cross design on top of the preserves. The pastry is brushed with lightly beaten egg whites, baked, and sometimes decorated with sliced almonds.

Another historical characteristic of traditional « Linzer-Torte » is its lack of a leavening agent. Baking powder did not

exist in the 18th Century, so the dough recipe very much resembles that of unleavened cookie dough.

The « Linzer-Torte » is a holiday Classic in the Austrian, Hungarian, Swiss, German, and Tirolean traditions, often eaten at Christmas. « Linzer-Torte » is often made like small tarts or cookies in North American bakeries.

The « Linzer-Torte » is said to be the oldest cake in the world. For a long time a recipe from 1696 in the Vienna « Stadt- und Landesbibliothek » was the oldest one known. In 2005, however, Waltraud Faißner, the library director of the Upper-Austrian « Landesmuseum » and author of the book « Wie man die Linzer Dortten macht » (How to make the « Linzer-Torte ») found an even older Veronese recipe from 1653 in Codex 35/31 in the archive of Admont Abbey.

The invention of the « Linzer-Torte » is subject of numerous legends, reporting on a Viennese confectioner named Linzer (as given by Alfred Polgar) or the Franconian pastry « chef » Johann Konrad Vogel (1796-1883) , who, about 1823 at Linz, started the mass-production of the cake that made it famous around the world.

The Austrian traveller Franz Hölzlhuber in the 1850's allegedly brought the « Linzer-Torte » to Milwaukee, whence the recipe spread over the United States.

« Linzer-Torte » was first served in the 18th Century, when Linz was part of the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire. Now sharing borders with 6 countries, including Italy and Hungary, Austria has a cuisine influenced by the spices of the Mediterranean and the Far-East. Traditional « Linzertorte » showcases 2 of these : cinnamon and cloves.

The city of Linz can enjoy traditional Austrian food at restaurants, street-side sausage stands and, of course, « cafés » and bakeries, where « Linzer-Torte » is a popular speciality.

### **WAB 108 : « Micherl » dreams**

Concerning the Trio of the Scherzo of the 8th Symphony, which Anton Bruckner loved, he said :

« “ Micherl ” dreams »

Bruckner was so fond of the picture of German Michael that the figure almost attained physical reality in his imagination. One night, after he had left his apartment, he ran back and climbed the 3 flights of stairs to cover the page on which he had put down the theme of German Michael with a blank piece of paper.

He said :

« I must cover Michael lest he catch cold. Sleep well, Michael. »

He made other remarks about his Michael, too, such as :

« Here, Michael wants to sleep but they won't let him alone. There he is, taking-up the fight against his adversaries and beating them. His situation is bad but, at the end, he will be on top. In the Trio, Michael looks dreamily over the country. »

...

Although Anton Bruckner was not exactly seductive in appearance, his friends considered him quite imposing during the best years of his life. He made enough money to support a modest and economical couple. He would have been a good natured, faithful husband for the girl lucky enough to be his bride. Why did all the girls he approached refuse him ? Women instinctively feel the part they are to play in matrimony. Bruckner was evidently unable to conceal his inner-exclusiveness and, quite clearly, did not long for companionship. Only a high-minded, self-sacrificing woman will share the lot of a man who dedicates every waking hour to his work. We hear of no such woman in Bruckner's life. The girls he loved were simple, primitive souls ; they felt the difference in inclination, education, and general interests between themselves and him and were afraid of being tied down to a man who lived on a level foreign to their own. They rejected him because they knew him better than he knew himself.

### The Köchert family

**1885** : Numerous aristocrats and families of the nobility are now regular customers at the Imperial Court Jewellers A. E. Köchert. The Köchert family use their cultural awareness to maintain close contact to fine artists and composers such as Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner - or Hugo Wolf, who is largely sponsored by Heinrich and Melanie Köchert.

The solid middle-class edifice opposite the « Donnerbrunnen » came into the possession of the violin virtuoso and composer, Josef Mayseder (1789-1863) in 1848. His son-in-law, Alexander Köchert, would open a jeweler's shop there in 1851 which still exists. Köchert's services as a goldsmith were much in demand. He created, for example, the Iffland Ring and a baton for Richard Strauß ; while leading his own quartet as a musician. His sons Heinrich (1854-1908) and Theodor (1859-1937) continued the professional and musical traditions set by their father. Both were benefactors of Hugo Wolf and Theodor became President of the Viennese « Konzerthaus » Society. Heinrich Köchert wed Melanie Lang in 1878. Their daughter, Hilde, would marry the son of uncle Paul Wittgenstein, Doctor Karl Paul Wittgenstein. They would separate in 1927 but she would continue to live in the house of her father-in-law at « Salesianergasse » Number 7. Melanie's younger sister, Henriette, would marry into the family of Baron von Schey in the 1880's.

Theodor Köchert's first wife was Marie Lang (1858-1934) , whom Rosa Mayreder would introduce to the circle around the Association of Austrian Women, the leading organization of middle-class feminists in Old Vienna. She would become a committed member of that illustrious group, which included such figures as Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff, Auguste Fickert and Marianne Hainisch. From 1899 to 1903, she would edit its publication « Womens' Documents » . Like her second husband, Edmund Lang (who was the brother-in-law of Theodor Köchert) a close friend of Hermann Bahr, Peter Altenberg, Friedrich Eckstein, Rudolf Steiner, Stefan Großmann, Egon Friedell as well as Adolf and Lina Loos. Her commitment on behalf of the middle-class women's movement (which differed from working-class feminism with respect



to crucial issue of work, the bourgeois ladies hoping to escape gilded confinement in their « palais », their proletarian counter-parts seeking to have the curse of badly paid, long hours of toil lifted from them) as well as her friendship with people in that circle ceased upon the suicide of her eldest son in 1904, at the age of 19. He had taken his life on account of an unfortunate attachment to Lina Loos. We find the magic event recorded in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's note-books and it figures centrally in Arthur Schnitzler's mini-drama, « The Word » .

Marie Lang's second son, Erwin, was a painter and friend of Heitnito von Doderer. Her daughter-in-law was the famous dancer, Grete Wiesenthal.

Following a letter (March 11, 1890) from Marie Lang to Rosa Mayreder, they developed a friendship between Mayreder and Rudolf Steiner. In this letter, Marie Lang spoke enthusiastically of Steiner and offered to arrange a meeting between them. Steiner and Rosa were to some great extent of like mind and soon they became close friends.

Steiner confides that :

« Rosa Mayreder is one of those whom I have always held in great-esteem and whose development I have followed with deep interest. It is easy to imagine that what I have to say would not particularly please her ; nevertheless, it expresses my feelings about what entered my life through her. »

This may sound somewhat mysterious to one now, for what aspect of their close friendship (related by him here in retrospect) could it be that « ... would not particularly please her ... » and yet, which could prove pleasing and valuable to Steiner. Perhaps, the answer could be contained in the time-scale. During that time, the early-part of their friendship, nothing of her writings which later would provide her a conspicuous place in literature « had yet appeared » all was still in the process of creative formulation - as indeed was Steiner's own seminal work, « Philosophy of Freedom » . Rosa was a warm-hearted protagonist of that struggle for women's liberation that is hardly talked about today, and that yet cleared the way for the equality of the sexes. Rosa Mayreder was a completely different woman in nature than Eugenie delle Grazie, but was for Steiner no less significant.

Rosa Mayreder's optimism was by way of complete contrast to Marie Eugenie delle Grazie's pessimism. In fact, Rosa was an extrovert with a powerful, positive creative urge (working for women's freedom, though not the typical « suffragette ») , she was a woman of her time and confidently tackled the task that fell to her. Without doubt, she found in Steiner a kindred soul in her struggle for freedom. So, bearing this in mind's consciousness, Steiner perceived a burgeoning spirituality that what was later to be revealed in Rosa's writings actually at that time lived within her, as he says :

« In a spiritual form of expression, one to which I had to turn with the very strongest sympathy ... in their harmonious interaction, they formed a proper expression of the truly human (...) The stories she published at the beginning of her literary career demonstrate a perfect harmony between personal struggling and entirely objective consideration. »

Such « objective consideration » then, for Steiner, was an important distinctive feature that ran throughout all of Rosa's writing and becoming a more prominently revealed characteristic within her later works which most clearly of all comes to light, he says :

« ... in 2 volumes, " Kritik der Weiblichkeit " (Critique of Womanliness) . I believe it benefited my life greatly to have spent ... so much time in the company of Rosa Mayreder during her years of seeking and soul struggles ? »

All of the Langs and the Köcherts had already, for decades, collectively adopted the composer Hugo Wolf (1860-1903) , who commemorated them in the first of the 24 songs to poems by Paul Heyse in his second book of Italian songs, « I no longer eat my bread dry. » .

The composer was always a welcome guest at the Köcherts' : on « Neuer Markt » , in their Döbling home at Number 68 « Billrothstraße » (« Hirschengasse ») , at their country homes in Rinnbach or Traunkirchen. He withdrew to the « Hôtel Bellevue » , in Grinzing, with the Langs, Eckstein and Mayreder in the summer. Sigmund Freud, whose patient Emma Eckstein was, would completely interpret a dream here for the first time, on the 24th of July 1895. Edmund Lang's study at Number 9 « Belvederegasse » would regularly be Wolf's place of lodging. His continually changing apartments in the 4th District's « Mühlgasse » , « Schleifmühlgasse » , « Mozartgasse » , « Wiedner Hauptstraße » , and « Schwindgasse » would be provided and paid for by the Lang and Köchert families. He also obtained his position as music-critic for the « Wiener Salonblatt » through the influence of the Köcherts, who were influential advertisers.

### Köchert, Familie

Alexander Emanuel Köchert, Juwelier und Musikmäzen. : geboren 17 März 1825 in Wien ; gestorben 3. September 1879 in Altmünster, Oberösterreich. Sohn eines Goldschmieds, wurde er 1848 Meister, 1851 Teilhaber im Geschäft seines Vaters und nach Eröffnung einer eigenen Werkstatt Hof- und Kammerjuwelier. War Schüler von J. Mayseder, dessen Tochter Karoline er 1850 heiratete. Hatte ein eigenes Quartett. Juweliere wurden auch seine Söhne Heinrich (1854-1908) und Theodor (1859-1937) . Heinrich und seine Frau Melanie (geborene Lang, 1858-1906) waren seit 1882 eng mit Hugo Wolf verbunden, luden ihn in ihre Sommerresidenz am Traunsee (Rindbach, Oberösterreich) ein und unterstützten ihn sowohl ideell als auch materiell. Heinrich Köchert vermittelte und finanzierte die Kritikerstelle beim Wiener Salonblatt und Melanie Köchert spielte, wie die zahlreichen Briefe Wolfs bezeugen, für dessen Schaffen eine wesentliche Rolle. Theodor Köchert war Mitbegründer und Präsident der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft. Dessen Sohn Erich Köchert (1882-1940) und dessen Gattin Gertrude waren mit Josef Matthias Hauer 1924-1959 befreundet. Sie interessierten sich für Hauer's Zwölftonmusik und unterstützten ihn mit einer monatlichen Rente, wofür sie Manuskripte und Widmungen erhielten.

...

Nach Alexander Köcherts Tod übernahmen seine Söhne Heinrich (1854-1908) und Theodor (1859-1936) den Betrieb. In den 1880er und 90er Jahren wurden zum Beispiel für die Hochzeit von Kronprinz Rudolf mit Stephanie von Belgien oder die Geburt von kaiserlichen Kindern Juwelen in Auftrag gegeben. Nach dem Selbstmord des Kronprinzen und der

Ermordung der Kaiserin ging die Zahl der Bestellungen jedoch stark zurück. Bestellungen für Tauf- und Hochzeitsgeschenke in der kaiserlichen Familie sowie für die Schauspielerin Katharina Schratt gab es aber noch vom Kaiser. Auch die Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand und später Kaiser Karl I. gaben Werke bei Köchert in Auftrag. 1916 brachte Köchert die Kronjuwelen für die Krönung von Karl I. in Ordnung.

Neben Hof und Adel zählte zunehmend das gehobene Bürgertum zur Kundschaft wie Wittgenstein, Haas, Sacher, Todesco, Dreher, Epstein und Mauthner. Mit der wachsenden Beliebtheit des Wiener Jugendstils arbeiteten nun Köchert und die Wiener Werkstätte zusammen. Die Architekten Josef Hoffmann und später Oswald Hærdtl entwarfen Schmuckstücke.

### Looking for an apartment

**Sunday, 5 April 1885** (Easter Sunday) : St. Florian's organist Josef Gruber met Anton Bruckner on his way to the waiting-room near the prelate's office. A conversation engaged between the 2 men. Gruber mentioned that he intended to marry and is here to ask for an apartment inside the monastery.

Bruckner said :

« I too want to get an apartment from the Highly-Revered Prelate ! »

Noticing Gruber's astonishment, he continued his little story :

« I want to be buried in the crypt and asked permission today. »

The request was granted to Bruckner.

### Bruckner writes to Eva Wagner

**Friday, 10 April 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Eva Wagner (Bayreuth) .

« Dear Gracious “ Fräulein ” !

Having just arrived in Vienna from my home in Upper-Austria, I must ask for gracious indulgence. Already in September of last year, I sent the desired letter from your dear, late “ Papa ” to Managing Director Groß, in “ Bayreuth ”, that is, a “ copy ”. I have also enclosed other distinctions received orally throughout the years from the immortal Emperor of music. Now, I permit myself to send a copy of my precious relic to “ Fräulein ” Eva. I must have been distracted to the utmost that I cannot recall your entire instructions at all. Please, “ pardon ” me ! I immediately wrote to Otto Bach.

“ Fräulein ” Eva will probably have learned of the enthusiasm for my 7th Symphony, in Munich, through Baron von Wolzogen. Following “ Die Walküre ”, the funeral music from the second movement of my 7th Symphony was

performed, with the 4 new tubas, the “ contrabass tuba ”, and the horns, played “ 3 times ” in the “ darkness ” of the Court Theater. I wrote it to the memory of “ my unattainable ideal ” directly in that very sad time of mourning, carried-out, and, indeed, to the memory of the “ Beloved, Immortal Master of all Masters ! ”

How deeply moved we all were !

I am very disturbed over the unsettled status of your health and wish, from my entire soul, imminent and continual recovery ! Thank you very much for your very esteemed letter ; it is for me a precious gem. “ 3 Cheers ” to your “ gracious Mama ”.

“ Cheers ” to the young ladies. “ Cheers ” to “ Herr ” Siegfried ! “ Cheers ” to you, “ Fräulein Eva ” !

My noble patroness !

With thanks and respect,

Anton Bruckner »

Bruckner unable to appear at the funeral

**Wednesday, 22 April 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) :  
« Dear Highly-Esteemed Friend !

Upon becoming aware of the public report, I was both grief-stricken and horrified. Please, accept my most sincere sympathy ! It is very painful to all of us ! Please, be kind enough to apprise your respected “ Frau Mama ” also, and all the dear members of your noble family just how difficult for me is the loss of my dear friend, and that I am taking part in the same deep sorrow. I will tell you more when we meet. I am truly afflicted because I am unable to appear at the funeral, since I have 7 classes to give at the Conservatory ; please, kindly pardon me for this reason. I will certainly perform my obsequies for this noble friend in the Church ! “ Requiescat in pace ” !!

With sincerest respect,  
Your friend who grieves with you,

Anton Bruckner »

The same day, Bruckner dedicates a photograph from Edgar Hanfstängl's « Atelier » to Friedrich Eckstein : « to commemorate the glorious days of Munich » .

Death of Fritz Mottl

**Wednesday, 29 April 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) .

« Dear Friend !

Herewith, I am sending you the Orchestra parts (for Symphony No. 7) . You will be receiving the full-score from Hermann Levi. At X, in the “ Adagio ” (“ Funeral Music ” for tubas and horns) , I beg you most sincerely (3 measures before Y) to increase the “ crescendo ” to “ fff ” by the next measure (about 1 measure before Y) , in order to allow a “ decrescendo ” on the third quarter-note. Be sure to use the Wagner tubas. (In no case are horns to replace these tubas.) Would it not be desirable to introduce the Scherzo with Trio also ? (In particular, for the laymen ?)

I have kept my funeral music especially for the “ Schotten-Kirche ”. Dear old departed Fritz wanted to visit me “ at Gause ” !!!

Now, again, I appeal most sincerely to your “ undivided artistic strength ”, on behalf of my “ 7th child ”. Keep in touch. Take care !

Your old friend,

Anton Bruckner »

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 1st District.

### **WAB 45** : Bruckner takes command

**Before Saturday, 2 May 1885** : Anton Bruckner took-over the rehearsals of the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) which take-place twice a week. They were initially under the direction of Eduard Schütt, the conductor of the « Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein » . Doctor Franz Marschner and Johann Venantius von Wöb reported on the progress of the rehearsals and Bruckner's own conducting abilities. (The chorus soprano Hildegard Zweigelt, the later wife of August Stradal, will also recount these thorough rehearsals.)

Following the rehearsals, Wöb was also able to discover Bruckner's eating and drinking exaggerations at the popular guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District.

**Saturday, 2 May 1885** : A setting of the « Te Deum » for chorus and 2 pianos is conducted in Vienna by Bruckner himself. This premiere is given in a semi-private concert of the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » (Academic Wagner Society) .

### **Arthur Nikisch's wedding**

To Arthur Nikisch, in regard to his forthcoming wedding, Anton Bruckner wrote on **Thursday, 7 May 1885** :

« You were my first apostle who made known in Germany, with the fullest dignity, my hitherto unknown expression. For that reason, be thanked in all eternity not only by me but also by my true friends. May God repay you for it !!!

Therefore, it is only natural that I take the liveliest interest in the events in your life. The greatest joyfulness now is your wedding. Take along my deepest-felt, most sincere congratulations !

God bless your marriage ! and permit you to enjoy this great good fortune in the best good health until the profoundest old age, arrayed with the first musical honours !

I offer your gracious young lady my congratulations and a kiss on the hand. »

**Wednesday, 1 July 1885** : Arthur Nikisch married Amelie Heussner (1862-1938) , a singer and actress, who had been engaged the preceding years at the Kassel Court Theatre with Gustav Mahler. Their son Mitja (1899-1936) later became a noted pianist.

**Tuesday, 7 July 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) .

« Sublime Great Benefactor and Friend !

You were my first apostle who made known in Germany, in highly-brilliant art and, with the fullest energy and dignity, my hitherto unheard expression. In eternity, you will be praised because your eminent, great genius has shone forth to illumine the misunderstood and deserted ! For that reason, be thanked in all eternity not only by me but, also, by my true friends. May God repay you for it !!

Therefore, it is only natural that I take the liveliest interest in the events in your life. The greatest joyfulness now is your wedding. Take along my deepest-felt, most sincere congratulations ! God bless your marriage ! and permit you to enjoy this great good fortune in the best good health until the profoundest old age, arrayed with the first musical honours ! Although unacquainted with her, I offer your gracious young lady my congratulations and a kiss on the hand. I am soon going to the town of Steyr, in Upper-Austria, where I shall work industriously. Where and when, I wonder, will you encounter my letter ? Fare thee well !

With gratitude,

Your Bruckner »

### The conversion of Franz Liszt

**May 1885** : After rejecting the dedication of the 2nd Symphony in **October 1884**, Franz Liszt invited Anton Bruckner to

attend a performance in Karlsruhe of the Adagio of the 7th conducted by Felix Mottl.

A former gifted pupil of Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory, Mottl has thrown so much spiritual fire into the Adagio that even the venerable composer with white hair, who was seating among the distinguished audience, instantly became a « convinced Brucknerian » .

According to Max Auer, Liszt (whose idealism and altruism were unprecedented !) had shown great interest in the 7th Symphony (more than anything that preceded) - but without really understanding the music.

According to August Stradal, this conversion is all the more remarkable. Liszt had long remained of ice (despite his pro-Wagnerian allegiance) in front of Bruckner's compositions, partly because of his unbearable bombastic manners and unorthodox way of dressing.

« One morning, when Doctor Standhartner, the long-standing friend of Wagner, Schönaich, the well-known writer on music, and I were at the Master's (Franz Liszt) . Anton Bruckner appeared. He was wearing an old-fashioned tail-coat and, in his hand, held an Opera hat. His clothes were not quite up to date, for, with the coat, he wore short grey leggings out of which peeped a pair of enormous boots. A smile came over all faces, especially when Bruckner addressed Liszt humbly with the words, "Your Grace, ' Herr ' Canon ". He had come to ask Liszt to recommend a performance of his 7th Symphony at the " Karlsruhe Tonkünstler-Versammlung " (under Felix Mottl) . Liszt apparently found Bruckner's request difficult to refuse. It was no longer possible to include the whole work, however, as the programme had already been drawn-up. Otherwise amenable to all requests, he seemed to find Bruckner's reiterated entreaties disagreeable. At this short meeting between the 2 Masters, I felt that Liszt had no great liking for Bruckner as a composer. To be sure, I remember that, on saying farewell, he showed Bruckner great friendliness, promising that, if it were still possible, he would comply with his request. But at the " Tonkünstler-Versammlung ", only the Adagio of the Symphony was played. After the return from Karlsruhe to Weimar, Liszt did indeed express a favourable opinion of the Adagio, but, all the same, one had the impression that the work did not impress him particularly.

Before leaving Vienna, Bruckner visited the Musicians' Society (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») . Anton Rubinstein, who was in the Austrian capital to attend rehearsals of his Opera " Nero ", also turned-up that evening, as did Johannes Brahms, the Society's honorary president. »

### Prague : The Emperor visits the Burghers' Brewery

Words of praise as the Emperor Franz-Josef visits the Burghers' Brewery of Plzeň, in **1885** :

« It is rather odd that no brewery has been able to duplicate the singular and delicious taste of " Pilsner " beer. The breweries at Schwechat and St. Marx have really invested much effort into their brewing undertaking. »

Since this historical visit, the Emperor drank no other beer than « Pilsner Urquell » .

The neighbouring First Joint-Stock Brewery is also flourishing : its premises are expanding and it is buying railway wagons for exports.

...

A curious example of a man with a champagne income who rarely drinks anything but beer is the Emperor Franz-Josef.

Even at the grandest State banquets at the Court of Vienna, he is served with his favourite beverage, « Pilsner » beer. He rarely drinks wine of any kind, although his cellars are the most celebrated in the world. But the Emperor is not a heavy beer-drinker, either.

He is accounted by European students of social habits as one of the 3 Monarchs who have made intemperance unfashionable. The others are Queen Victoria and King Humbert (the latter only drinks a little wine diluted with water)

.

...

During Emperor Franz-Josef's lunches, beer was always served with the soup.

His personal valet always made sure that French Cognac, Red Hungarian wine and « Pilsner Urquell » beer were, always on hand !

When it came to drinks, the Emperor was a « Feinschmecker » !

« Feinschmecker » is a German expression for « gourmet » , a person who is an excellent judge of fine food and drinks. When it came to food, he ate anything they gave him.

From history archives, recorded during the Emperor's long span of the rail travel :

« During Franz-Josef's short trips on the rail in his saloon-cars, he only ate the meals brought from various station restaurants, along the way. The kitchen and dining-cars were used only on a long official journey.

The reason was not just the Emperor's notorious thrift, but also his infamous reputation to eat anything that was served. »

« Court Master saw to it directly that, in the Emperor's saloon-car, there was always a bottle of French Cognac available, as well as a bottle of Hungarian red wine and a bottle of Munich, and “ Pilsner ” beer. »

...



« On one of these trips to Ireland (Empress Elisabeth visited it both in 1879 and in 1880) , luncheon had been taken at Dover, as usual, shortly after arrival ; tea had also been served in the saloon at Crewe, but on the train stopping to take water at Prestatyn, I was instructed to wait awhile as the Countess desired to have some beer ! - which was accordingly brought from a little public-house adjacent to the station. Beer ! it was rather a startling idea for an Empress to an Englishman's mind, but I have since seen it stated that " Pilsner " beer is the usual drink of Emperor Franz-Josef himself, and, in this respect, the custom may be an Imperial one. »

### Bruckner toasted at the Bishop's table

**Monday, 18 May 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Johann Baptist Burgstaller (Linz) :

« Reverend Vicar !

Although I have only my times of rest for composing, and not even these for a long time !!! Even so, I have kept my promise and send you under separate cover the new " Ecce sacerdos magnus ".

The " Te Deum ", as I hear, will be published. The Mass (in E minor) , dedicated to the late most venerable Bishop, belongs to the " Dombau-Verein ". I have undertaken revisions, and might they now be copied into the parts, since a new Bishop is reigning ? The Mass is vocal-music, with woodwinds and brass-ensemble accompaniment without strings. In 1869, I rehearsed the Mass and conducted it on the most magnificent days of my lifetime at the consecration in the votive chapel. The Bishop and the Governor toasted me at the Bishop's table.

With sincerest respect, I remain

Most devotedly,

Anton Bruckner

It was not required of me to write-out the " Sicut erat ", but I have made note of it in the chorale. »

### Hans Paumgartner on the 7th Symphony

**Saturday, 30 May 1885** : The Adagio of the 7th Symphony is performed in Karlsruhe.

Hans Paumgartner criticizes the « learned musicians at the Court Opera Orchestra » for their inability to evaluate the true worth of Bruckner's Symphonies and for forcing him to « eat the bread of artistic exile » as a result of their refusal to perform his works.

### Vienna : Opera projects for Bruckner

**Thursday, 4 June 1885** (« Corpus Christi ») : Anton Bruckner and Friedrich Eckstein go to Klosterneuburg. Bruckner plays the organ at the abbey church during High-Mass.

At the invitation of Prelate Ubald Kestersitz, Bruckner and Eckstein stay for dinner. Then, they leave to return to Vienna.

At 5 o'clock, Bruckner and Eckstein join the Schalk brothers, Ferdinand Löwe, Cyrill Hynais, Julius Mayreder and (for the first time) Hugo Wolf. They pick a good « Gasthaus » to spend a festive evening together. There, they talk of Johannes Brahms, Hans Richter, the 7th Symphonie (**WAB 107**) , Gustav Schönaich and future Opera projects - Eckstein had considered 2 libretti for Bruckner : « Libussa » by Christian von Ehrenfels and « Ingo » (from ?) .

### Marie Reinhardt

**Thursday, 11 June 1885** : Letter from Marie Reinhardt to Anton Bruckner :

Congratulations on last Name-Day (June 13) . Marie asked Cyrill Hynais about Bruckner's health condition. (Was Bruckner angry with her ?) Mary reminds Bruckner of the promised visit.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1885)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

Bei den Vorbildungsschulen dieses Jahres ...

« Orgelklasse des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(3 Zöglinge.)

Josef Meyer, Carl Paur, Adolf Steininger. »

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen ...

« Orgelklasse des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(3 Zöglinge.)

II. Jahrgang : Carl Weber, Rudolf Wilfert, Thimothée Xanthopoulos. »

Bei Musiktheorie ...

« Klasse für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(9 Zöglinge.)

Victor Abeles, Max Herold, Alexander Krauß, Johann Müller, Carl Paur, Anton Steibl, Adolf Steininger. »

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(9 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Carl Weber.

II. Jahrgang : Cyrill Hynais, Doktor Franz Marschner. »

Die « Gesellschafts-Medaille » erhielten und andere Fräulein Marie Pohoryles und Heinrich Wottawa.

### Mahler's sore throat episodes

One of our earliest indications of Gustav Mahler's extreme susceptibility to sore throats is a letter that he wrote to his friend Friedrich Lohr in the **summer of 1885**, when he was 25. He was staying in Iglau and mentions that he has just recovered from a sore throat. It is never entirely clear what he understood by this term : was it a simple inflammation of the pharynx (pharyngitis) , streptococcal angina (an acute inflammation of the tonsils and pharynx) or a specific inflammation of the pharyngeal and/or palatine tonsils ? Tonsillitis has long been treated by antibiotics and by a routine operation involving either a tonsillectomy (removal of the palatine tonsils) or an adenotomy (removal of the pharyngeal tonsils) as such illnesses often recur ; and, in the case of pathologically altered tonsils that frequently become infected, the pathogens may enter the blood-stream, causing other organs to become infected and leading to rheumatic disease, pyelitis and endocarditis. In some cases, this may also mean the valvular heart defect from which Mahler suffered. It is more than likely that, at some point in his life, one of Mahler's illnesses pursued a course of this nature, and his biggest mistake, for which he himself must take full-responsibility, is that he never underwent a tonsillectomy, which would have been entirely possible at this time, even if expensive and not without risk. A painful convalescence would also have been involved.

### Steyr : In quest of tranquility

**Mostly between 1885 and 1895** : Anton Bruckner enjoyed spending his summer vacations in Steyr as a guest at the parish presbytery (« Stadtpfarrhof ») .

The death in **1884** of parish priest Georg Armingier (who was also Dean) will mark the end of an era. Johann Evangelist Aichinger (a great music-lover) will become his successor.

Armingner promises to Bruckner long and soothing conversations around the dining-room table. The place had already witnessed such memorable one-on-one meetings.

**Wednesday, 1 July 1885** : Anton Bruckner writes to Georg Armingner's successor, Johann Evangelist Aichinger :

« I am looking for no more than coolness and quietness, as I have to work very diligently on my 8th Symphony. »

« If I may be so bold, I will take the liberty of asking your Reverence whether I might, in the holidays, sometimes install myself (as a paying guest, of course) in your wonderful rectory ? »

**July 1885** : It is in the parish presbytery that Bruckner will finish the sketch of the first movement of his 8th Symphony which concludes with a triumphant « Hallelujah ! » in the key of major. The Symphony (original version of 1887) will be completed in the month of **August**.

**Sunday, 28 June 1908** : On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the « Männergesangsverein Kränzchen » , a commemorative plaque (inspired by Franz Bayer and designed by Ludwig Simon) honouring Bruckner is unveiled in front of the presbytery in the presence of pastor Johann Strobl. A speech is given by professor Gregor Goldbacher (instead of the one by August Göllerich junior, which was originally planned) . Franz Bayer conducts for the occasion the patriotic choral piece « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) .

Hier schuf

Dr. Anton Bruckner

In den Ferienmonaten

Der Jahre 1886 - 1894

Seine letzten großen Werke

Seinem Ehrenmitglied der MGV « Kränzchen »

A.D. 1908

The dear biographer

Though very humble and usually unable to speak highly of himself or his work, Anton Bruckner was indescribably pleased that August Göllerich junior was writing his biography.

Bruckner would have been thinking of his schedule at the Vienna Conservatory ; and he knew that he would have

little time to spend with Göllerich ; but there is still that flavour of wanting to insure the welfare of another, in this case, Göllerich (and, in particular, his finances) .

**Sunday, 20 September 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to August Göllerich junior (Vienna) :

« My Dear Biographer !

Have you read the “ Berliner Tagblatt ” of August 10 ? Thereupon, “ Bote und Bock ” of Berlin offer to be my publisher. Dear Friend ! I think that the biography can wait ; you ought not to undertake expense on its behalf. In addition, Conservatory classes begin already on Tuesday. Do as you see fit. Sincerest greetings.

Yours,

Bruckner »

**Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1885-1886**

**Monday, 21 September 1885** :

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...) (erst bei Drucklegung des Jahresberichts, nach Juli 1886, zutreffend :)

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

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören Victor Abeles (« 16 Jahre - Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. Chg. ») , Hermann Abheiter (« 18 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. ») , Gottfried Brzibohaty (« 16 Jahre - Fagott A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , (?) Heinrich Grünecke (« aus Orowitza, 18 Jahre - Harfe A. II. , Kontrapunkt I. ») , Max Herold (« 15 Jahre - Kontrapunkt. ») hörte Kontrapunkt bei Professor Franz Krenn, Carl Hrubý (« 16 Jahre - Violin A. II. , Klavier III. , Kontrapunkt II, Klavier III. , (Rept.) , General der Musik. ») , Josef Klein (« 15 Jahre - Violin A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , Josef Meyer (« 18 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Komposition I. ») , Johann Ostariasch (« 20 Jahre - Fagott A. I. , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , Carl Paur (« aus Moor, 24 Jahre - Orgel A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier III. ») , Adolf Steininger (« aus Altmannsdorf, 17 Jahre - Klavier A. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , 2. Zeile mit eigener Nummer : Orgel A. I. ») , Carl Weber (22 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , Klavier III. ») , Rudolf Wilfert (« 19 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , 2. Zeile mit eigener Nummer : Klavier A. III. ») und Thimothée Xanthopoulos (« aus Smyrna, 20 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , separater Eintrag in 2. Zeile : Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») .

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Anton Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Hedwig Abel (« aus Budapest, 15 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Josef Chimani (« 12 Jahre - Violin V. I. ») , August Duesberg (« aus Gelsenkirchen, 18 Jahre - Violin V. III. , A. M. , Klavier I. ») , Rudolf Fitzner (« 17 Jahre - Violin A. I (Rept.) , Harmonielehre, Klavier III. ») , Carl Führich (« aus Jamnitz, 20 Jahre - Komposition A. III. ») , Ludwig Grande (« aus Teltsch, 20 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Carl Lasner (« 20 Jahre - Violoncello A. I. , A. M. , Klavier II. ») , Georg Valker (« 19 Jahre - Komposition A. II. , Chg. ») und vielleicht Alexander Zemlinsky (« 14 Jahre - Klavier V. II. , A. M. ») .

Von den 6 Orgel-schülern gehörten alle zur Ausbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgel-schülern drei halb und einer ganz vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 8 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, 4 Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 120 und Kontrapunkt von 16 Schülern besucht.

Auszug aus der « Unterrichts-statistik » :

« A.

(In den Vorbildungsschulen kein Eintrag.)

(...) B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

(...)

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 6, mehr 2.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, Überstunden : 4, zusammen : 12, sonach im Jahre ... 120.

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 22.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 27.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400.

### Wolf's « Penthesilea » fiasco

**Thursday, 15 October 1885 :**

Symphonic-poem based on Heinrich von Kleist's « Penthesilea », a drama which (like « Faust » , and perhaps for the same reason) had long been an obsession of Hugo Wolf ; its theme is the injuries inflicted by women on men through sexual passion. In Lisztian style, it seeks to develop and integrate small-scale motifs into the orchestral tone-poem frame.

The ambitious Symphonic-poem was put on a public trial-reading by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. It seemed that Wolf was about to achieve the breakthrough he was seeking. Although it was regarded as a rule that the composer was not allowed to attend the test-rehearsal of his work, Wolf succeeded in entering the hall and listening.

Its rehearsal was a complete fiasco. The famous conductor Hans Richter made no effort to control the Orchestra as it mangled the difficult score. And the Orchestra decided against the performance of the work.

Richter made some disparaging remarks (which Wolf over-heard) about people who dared to criticize so great a Master as Brahms :

« Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for having allowed this piece to be played to the end ; but I wanted to know what manner of man it is that dares to write such things about the Master, Brahms. »

Such comments were wholly predictable and unsurprising. In disregard of all good taste, amid shouts of laughter.

Even days later, Wolf was beside himself with indignation at the treatment of « Penthesilea » . His critiques continued with unabated vigour ; but his own music was aborted or stillborn.

It was fortunate for Wolf that his hounding by Richter and other establishment figures came to win him the

unequivocal support of the Viennese Wagner Society.

### Bruckner's female admirers

Anton Bruckner wrote to his friend Moritz von Mayfeld about the ladies who pursued him. It was fortunate that he was wise enough to realize that his celebrity-like status was behind their seeming admiration. He gave only a glimpse of illness in a letter to him.

**Friday, 6 November 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Moritz von Mayfeld (Linz) :

« Dear “ Herr ” Councilor !

I protested against the performance of my 7th Symphony because, in Vienna, this has no purpose because of Hanslick and his associates. If the Philharmonic does not heed my protest, then, it can do as it will. In no case, can anything be done before January because the parts have not been printed yet. Actually, the full-score, etc. (piano arrangement) will take an even longer time to get into print, so I hear. 2 orders arrived from foreign countries ; 3 from America.

Concerning my marriage, “ I still have no bride-up to this date ” ; if only I could find a properly becoming sweetheart ! To be sure, I have many female friends ; for, in recent times, the darlings pursue me quite extensively, and they think that they have to treat me in an idealistic manner. It's terrible if one is not well ! Entirely forsaken !  
A hand-kiss to your gracious lady !

Respectfully yours,

Anton Bruckner »

### A Bruckner female student eats « at Gause »

The Austrian physician, writer, dramatist and poet Friedrich Wallisch was born on 31 May 1890 in Mährisch-Weißkirchen, Moravia (now Hranice, in the Czech Republic) ; and died on 7 February 1969 in Vienna's 1st District.

Born of an affluent family, he served in the Austro-Hungarian navy and was in Albania in 1914 to report on the ephemeral reign of Prince Wilhelm zu Wied (1876-1945) , where he acted as head of the academic section of the Austrian Fleet Association. After the First World War, he studied medicine and, although he finished a doctorate, he never seems to have exercised this profession. In the spring of 1923, Wallisch founded a publishing-house called « Europäischer Verlag Doktor Friedrich Wallisch » (European Publisher Doctor Friedrich Wallisch) in Vienna and was particularly active, in the following years, with it and with his writings and numerous publications. He was the author of German-language poetry, essays, short-stories, biographies, travel-books and plays. In 1929, he also founded an « Österreichisch-Albanische Gesellschaft » (Austrian-Albanian Society) .



In September 1963, Wallisch published a short article entitled « Symphonie in E-Moll » in the « Deutsche Rundschau » newspaper, in which he presented a charming account of how Johannes Brahms had found the inspiration for completing the final movement of his 4th Symphony by watching Wallisch's mother (a beautiful and highly-musical lady who had studied with Anton Bruckner) as she was enjoying a meal « At Gause » famous Viennese restaurant with the author, then a young child. Brahms had afterwards found-out where she lived and had even written her a letter (which Wallisch prints in full) , in which he explained what had happened and invited her to visit him so that he might play for her the Symphony « which has been completed with your help » .

1885 : Last day of November - mild !

**Monday, 30 November 1885** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 30 November, 9:00 am, over 12°Ré (Réaumur scale) warm. (/) Up to 15°Ré at 3 o'clock in the afternoon ! »

Baroness Marie Anna Lederer

Marie von Czerny, born Baroness Zobel, died on **Sunday, 27 December 1885**, in Linz, a place that Bruckner knew and loved. He would have known Baroness Lederer as a young girl and probably still pictured her thus ; and, so, he addresses her as « Fräulein » in the letter of condolence. It was not unlike him to be attracted to young girls in his quest for a wife, although he always knew his place and was circumspect.

Baroness Lederer appeared to be pleasantly surprised that Anton Bruckner had written his letter to her already on December.

**Thursday, 31 December 1885** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Baroness Marie Anna Lederer (Amstetten) , the wife of Baron Lederer of Amstetten and daughter of Marie Freiin von Czerny :

« Highly-Honoured Baroness Marie Anna !

I am so deeply and profoundly moved that it is barely possible for me to arrange words of comfort and condolence. Allow me to say, “ Fräulein ”, only that I ask God that He grant you the needed strength in this most grievous sorrow.

Yesterday, like the day before, a holy Mass was read at the “ Schottenkirche ” in her highly-blessed memory !

Those were my obsequies.

May the New Year assuage your greatest sorrow.

I send my sincere condolences to all of the ladies of your noble family.

Sorrowfully, I kiss your hand.

Your mourning friend,

Anton Bruckner »

« Wiener Salon-Blatt » : Wolf on Bruckner's Quintet

**Sunday, 10 January 1886** : Music-critic Hugo Wolf writes in the « Wiener Salonblatt » (number 2, page 8) about a performance of Bruckner's Quintet (**WAB 112**) by the Hellmesberger Quartet :

« Anton Bruckner's String Quintet is one of those rare artistic phenomena blessed with the capacity to utter a profound secret in a simple, sensible way, in contrast to the usual procedure, much favoured by our modern "Masters", of clothing simple, everyday thoughts in the enigmatic utterances of oracles. Bruckner's music flows full-bodied and rich from the clear fountain of a child-like spirit.

One can say with Wagner's Hans Sachs :

“ It sounded so old, and was yet so new. ”

This is thanks to a strong, popular strain that emerges everywhere in his Symphonic compositions, sometimes overtly, sometimes hidden. How charming, for example, is the “ Ländler ”- like Trio of the Quintet ! How well the composer, for all his earthiness, knows how to play the gentleman of distinction, sometimes by a harmonic deviation or a bit of ingenious counterpoint, by a more richly-coloured instrumentation or a surprising inversion of themes, etc.

Never is Bruckner common place or banal, a virtue he shares with Schubert. But neither do Bruckner's compositions ever seem to be contrived. His harmonies are bold and new, and they lend the melody an utterly characteristic finery, a definite physiognomy that impresses itself with adamantine incisiveness upon the listener's sensibility. His thematic invention is the product of an extraordinarily fertile fantasy and a glowing perceptiveness, hence, the lucid imagery of his musical language. »

...

« **Konzerte.**

Quartett Hellmesberger.

Anton Bruckner's Quintett ist eine jener seltenen künstlerischen Offenbarungen (...)

Daß diese Komposition Bruckner's bei ihrer Wiederholung mit gesteigertem Beifalle aufgenommen wurde, gereicht dem Publikum nicht minder zur Ehre als dem Komponisten.

(... über die weiteren Programmnummern und andere Konzerte ...)

Hugo Wolf. »

### Munich : « Te Deum » (WAB 45)

**Saturday, 23 January 1886** : Letter from Barbara (« Betty ») von Mayfeld to Anton Bruckner (the « worthy successor to Beethoven » , as she called him) :

After listening to the somewhat « ordinary » works of Franz Schubert and Heinrich Schütz, the Mayfeld couple was quite enthusiastic about the execution of the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) . « Betty » would have liked to congratulate Bruckner personally at their Munich apartment (« Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten ») .

### Happy Thursday « at Gause »

**Thursday, 25 February 1886** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner (6 March 1886) :

« 25 February 1886, Nightingale. “ Gause ”. »

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 1st District.

### Bruckner writes to King Ludwig II of Bavaria

Anton Bruckner wrote to King Ludwig II of Bavaria asking for permission to dedicate the 7th Symphony to him. After much ritualistic rhetoric, Bruckner informed the King of his problems with finding time to compose :

« I am all the more fortunate that, likewise, the golden rays of the Royal grace touch me, as I, nearly 61 years old, in addition to all of my many school periods at the Vienna Conservatory, must also give private instruction in music, so that not very many residual hours remain left to me for musical composition. Because, at the present time, I feel myself honestly vigorous enough to create my best and would like to turn with pleasure toward dramatic composition, this lack of time fails heavily on my heart ! »

### 1886 : Cold to begin March

**Monday, 1 March 1886** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 10°Ré (Réaumur scale) cold. »

### WAB 107 : Austrian premiere

**Sunday, 14 March 1886** : The Austrian premiere of Bruckner's 7th Symphony (dedicated to King Ludwig II of Bavaria)

was performed in the presence of the composer, at the « Congress Graz Stefaniensaal » , by the young conductor Karl Muck.

Following this triumph, Vienna was forced to capitulate - much to the dismay of Hanslick's « Circle » .

Immediately after the concert, Bruckner improvised on the organ in front of a select group.

Bruckner will then have the opportunity to meet 2 important figures :

- The music-critic, musicologist, and Wagnerian of the first hour, Doctor Friedrich von Hausegger (26 March 1837 - 23 February 1899) . He will « toast » Bruckner, Muck and this wonderful concert.

Von Hausegger is the author of important writings on music including « Anfänge der Musikanthropologie : Die Musik als Ausdruck » (1887) et « Gedanken eines Schauenden » (1903) .

- His son, the composer and conductor Siegmund von Hausegger (1872-1948) .

Doctor Muck's female student, Antonia Brico, remembers :

« He (Muck) was passionately fond of Bruckner and Mahler, and was deeply hurt over the neglect of these composers. He sponsored the cause of many a composer who is today well-known. When he first produced Bruckner's great 7th Symphony in Berlin, the composer came to him afterwards weeping, declaring that he had never hoped to hear his Symphony so beautifully played. »

Karl Muck was a brilliant interpreter of the music of Richard Wagner and one of the great pioneers of Anton Bruckner's Symphonies (and he never made any cuts) . He had a reputation for being insensitive to modern music. But a return on his career reveals that he programmed works by Gustav Mahler, Claude Debussy, Jean Sibelius, Arnold Schönberg and Anton Webern. In the 1920's, Muck produced legendary acoustic and electric recordings of the great Symphonic repertoire.

### **WAB 107 : A laurel wreath at Vienna's premiere**

**Sunday, 21 March 1886 :**

When the 7th Symphony was introduced to Vienna, it had become a sort of obligation upon the composer's adopted city. Sensational reports of some of the performances elsewhere reminded Vienna that the composer they had hardly noticed through the years was being discovered as a Symphonist to be reckoned with. Thus, Bruckner was, for the first time, included in the subscription programs of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Circumstances were otherwise unfavourable, for the Wagner haters were necessarily Bruckner haters, and a success such as the new Symphony had had in Leipzig, Munich and Graz could not be countenanced. The concert began at 12:30 (What was lunch-time in

Vienna ?) and traversed an Overture by Étienne Nicolas Méhul and a Piano Concerto of Beethoven before the audience was subjected to the difficult « new work ». It was evident when the first movement had ended that the audience had passed judgment in advance and that that judgement was not undivided. There were demonstrations of applause, but also, many departures. After the long Adagio and after the Scherzo, both the applause and the exodus increased. At the end, Bruckner was called-out 4 or 5 times.

He beamed with joy and made short and awkward bows, murmuring :

« Kuß d'Hand, Kuß d'Hand »

A laurel wreath was presented by the « Wagner-Verein » .

Were present at the concert :

Music-critics Emerich Kastner, Doctor Josef Königstein, Emil von Hartmann, Doctor Theodor Helm, Doctor Hans Paumgartner, Hans Puchstein, Hugo Wolf, Gustav Dömpke, Eduard Hanslick, Wilhelm Frey, Doktor Robert Hirschfeld and Max Kalbeck, Caricaturist Heinrich Gröber (1850-1934) , Professor Bernhard Deubler and Prelate Ferdinand Moser from St. Florian, Friedrich Klose, Carl Hrubý, Johann Strauß junior and Adele Strauß, Ferdinand Löwe, Josef Schalk, Adalbert von Goldschmidt, Friedrich Eckstein, Ludwig Grande, Pius Richter, Amand Loidol and Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol.

At a « Fest-Bankett » given in the « Spatenkeller » by that Society, Hans Richter admitted in a congratulatory speech that he had approached the new Symphony with mistrust which was replaced by glowing enthusiasm, a feeling shared by every player from the concert Master to the timpanist as they had given the best they knew in the performance. Bruckner shed tears when he was presented with a bust of his god, Richard Wagner.

A telegram from Johann Strauß junior was read :

« I am much moved - it was the greatest impression of my life. »

### Tears and a bust of Wagner

At a « Fest-Bankett » given in the « Spatenkeller » by the Wagner Society, Hans Richter admitted in a congratulatory speech that he had approached the new Symphony with mistrust which was replaced by glowing enthusiasm, a feeling shared by every player from the concert Master to the timpanist as they had given the best they knew in the performance. Bruckner shed tears when he was presented with a bust of his god, Richard Wagner.

### Bruckner irritated by Josef Schalk

The first published edition of the 7th Symphony represents the high water-mark of Bruckner's relations with Josef Schalk, before the relationship was clouded by increasing suspicion on one hand, and increasing high-handedness on

the other. But at the centre of the relationship there was a fundamental clash of personality ; something about the « Generalissimo » irked Bruckner, for all the efforts Josef was making on his behalf, and, in the following years, his imitation broke-out in public disagreements that brought forth a new, frightening Bruckner, outspoken, threatening, and sarcastic.

**Sunday, 21 March 1886** : Anton Bruckner had a vigorous squabble with his disciple Josef Schalk who dared to write a programme-note of doubtful taste about the Scherzo of the 7th Symphony. Inspired by allegoric images, it earned itself notoriety :

« A distant heavenly chamber, where good demons lead each other in heavenly rounds. »

According to Carl Hrubý, the reaction of Bruckner could not wait and was exceptionally strong :

« Why he picked-out my 7th to write poetry about ? that “ Locherl ” (a rough form of disapprobation) only knows. He knows perfectly well what I was thinking about when I wrote it - the couple of hundred Gulden I could get from a publisher. »

### Bruckner, the drunkard

**Monday, 22 March 1886** : Music-critic Gustav Dömke wrote in the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » about the concert :

« We recoil in horror before this rotting odor, which rushes into our nostrils from the disharmonies of this putrefactive counterpoint. His imagination is so incurably sick and warped that anything like regularity in chord progressions and period structure simply do not exist for him. Bruckner composes like a drunkard ! »

### A Wagnerian Baron writes poetry to Bruckner

**Thursday, 25 March 1886** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) :

« Noble Baron ! Most Honourable Patron !

A thousand thanks for your kind visit ; I was sincerely sorry that I did not know, and that I was unable to make a return visit, in particular, however, that I had to miss Your Grace's distinguished speech. (Once again, I'm in the same state of affairs.)

Your letter, which honoured me so and was so highly-ingenuous, cheered me greatly ! Sincerest thanks ! The poem is magnificent ! Unfortunately, I am now buried in the 8th Symphony and have almost no time for composition. On the 14th of this month, I was in Graz for the performance of my 7th Symphony. The performance, under the genial Doctor Muck of Würzburg, was first rate (14 rehearsals) ; the reception, marvelous beyond description. After the Finale, they received me with great honours.

On the 21st of this month, the same Symphony, performed in Vienna by the Philharmonic under Richter's direction, was completely excellent : the success, indescribable jubilation, already after the first movement, 5 or 6 impassioned curtain calls. At the conclusion, endless enthusiasm and curtain calls ; a laurel-wreath from the " Wagner-Verein " and a festive banquet. My wreath was placed around the neck of the portrait (bust) of the noble, immortal, unparalleled Master.

Indeed, very clever. I made my speech relevant to that event and began weeping bitterly, as I did in the morning, when, through my German student Doctor Behn, living in Vienna, I received from Dresden the bust of my dearly beloved Master and Ideal, which I kissed tearfully.

However, the " 5 hostile newspapers " will, according to Hanslick's wishes, make sure that these successes are destroyed for the public far away.

With thanks and deepest respect, I remain

Highly-indebted,

Anton Bruckner »

« Wiener Salonblatt » : Wolf's on Bruckner's 7th Symphony (1886)

**Sunday, 28 March 1886** : Music-critic Hugo Wolf writes in the « Wiener Salonblatt » (number 13, page 10) about a performance (in Hanover !?) of Bruckner's 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) :

« Opera and Concert.

For a full month, no work by Richard Wagner has been performed in our Opera Theatre, but the " Trompeter von Säkkingen " rises proudly and handsomely 3 times a week over the boards of our Opera stage. (... thanks to a guest-singer, now " Lohengrin "...) Anton Bruckner's Symphony in E major became, after (...) still a " Cimborasso " against the mole hills of Brahms's Symphonies.

(...)

Hugo Wolf. »

Munich : Bruckner stays at the « 4 Seasons »

**Wednesday, 7 April 1886** : The « Süddeutschen Presse und Münchener Nachrichten » reports a list of guests staying at the « 4 Seasons » Hotel, including :

« Bruckner, Professor, Wien. »

## Taking the train and booking a room

**Tuesday, 13 April 1886** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Wilhelm Floderer (Linz) :

« Dear Sir !

It pains me that you have to work so hard ! Naturally, I agree with everything. Tomorrow evening (Wednesday) , toward 10:00, I will once more depart on the express train from Vienna, to my ... (incomplete thought) . May I ask to have a room reserved for me at the " Kanone " ? It may be that one of the young German men, who came to Vienna to study with me, will come along.

May I be permitted to ask that the praiseworthy " Liedertafel " , which once more has written so kindly, be given notification of my arrival ?!

With all respect

Yours,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : (Later, I will probably go to London with Richter.) Where will the rehearsal be ? (I shall probably be able to find-out when I get to the " Kanone ".) »

The « Gasthaus Zur goldenen Kanone » , located at « Landstraße » Number 18-20 in Linz, was a restaurant-inn frequented by Anton Bruckner and his friends.

## « Frohsinn's » 41st anniversary

**April 1886** : The « Frohsinn » Choral Society decided to mount a special Bruckner concert to commemorate its 41st anniversary.

A special poetic greeting to Bruckner by Karl Kerschbaum, a local poet, appeared in the « Linz Tages-Post » , on **Tuesday 13 April**, and the concert took place 2 days later.

It was certainly a most ambitious concert by Linz standards, consisting of « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) ; « Um Mitternacht » (**WAB 90**) ; the Adagio from his 3rd Symphony ; and the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) . Wilhelm Floderer conducted and Bruckner, who was present, later wrote to « Frohsinn » to express his heartfelt gratitude. A special ceremony was held in his honour after the concert, and glowing reports appeared in the « Tages-Post » , the « Linzer Zeitung » and the « Volksblatt » .



## Prague : Mahler conducts Bruckner

**Sunday, 18 April 1886** (Palm Sunday) : Benefit-Concert in aid of the (newly-founded) Society of needy German law-students. As part of a special concert given before lawyers in the « Grand Hotel Bräuer » (capacity : 1,800 seats) in Prague, Gustav Mahler performs the Scherzo of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) with the augmented Orchestra of the « Neues Deutsches Theatre » .

According to the « Prager Tagblatt » (20 April 1886) , the « genius » Mahler conducted everything by heart « and with admirable skill » .

### Program :

Works by Luigi Boccherini, Peter von Winter, Franz-Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Joachim Raff, Edvard Grieg, Wilhelm Heinefetter, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Richard Wagner.

### Anton Bruckner :

Scherzo from the 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

### Mahler :

« Lied Ging heut' Morgen über's Feld » (from « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen »)

« Frühlingsmorgen » (from « Lieder und Gesänge aus der Jugendzeit »)

Premiere : « Hans und Grethe » (from « Lieder und Gesänge aus der Jugendzeit »)

Soloists : Gustav Mahler, piano ; Johannes Elmlad, bass ; Betty Frank, soprano ; Marie Renard, mezzo-soprano ; Carl Halir, violin.

The history of the « Neues Deutsches Theatre » (New German Theatre, currently known as the Prague State Opera) dates back to the late-19th Century. While often over-shadowed by the more prominent National Theatre of Prague, the company has its own distinct history. The birth of a magnificent Czech Theatre, the National Theatre, in 1883 indirectly created a longing among the Prague German community for a German-speaking Opera House of its own. At that time, the Czech lands were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and there was a large German minority living in Prague. On 4 February 1883, the « Deutscher Theaterverein » was founded with the goal of raising funds for the new theatre. The plans were developed by the well-known Viennese firm Fellner & Helmer along with Karl Hasenauer, architect of the « Burgtheater » in Vienna. The resulting « Neues Deutsches Theatre » was designed by the Prague architect Alfons Wertmüller and built within 20 months. With its spacious auditorium and elaborate neo-Rococo décor, the theater was one of the most beautiful in Europe.

Performances commenced on 5 January 1888 with Richard Wagner's Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » . The first director became Angelo Neumann, who brought there distinguished musicians and set high artistic standards so that the Theatre reached soon international recognition. Neumann's successors were Heinrich Teweles, Leopold Kramer, Robert Volkner, Paul Eger, and Pavel Ludikar. Artists associated with the theatre in its first phase included Kurt Adler (Conductor) , Alexander Zemlinsky, Georg Széll, Erich Kleiber, Otto Klemperer, Alfred Piccaver, Hans Hotter, Kurt Baum, and Wilhelm Elsner. Guest-artists included Nellie Melba, Enrico Caruso, Emma Calvé, Lilli Lehmann, Selma Kurz, Maria Jeritza, Richard Tauber and Leo Slezak.

In the 1930's, with the growing Nazi threat, the New German Theatre in Prague was among the bastions of democracy, serving as a refuge for artists fleeing from Germany. Political developments shortly before signing of the Munich Agreement along with financial problems however led the German Theatre Association to close the theatre in September 1938.

The Czechoslovak State expressed an interest in the building. But the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, on 15 March 1939, and establishment of the « Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia » thwarted its plans. Under the new title « Deutsches Opernhaus » (German Opera House) , the theatre served for political assemblies of the Nazi Party, and for the occasional guest presentations by ensembles from the 3rd « Reich » .

### Prague : « Grand Hotel Bräuer »

« Grand Hotel Bräuer » (now, « ATS hostel Jednota ») : Number 38 on Opletalova Street, « Nové Město » , Prague.

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 (« Hlavni nadrazi ») and bus-station (« Florenc ») are in a walking distance from the hotel.

### I lost my hat !

An incident greatly disturbed Anton Bruckner.

On his way back from Bayreuth to Vienna, a lieutenant sat with him in the wagon compartment. This « alien » presence prevented the composer from sleeping in peace. Bruckner only began to awake when the train entered the station where he must get-off. He hastily grabbed his luggage and hurried out the wagon. Bruckner looked for his Black wool winter traveling-hat when he was far away from the station, realizing that it must have probably slipped into the lieutenant's luggage. After his arrival in Vienna, he decided to write a letter to the railway company and asked them to find his beloved topper and send it back to him.

**Saturday, 24 April 1886** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) sent to the administration of the German Railways (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« On the trip from Vienna to Munich on the departure from Vienna, April 5, at 9:50 in the evening ; arrival in Wels at about 2:00 am, April 6 ; passed about 2h30 in Car Number ? (...) 2nd Class Compartment Letter ? , I lost the following object (accurate description) : Black wool winter traveling-hat. A young lieutenant (I believe from the nobility) , who often travels to Vienna on the same express-train, could (in a hurry, and just roused from sleep) have carried this cap with his own luggage unwittingly ; and I request a thorough inquiry and forwarding to accurate address and place of residence.

Anton Bruckner, Professor.

“ Heßgasse Number 7  
Wien I ”

(Signed : Anton Bruckner)

N.B. : I gave my card and address to the conductor. »

But that's not the end of the story !

Bruckner was so attached to his « faithful travel companion » that he asked two of his friends to contact the company to find-out if the hat had been found.

Whether this large-scale search operation was successful, we still do not know ...

**Sondershausen : « Hotel Münch »**

**Sunday, 6 June 1886** : Chamber music « morning-concert » (from 11:00 am to 2:00 pm) in the hall of the « Hotel Münch » , as part of the Sondershausen Music Festival. Performance of Anton Bruckner's String Quintet (**WAB 112**) by the Halir-Grützmacher-Quartett (Carl Halir, Theodor Freyberg, Leopold Grützmacher, Carl Nagel and Carl Hager, 2nd viola) .

Also on the programme :

Eugène d'Albert performs his own works.

Julius (Gyula) von Beliczay : Lieder sung by alto Elisabeth Exter.

Albert Fuchs and Ferdinand Præger : Lieder sung by tenor Gustav Trautermann.

Giovanni Sgambati : ?

Anton Rubinstein : « Polonaise » played by pianist Gertrud Hertzner from Straßburg.

Hans Sommer : Lieder sung by baritone Karl Hill.

Anton Urspruch : Piano Quintet performed by the Halir String Quartet and Anton Urspruch at the piano.

Franz Wüllner and Richard Wagner : Lieder sung by alto Elisabeth Exter.

### Vienna Conservatory : Final examinations (June 1886)

Anton Bruckners Schüler, denen der « I. Classificationsgrad » zuerkannt wurde, werden in der Prüfungsstatistik erwähnt :

(diesmal kein Schüler in den Vorbildungsklassen)

Bei den Ausbildungsschulen « Orgelclass des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(6 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Josef Meyer, Carl Paur, Adolf Steininger.

II. Jahrgang : Carl Weber, Rudolf Wilfert, Thimothée Xanthopoulos. »

Bei Musiktheorie « Classe für Harmonielehre als Hauptfach des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(5 Zöglinge.)

Gottfried Brzibohaty, Josef Klein, Johann Ostariasch. »

« Classe für Kontrapunkt des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(6 Zöglinge.)

I. Jahrgang : Carl Paur, Adolf Steininger.

II. Jahrgang : Carl Weber. »

### Bruckner's « Last Supper »

Fritz von Uhde's « Last Supper » (« Das Abendmahl » , 1886)

Oil on canvas on a Biblical theme : Jesus having the last supper with contemporary, working-class, disciples.

Dimensions : 206 x 324 cm (81.1 x 127.6 in) .

« Staatsgalerie » Stuttgart, Germany. (A copy exists at the old school of Bruckner in Ansfelden.)

The great German painter Fritz von Uhde was deeply impressed by Anton Bruckner's appearance but he could not get the composer to come to his studio to sit for a portrait. He wanted to paint Anton Bruckner as one of Christ's disciples in his picture of « The Last Supper » (« Das Abendmahl ») of 1886. He had to resort to a photograph and paint from that. When Bruckner later saw himself in the picture, he looked at his portrait for a long time and was deeply moved but he felt unworthy of appearing in the company of the Apostles.

When Uhde presented his « Last Supper » in 1886, people were speechless. Simon (Anton Bruckner) , the most faithful of the 12 disciples, appeared in a striped costume. A monstrosity ! An art-critic immediately described the Apostle as a « penitentiary boy with the physiognomy of a murderer » . Others mocked the « proletarian atmosphere » of the scene.

The « Last Supper » is certainly a remarkable picture. The room in which the Saviour and his disciples are sitting at supper is entirely modern, as is also the appearance of the men, although the long mantle of Christ somewhat resembles the clothing of his time, and his delicate, worn, intellectual features are in strong contrast with those of the rude, lowly men who surround him. The scene is altogether of today, with no symbols of divinity about it. The sincerity of his treatment of the subject, the earnestness and self-surrendering love depicted in the faces and postures of the toil-worn, lowly disciples, raise this picture of von Uhde's far above the common place.

In 1887, 3,000 persons viewed von Uhde's « Last Supper » in Munich during 5 consecutive days.

Looking at the « Last Supper » , Emperor Frederick III exclaims :

« This a “ Last Supper ” ? Come on, it's a feast of anarchists ! »

Von Uhde also exhibited at the Viennese Secession. The Jewish Hungarian journalist and author Ludwig Hevesi said of him :

« Fritz von Uhde, whose magnificent painting the “ Last Supper ”, one of his Masterpieces that we already knew from Munich, is generally considered his best work. It will also be celebrated. »

Von Uhde will frequently be compared to Rembrandt. This will be the case in particular with the « Last Supper » which Uhde will exhibit in Paris in 1887, and which François Thiébault-Sisson analyzes, thus :

« The artist represented them, these disciples, as Rembrandt had already done, very poor, very humble, very naive.

They are craftsmen and rustics, wrapped in brown robes, but transfigured by faith, illuminated by an inner flame. Christ is himself also humble but radiates goodness. And all this is alive, poignant, truly beautiful ! »

Even in the reactionary « Journal de Paris » , praiseworthy terms appeared in the pen of Catholic critic J. de Tarade, admiring the Protestant Uhde and his way of representing the disciples in a non-idealized way as simple peasants :

« It is impossible not to be moved in front of a work as sincerely expressed as the “ Last Supper ” ! What “ grandeur ” in these highly charged and experienced men ! What anointing and what religious poetry ! One is penetrated with piety and faith awakens at the sight of all these so expressive and so talking figures. »

Uhde's work was often rejected by leading public opinion and the official art-criticism who sometimes considered his representations of ordinary scenes as « vulgar » or « ugly » . Nevertheless, his paintings also attracted the attention of others like Vincent van Gogh. Revivalist of the practice of treating Biblical episodes realistically by transferring them to modern days, Uhde's work was also appreciated by Christians who praised his symbolic message and sense of evangelical morality.

### Bruckner writes to Kietz's daughter

**Thursday, 17 June 1886** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Fräulein » Elisabeth Kietz, daughter of sculptor Gustav August Kietz (Bayreuth) :

« Honourable “ Fräulein ” ! Most Noble Friend !

Never yet has a “ Fräulein ” so dearly and honorably taken action for me as you have ! A thousand thanks for it ! Never, will I forget this. How often I think, with longing, of your noble essence, which fills me with deep admiration. And your sincere letter ! The Privy Councilor did not show me any kindness, as Levi would have done - etc. , etc. ; he has written nothing to me, and my request, in relation to the king, is not being implemented as he promised.

And to make matters worse : King Ludwig !!!!!

May you remain in good health, “ Fräulein ” ; and, once again, please accept my most sincere thanks and the most sincere hand-kiss ! My respects to “ Herr Papa ”. In heartfelt respect and admiration, I remain

Yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Elizabeth Kietz is the daughter of the German sculptor Gustav Adolf Kietz (1824-1906) . Bruckner met the latter in Bayreuth, more specifically during his famous visit to Richard Wagner at Villa « Wahnfried » in August 1873.

Kietz was a witness to the conversation of Bruckner and Wagner concerning the famous blue paper containing the signatures of both men, and he remembered Bruckner's anxiety the following morning. Bruckner had forgotten which Symphony dedication Wagner had accepted : the one to the 2nd ; or the one to the 3rd Symphony. The returned note cleared-up the matter and refreshed Bruckner's memory that it had been the 3rd.

This was all recorded in a letter written to Marie by her father.

Elizabeth will meet Bruckner himself for the first time during the fall of 1885 in Vienna. She was beautiful but young enough to be Bruckner's daughter. He was very much taken with her. However, he was too religious to pursue her inappropriately. She had been kind to him, and he is simply admiring her on paper and saying his thank you.

« Herr Papa » was a recognized German sculptor, who made several images of Richard Wagner, ultimately becoming his friend. It was Kietz's wife, Marie, who recorded his reminiscences of Wagner and published them.

### Bruckner receives the Order of Franz-Josef

**Thursday, 1 July 1886** : Letter from Josef Hellmesberger senior to the High-Minister of the Imperial Court :

Anton Bruckner has proved to be a Master of composition. The Imperial Chapel has 2 of his Masses to its repertoire. His Symphonies have achieved a sensational success in Vienna, Munich and Leipzig, not to mention the String Quintet. Therefore, Hellmesberger proposed the name of Bruckner as candidate for the Order of Franz-Josef, which is accompanied by an annual grant of 300 Florins.

**Thursday, 8 July 1886** : Letter from the High-Minister of the Imperial Court to Anton Bruckner :

The Emperor awards you with the Knights' Cross of the Order of Franz-Josef, by resolution of **July 8, 1886**, and also grants you a personal allowance of 300 Florins per year, which is to be paid starting on **August 1, 1886**. Signed by Prince Hohenlohe-Shillingstürst.

« (Gedruckter Briefkopf :)

Von Seiner  
kaiserlichen und königlich  
Apostolischen Majestät  
Obersthofmeisteramte

(ab hier handschriftlich :)

An  
das Mitglied der Hofmusikkapelle,

Herrn Anton Bruckner.

Seine Kaiserliche und Königlich Apostolische Majestät haben mit Allerhöchster Entschliebung vom 8. Juli des Jahr Ihnen das Ritterkreuz des Franz Josef-Ordens allergnädigst zu verleihen und eine Personalzulage jährlicher Dreihundert Gulden huldreichst zu bewilligen geruht.

Von diesem Allerhöchsten Beschlusse werden Sie unter Anschluß der Ordensdekoration und des Statutenbuches mit dem Beifügen in Kenntniß gesetzt, daß Ihnen die Personalzulage jährlicher 300 Gulden beim Kaiserliche-Königlich Hofzahlamte.

(2. Seite :) vom 1. August des Jahr an, flüssig gemacht wird (...) »

...

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« On July 9th, by His Excellency Prince Hohenlohe, Order of Franz-Josef, around 1:00 pm. »

Other (undated) calendar entry (probably related to the award ceremony) :

« Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst Constantin, Prince, Imperial High-Minister of His Majesty the Emperor, Imperial-Royal Private Counselor, Colonel of the Imperial-Royal Bodyguard. »

**Friday, 9 July 1886 (around 1:00 pm)** : Anton Bruckner is made Knight of the Order of Franz-Josef (« Kaiserlich-Österreichische Franz-Josef Orden ») by Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst.

The Knights' Cross of the Order of Franz-Josef is the highest honour given to an Austrian citizen.

Attending the ceremony are several of his students as well as members of the aristocracy, including Count Carl Pückler. Bruckner will be overwhelmingly proud of this medal. He will love to wear it on official occasions until the end of his life.

Letter from Anton Bruckner to Princess Amalie Maria of Bavaria :

Bruckner thanks Amalie for receiving the honour of joining the Emperor's select group. Name-Day Congratulations (10 July 1886) .

Letter from Rudolf Weinwurm to Anton Bruckner :

Weinwurm congratulates Bruckner on this long-deserved award.



Letter from the High-Minister of the Court to the Imperial Chapel :

The Chapel is informed about the Franz-Josef Order and the annual allowance which were awarded to Bruckner. A copy of the decree accompanies the letter. Signed by Theodor von Westermayer and Anton Bruckner.

### Portrait by Josef Büche

By order of the Emperor, Josef Büche (1848-1918) , the portraitist of the Court, will paint Bruckner on canvas, standing nobly, wearing the insignia of the Order of Franz-Josef.

During the pose sessions, Bruckner kept making counting gestures.

**Friday, 11 August 1893** : At the last session, Bruckner described Büche's oil painting (Iconography : IKO 66) as his best portrait.

The work is exhibited at the « Anton-Bruckner-Museum Ansfelden » , the old town's primary school which was the birthplace of the composer.

During his career, Büche will paint mainly military and « genre » scenes, portraits for the Imperial family and the Austrian aristocracy. (He also painted a portrait of his wife.)

### Liszt's ophthalmic surgery

The evaluation and treatment of Franz Liszt's failing vision gives us a fascinating insight into clinical ophthalmology of the late-19th Century. Like many of the elderly, he was affected by multiple indispositions which were the ramifications of the age process and the habits and stresses of a lifetime.

According to Lina Ramann, Liszt first sought medical care in 1881, he was suffering from « dropsy » and from « water on the lungs » , these were early manifestations of cardio-respiratory disease which was to precipitate his death.

Liszt's illness was prefigured by depression which was in part situational, 2 of his children, who had shown great promise, had died young and he had not secured the appointment in Rome he had sought which would have given him access to an Orchestra. He began to experience grief, regret and self-doubt. From this period comes the late-music which prefigures the music of our own Century, the music is the antithesis of Romanticism and we hear the first echoing of the uncertainties of our own age.

The sparse nature and economy of these compositions, the consistent use of the whole tone scale and the trend toward atonality prefigures both Béla Bartók and Alban Berg.

Liszt began to drink cognac rather heavily and was warned to decrease his intake by his physicians. Liszt also smoked

Havana cigars.

At about the same time, he noted a gradual decline in the vision of the left-eye. He had worn a presbyopic correction to read and to annotate music for many years, otherwise, there was no past ocular history.

We know from Borodin's correspondence that Liszt's once phenomenal ability to sight read was impaired by 1882. He made several slips whilst score reading a Borodin Symphony from manuscript due to his diminishing vision. It is well-documented by Borodin and others that he now often played « secundo » piano as a concession to his failing vision.

Liszt consulted Alfred Karl Græfe, an ophthalmologist who practised at Halle. He made the trip from Weimar where he held yearly Master-classes for aspiring young pianists.

Alfred Græfe (1830-1899) belonged to the distinguished Grafe family of Prussian and Polish origins. His cousin was the Alfred von Græfe of Berlin (1828-1870) whose untimely death from tuberculosis was a great tragedy to ophthalmology.

Græfe examined Liszt and told him that he had a cataract (the contemporary term used in Lina Ramann's « Lisztiana » is « grauer star » which is synonymous with cataract) . He declined to operate, presumably because of the problem of unilateral aphakia. The most satisfactory result for both patient and doctor was the removal of cataracts which severely diminished acuity and which were bilateral. There was also some cataract and present in the right-eye, these were typical senile cataracts. Græfe wisely advised a conservative approach to the problem.

Græfe saw the composer on occasion, it was not until 1886 that Liszt's vision had declined to such an extent that operation became imperative. The operation was scheduled for September 1886, Liszt wrote that he found the idea of an eye-operation extremely « disagreeable » . The operation did not take place due to death.

Liszt's health had markedly declined, his vision was poor. In London, in 1886, Jenny Churchill wrote that she had to help Liszt eat asparagus at a public banquet because he could not see the plate ! He could write and notate music only with greatest difficulty. When he played, he was often led to the concert platform on the arm of another person - his mobility was poor due to his vision and « dropsy » (pedal œdema) and probably also to osteoarthritis of the hips.

We are reliably told that Liszt still played remarkably well and people were often moved to tears by the great pianist's playing.

The influence of Liszt's declining vision on his playing was probably confined to his impaired score reading, there is much testimony that Liszt scarcely looked at the keyboard whilst playing at other times. Conductor Felix Weingartner does however say that Liszt adopted a hand-position closer to the keys than that of his youth, a possible concession to declining vision.

In the last year of Liszt's life, there was a new component to his eye-disease namely a severe type of blepharitis, we are told that it made his eyes stream profoundly, especially in cigar smoke filled rooms. His eyes looked red, and the condition was aggravating. Græfe prescribed drops, of the anti-bacterial sublimate which he characteristically used as a prophylactic for endophthalmitis and Liszt was advised to avoid cigar smoke which exacerbated the blepharitis, characteristically he ignored the advice preferring to smoke copiously.

The external eye-disease is seen if one looks carefully at late-photographs of the composer.

The famous photographs by Louis Held and by Paul Nadar show thickening, blunting and discolouration of the lid margin. These are high-quality portraits which have been well-produced.

Nadar's photographs of March 1886 also show « arcus senilis » and, in profile, one sees peripheral corneal lesions presumably due to staphylococcal hypersensitivity keratitis, a small left « exotropia » is present, presumably due to the cataract.

The clinical approach to Liszt's eye-problem illustrates much about the Græfes and their approach to ophthalmology.

The approach was conservative and scientifically based.

Græfe's technique of cataract extraction was based upon that of his cousin, namely he performed an extra-capsular extraction with a broad or sector iridectomy.

The main complication being retained soft lens matter. Anterior « uveitis » was also relatively common. If the posterior capsule opacified post-operatively or there was axial soft lens matter left behind after the operation a secondary capsulotomy was performed using a fine needle.

The spatulate Græfe-knife and the approach to the anterior chamber are still well-known. These were also developments fostered by Albrecht von Graefe.

Local anaesthesia was widely used by 1886. This was in the form of cocaine drops. Initially adopted by Karl Koller in 1884, their use in German ophthalmology became almost universal after the famous Heidelberg conference.

Sections were almost never sutured with the consequence that post-operative astigmatism was usually against the rule. The « ab externo » with the Græfe-knife approach usually used ensured good wound construction and minimal astigmatism given the limited technology of the time.

Edward Nettleship (1845-1913), a contemporary British ophthalmologist, succinctly outlined the technique of extra-capsular cataract extraction in the Græfe's now widely in use throughout Europe in his « Students Guide to the Diseases of the Eye » (1884).

« All operators for hard cataract agree in the following points :

- (1) An incision is made in the cornea at the junction of the cornea and sclerotic, or even slightly in the sclerotic, large enough to give exit to the crystalline lens unbroken, but not altered in shape. The knife now almost universally employed is the narrow thin straight knife of Von Græfe.
- (2) The capsule is freely opened with a small, sharp pointed instrument (cystitome or pricker) .
- (3) The lens is removed through the rent in the capsule (the latter structure remaining behind) either by pressure and manipulation outside the eye or by means of a traction instrument (scoop or spoon) passed into the eye just behind the lens. Most operators have abandoned the use of the scoop, reserving it for certain emergencies and special cases.
- (4) Iridectomy is very often performed as the second stage, not with the primary object of facilitating the exit of the lens, but to lessen the after risks of iritis. »

Nettleship, incidentally, was a pioneer of domiciliary cataract extraction using cocaine drops. The favoured mydriatic was atropine. Nettleship writes that visual rehabilitation takes about 6 to 8 weeks.

His post-operative regimen, designed to minimize astigmatism and to facilitate wound-healing consisted in the following. 3 days of bed-rest were followed by 2 weeks of nursing in a darkened room. The patient was then allowed to ambulate and was allowed to go outside wearing dark glasses. After about 8 weeks, glasses were prescribed. These were aphakic glasses which incorporated a cylinder. The problems of aphakia were well-described by Franciscus Cornelis Donders and others, and, by the late-19th Century, these glasses incorporated a cylinder (toroidal lenses) .

It is also interesting to note that extra-capsular cataract extraction, proposed initially by Albrecht von Græfe of Berlin, fell-out of favour for senile cataract and was replaced with intra-capsular cataract extraction. The technique was revived by Harold Ridley (London) in 1949 to facilitate intra-ocular lens implantation and has remained popular since then.

To return to Liszt's ophthalmic surgeon, it is interesting to reflect that Liszt was the progenitor of a musical dynasty through his second daughter Cosima who married Richard Wagner. The Græfe family, of Polish and Prussian extraction, were no less illustrious in the field of medicine.

Liszt's ophthalmic problems are illustrative of many features of late-19th Century ophthalmic surgery. An era, like our own, of rapid innovation, improvement and change. The meeting of Alfred Græfe and his distinguished patient Franz Liszt is also a fortuitous meeting of two of mankind's most brilliant, generous and productive benefactors. Parallel lives of extraordinary productivity in both music and medicine.

Alfred Karl Græfe

Alfred Karl Græfe was born on 23 November 1830 in Martinskirchen on the Elbe. He studied medicine at Halle, Heidelberg, Würzburg, Leipzig and Prague.

He graduated as Doctor of Medicine in Halle, in 1854, with the thesis « De canalulorum lacrymalium natura ». He was appointed assistant-physician at his cousin Albrecht von Græfe's clinic in Berlin, in order to perfect his knowledge of ophthalmology.

At this time, he married the daughter of a city-counsellor of Halle and lived an exceedingly happy domestic life.

Alfred Karl Græfe was the co-author with Theodor Sæmisch of the multi-volume lexicon « Handbuch der Gesamten Augenheilkunde » which became the prototype of the many large works which characterize the speciality, most notably Sir Stewart Duke Elder's « System of Ophthalmology ». The first edition of this seminal work appeared in 1854. Græfe is recorded as being one of the most outstanding ophthalmologists and skilful surgeons of all times. All who worked with him stressed both his humanitarian and unselfish nature.

Græfe was a pioneer of aseptic ophthalmic surgery. The Greeks in Antiquity had recommended clean bandages when dressing the eye. It was an Arabic maxim that if you operate cleanly you will have success.

Lister dressing could not be applied to the eye, and so, a search for an improved method of wound closure and dressing was made. The rate of endophthalmitis was 3 % of lens extractions prior to Græfe.

The search to find improvements in wound closure involved many contemporary ophthalmologists, these included not only Græfe but Theodor Leber, Louis-Auguste Desmarres, Johann Friedrich Horner and Jacobson of Königsberg. A « current controversy in ophthalmology » clearly demanding rapid international attention. In the event, it was Græfe who developed the best solution to the problem.

Græfe noted that antiseptic dressing of the lids was the most important part of antibacterial prophylaxis, he also used a sublimate solution so that he had reduced his rate of post operative infection such that in a series of 440 lens extractions he had not a single case of endophthalmitis. Græfe's clinical work was soundly based upon the contemporary scientific experimentation of Koch and Sattler.

Græfe reported 2 cases of fatal meningitis following enucleation, both died on the 5th post-operative day. A post-mortem revealed that inflammation extended via the pial sheaths to the central nervous system. Græfe recommended evisceration as an alternate procedure to relieve the pain of panophthalmitis and that, after evisceration, his antibacterial sublimate be instilled into scleral remnant of the eye.

Other contributions to Ophthalmology :

These include descriptions of essential blepharospasm, of paralytic strabismus, retinal infarction, hemianopia, luetic iritis, intra-ocular tumours, latent strabismus, accomodative disturbance and asthenopsia, torticollis and head postures. There

is also an early dissertation of the horopter concept. The diverse work of an unusually fertile, precise and far reaching mind. Græfe's original monograph on strabismus, written as an assistant-physician only 28 years old, is regarded by many as an original contribution to ophthalmology ranking with Donders work on refraction.

Græfe's later years were marred by presbycusis which impaired his conversations and made consultations slow and difficult. Græfe retired to Weimar shortly before his death, a town forever associated with the artistic glories Gøthe, Schiller and of his former patient, Franz Liszt.

Græfe's distinguished students and colleagues included Carl Schweiger, Konrad Frolich, Eugen von Hippel and Paul Bunge.

Professor Kunht wrote of Alfred Græfe in his obituary (1899) :

« Only rarely will nature combine in such a harmonious way intellect, temperament and a fascinating personality in order to create the model of a true physician as it was in the case with Alfred Græfe. »

### Doctor Richard von Volkmann

Doctor Richard von Volkmann was the head of surgery at Halle. Franz Liszt had consulted him in June 1886, when Volkmann had prescribed a water-cure at Bad Kissingen, to precede the operation for removal of a cataract of the left-eye recommended by Doctor Alfred Græfe of the same hospital. This cure had already been scheduled for August, immediately following Liszt's visit to Bayreuth ; the operation itself was scheduled to take place at Halle in September, but his death intervened.

...

The prominent German surgeon and author of poetry and fiction Richard von Volkmann (pseudonym : « Richard Leander ») was born on 17 August 1830 in Leipzig and died on 28 November 1889 in Jena.

The son of physiologist A.W.Volkmann, Richard entered medical school in Berlin and graduated in 1854. In 1867, he was appointed Professor of Surgery and Director of the Surgical Clinic at Halle where he remained until retirement. He was one of the most prominent surgeons of his day.

**1858** : He wrote « Bemerkungen über einige vom Krebs zu trennende Geschwülste » .

**1865-1872** : He contributed to Franz von Pitha and Theodor Billroth's « Handbuch der Chirurgie » a section on diseases of the locomotory organs.

**1870-1889** : He edited « Beiträge zur Chirurgie » .

**1878** : He performed the first excision of carcinoma of the rectum.

**1881** : He described Volkmann's Ischæmic Contracture.

He devised a splint and a spoon which bear his name.

His treatment of articular tuberculosis heralded attempts at preventive surgery.

**1894** : He described 3 patients with scrotal cancer who worked with paraffin and tar.

He was an early supporter of Joseph Lister, and helped the introduction of antiseptic surgery throughout Germany.

He invented the surgical retractor, now known as the Volkmann Retractor.

Under the pseudonym « Richard Leander », he wrote :

**1871** : « Träumereien an französischen Kaminen » (« “ Rêveries ” at French chimneys ») (24th edition, 1894) - a work for young people.

**1876** : « Aus der Burschenzeit » (From boyhood) .

**1885** : « Gedichte » (Poems) - 3rd edition.

**1888** : « Kleine Geschichten » (Little stories) - 2nd edition.

**1890** : « Alte und neue Troubadourlieder » (Old and new troubador songs) - 2nd edition.

### Surgeon and Renaissance Man

Richard von Volkmann, one of the most important surgeons of the 19th Century, is regarded as one of the fathers of orthopædic surgery. He was a contemporary of Langenbeck, Esmarch, Lister, Billroth, Kocher, and Trendelenburg. He was head of the Department of Surgery at the University of Halle, Germany (1867-1889) . His popularity attracted doctors and patients from all over the world. He was the lead-physician for the German military during 2 wars. From this experience, he compared the mortality of civilian and war injuries and investigated the general poor hygienic conditions in civilian hospitals. This led him to introduce the « antiseptic technique » to Germany that was developed by Joseph Lister. His powers of observation and creativity led him to findings and achievements that, to this day, bear his name : Volkmann's contracture and the Hueter-Volkmann law. Additionally, he was a gifted writer ; he published not only scientific literature but also books of children's fairy-tales and poems under the pen-name of « Richard Leander » , assuring him a permanent place in the world of literature as well as orthopædics.

« He walked towards us, tall and lean, with a mighty red beard, wearing tartan coloured pants, a colourful embroidered waist-coat and a flying red tie - the kind an artist would wear ... »

Richard von Volkmann was one of the founders of the German Society of Surgeons and one of the most famous surgeons of the 19th Century. Terms such as Volkmann's contracture and the Hueter-Volkmann law have immortalized his name. Daring to paint his portrait with only a few words, we would describe him as extremely passionate about his work, filled with energy, self-confident, striving indefatigably for knowledge, and intolerant of his own mistakes and those of colleagues in surgical and scientific matters. His way of thinking was greatly influenced by the classic humanitarian school and his patients were always at the centre of his attention.

Early in his career, Volkmann earned himself a legendary name, and, in the later years, the rich and famous would become his patients. His love of surgery dictated the relationships with his colleagues and his behaviour with them. His knowledge and abilities, paired with his charming personality, made him many friends. These friends sometimes were confronted with the contrary parts of his personality.

As was stated in an obituary :

« (...) von Volkmann was in all terms an eccentric person. He was not an everyday person. Everyone who met him, even if only for a short moment, knew that straight away. There were surely only a few friendships that went on without any thundering, but those friends he made were to a great portion, even in those moments, so fascinated by his personality, that these moments had no effect on the friendship. »

Friedrich von Trendelenburg said :

« (...) He was picturesque in speech and always ready to intervene in a debate. Even when listening, he was full of emotions and life that would show in his face. Being slim and " elastic ", he looked more like an artist than a doctor in his velvet-coat with a big colourful tie. »

His temper caused him problems as seen through his friendship with Theodore Billroth. Their friendship lasted 20 years but ended one day because of a scientific dispute about the source and the therapy of wound infections.

Volkmann was quoted as saying :

« People easy accept the superior and even the inferior, but not the different one. I have often experienced this in my life. »

Volkmann was an exact and ingenious surgeon ; a sympathetic, understanding doctor ; a successful scientist with sharp analytic capabilities ; a didactically talented teacher ; and an artist and poet. His collection of simple stories and poems (« Dreams at French Firesides ») makes us smile and confirms he was open to the gentle moments in life, full of spirit and soul.



The second child of 12, Richard von Volkmann was born on August 17, 1830, in Leipzig. His father, Doctor Alfred Volkmann (1801-1877), University Professor of Physiology and Anatomy at Halle, was a noted university lecturer of experimental physiology and described the transverse canals (Volkmann's canals) in the Haversian system of bones.

His mother, Adele, was the daughter of Gottfried Christoph Härtel, the owner of a book and music instrument shop and co-owner of the publishing house, Breitkopf and Härtel. (This company, renowned for publishing musical scores, would later publish Volkmann's journal.) The education of young Richard began at home by a house-teacher. At 13 years of age, he attended the Grand-Ducal School in Grimma for 6 years. Although he was interested in the old languages, he obeyed his father's wishes and began studying medicine. He studied in Gießen, Halle, possibly Heidelberg, and finished his studies in Berlin. His medical school was at Halle, with graduation in August 1854. His interest in surgery was awoken through his friendship with Theodore Billroth and under the guidance of Bernhard von Langenbeck, who at that time was the most famous surgeon in Germany.

In the summer of 1855, Volkmann became the « Medicus secundarius » of the surgical clinic led by Professor Blasius. Because of the latter's eye-sight problems, Volkmann became the clinic leader and chief-surgeon. He left this surgery clinic and began a private practice as a general practitioner in Halle (1857-1867). Although he was not initially on the teaching staff at the university, with some help from his father, he began lecturing « pro bono ». He gave his students fascinating insights into the world of microscopy and stunned them with didactic skills and passionate excursions. The students loved and adored him.

Volkmann also had a very good reputation for hard work as a general practitioner. With indefatigable energy, he served his patients during the day, pursued scientific studies, and prepared his readings in pathologic anatomy for the university.

From this time, there is one saying of his that is often quoted :

« (...) either a doctor has no bread or he has no time to eat it. »

However, he did manage to find time to marry. On May 28, 1858, he married Anna von Schlechtendahl, daughter of the Professor of Botany and Head of the Botanical Gardens at Halle. They would have 11 children together.

In 1862, the young 32 year old surgeon published his thoughts about the growth of immature bones.

Volkmann observed :

« The child's skull grows in such a way that the bones are never over-stressed, ... the periosteum places new bone layer by layer, while on the inside increasing pressure pushes away the old bone which atrophies ... »

He also « suggested alterations in the growth of long bones as a result of tension and compression on the epiphyseal plate » .

That same year, Carl Hueter (1838-1882) while in Paris described the remodeling of bone in the ankle and sub-talar joints of infants and adults.

He noted :

« The changes of the joint surfaces are preferentially caused by relatively greater growth of the bony parts which are relatively less pressure. »

Later, Volkmann would create a link between his theories and the studies of Hueter, leading to an orthopædic concept, the so-called Hueter-Volkmann law. In 1949, Blount and Clarke, in their discussion of epiphyseal stapling, referred to the works of Hueter and Volkmann from 1862. The first English language reference that specifically uses the term Hueter-Volkmann law was Arkin and Katz's 1956 article in « The Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery » .

Around 1864, Theodore Billroth (1829-1894) and Franz Baron von Pitha (1810-1875) requested he write a chapter entitled, « Dysfunctions of the musculo-skeletal system » for their « Hand-book of Basic and Special Surgery » . Volkmann wrote 700 pages, his own text-book, within the hand-book. Published initially in 1865 (2nd edition in 1872) , it quickly became the most popular surgical text-book of its time.

In one chapter, he described, for the first time, his ischemic muscle contracture :

« The severe contractions, after applying too tight of a bandage on the fore-arm for a fracture, are at least partially due to infectious muscle contraction and not all cause pressure induced primary nerve lesions. »

As a civilian and free-lance surgeon, Volkmann took charge of the military field hospital during the Prussian-Austrian War in 1866. (The War resulted in Prussian control over all modern German States.) Because of his War efforts in March 1867, at age 36, he was appointed a Professor of Surgery at the University of Halle.

In April 1870, in cooperation with many colleagues from Germany, he founded « Volkmann's Collection of Clinical Reports » . This journal covered the most important aspects of medicine of the time and made the name Richard von Volkmann famous. (362 issues were published until his death.)

In August 1870, he again was given leave to join the armed forces for the Franco-Prussian War. He assumed the rank of Surgeon General for the War. Volkmann was responsible for all 12 army hospitals and 1442 beds. During the 4 month siege of Paris, Volkmann found time to write his « Dreams at French Firesides » , which he sent home to his family. These fairy-tales were edited under his pen-name « Richard Leander » . This fairy-tale collection appeared in more than 300 editions, with more than 1 million copies sold. One poem, « Memory » , was set to music by Gustav Mahler, the famous Austrian composer (1860-1911) , for his song « Songs from the Youth » (« Lieder und Gesänge : Aus der Jugendzeit ») .

After the War when he returned to his own hospital, he found catastrophic numbers of infectious diseases spreading

throughout the ward.

Later, he wrote :

« The mortality after large amputations and complicated fractures grew year by year. In the summer of 1871, during my absence on the battle-field, the clinic was crowded by a large amount of injured. For 8 months, in the winter 1871 to 1872, the numbers of blood poisoning and rose disease victims were so great, that I considered applying for a temporary closure of the facility. Without a morgue, the dead stayed in the cellar beneath the wards until the funeral, even in the summer. »

In 1872, Bernhard von Langenbeck (1810-1887, Berlin) , Gustav Simon (1824-1876, Heidelberg) , and Richard von Volkmann (Halle) founded the German Society of Surgeons. Volkmann was the secretary of the Society for 14 years and president from 1886 to 1887. Volkmann's paper « Comparing Mortality Statistics of Analogous War and Peace Injuries » headed the first conference with the subject. During the presentation, he explained how gun-shot fractures had a lower mortality (24 %) than open leg-fractures in civilians (39 %) . His interest in these results led him to Lister's work in England.

Joseph Lister (1827-1912) developed his « antiseptic system of treatment » in 1867 as a prophylactic method to prevent wound infections. Volkmann sent his assistant, Max Schede, to Lister's clinic, and, soon after his return, Volkmann began using Lister's method.

On February 16, 1873, he wrote to Billroth :

« (...) since autumn of last year (1872) , I have been experimenting with Lister's method. ... Already, the trials in the old " contaminated " house, show wounds healing, uneventful, without fever and pus. »

During the Third Congress of the Surgeon's Society, in April 1874, Volkmann was the first to present a lecture about « the antiseptic occlusive-bandage and its influence towards the healing process of the wounds » . Volkmann's presentation became famous.

Bergmann years later remarked (1890) about this presentation :

« It was at this point, during our Third Congress, that von Volkmann mentioned for the first time, the influence of Lister's method on the wound-healing process. His report had effects all over the country and caused emotions ranging from enthusiastic applause to critical opposition. As well, it led to the fact that the method was established faster in Germany than in any other developed country. »

Lister agreed as he wrote the preface to one of Volkmann's papers :

« Volkmann appreciating the paramount importance of the antiseptic principle, carries it out with an intelligent care

such as can alone ensure success. »

The new closed therapy of wounds had many advantages compared with open treatment. The skin of the patient, the surgeon's hands, all instruments, and all bandages were disinfected with 5 % carbolic acid. A 2 % solution of carbolic acid was used continuously during the procedure. Volkmann used 3 to 4 centimetres drains for all wounds. In most cases, the wounds were not closed. Changing the bandages was always performed using carbolic acid sprayers. The treatment of open-fractures especially benefited from this new method.

Volkmann reported :

« Until a few years ago, open-fractures were potentially deadly injuries. Acute septicemia and pyremia killed a majority of the patients, especially in hospitals. France and Germany suffered immensely due to this problem. Even in the simplest case of an open-fracture, when a bone particle would spear the skin during the injury and then go back in place or re-position, no surgeon could say if the patient would survive. »

In 1877 and 1878, he twice received large pay increases to remain at Halle.

The Minister justified this increase in salary with the following words :

« Professor Volkmann is undoubtedly one of our supreme surgeons and the introduction of Lister's method is mainly his credit. For this reason, he already earns a great deal of the enormous evolution that surgery has made in recent years. Also, he is a gifted lecturer who fascinates and ties his listeners with his personal liveliness. »

In 1878, he described the first mentioned transsacral extirpation of the rectum. In 1880, he became editor of the « Zentralblatt für Chirurgie » with Franz König from Göttingen and E. Richter from Breslau.

He participated in the International Medical Congress in London (1881) with his key-note presentation entitled, « The Modern Surgery » :

« (...) through systematical procedures, we are able to stop the foul work of these micro-organisms. Instead of fortune and misfortune, that used to be a big part of the daily routine of a surgeon, now knowledge and ignorance, personal capability and non-capability, precision and carelessness are the factors that matter ... »

« In this modernized surgery, we can now perform elective surgery on the joints, the bones and internal organs without fearing the sure death of the patient. ... Also now, we have to take responsibility for the outcome of the operation and the further development of the sickness. »

He chose words that are more accurate today than they ever were :

« ... not long ago, after ending a bloody operation, the surgeon was in the same situation as a farmer after

cultivating his fields. He had to live with whatever occurred and was powerless toward the elements that could bring him rain and sunshine or storm and hail. Today, the surgeon is a manufacturer from whom good articles are expected.  
»

This was a radical change in the approach to surgery, which until this point was a treatment of last resort because of the high-likelihood of infection.

As a result of his poor health, he declined succeeding von Langenbeck in Berlin. Later, in 1882, he was made an honorary citizen of Halle. His international reputation was flourishing as one of the leading physicians in Europe. Even Pope Pius IX consulted him for a foot-ailment in 1885.

In November 28, 1889, Richard von Volkmann died at 59 years of age in the Neurologic Clinic of Professor Binswanger in Jena. He had suffered for almost 20 years from a painful spinal cord malady, which, to this day, cannot be clearly identified. Although suffering from this and paralysis of his limbs and surviving on a liquid diet, he tried to face all his duties. His stern self-discipline was evident even on his death-bed when his colleagues met at his home to plan the next conference.

His push for sterility in the operating-room following Lister's principles advanced surgery as a specialty. Furthermore, Volkmann's powers of observation and creativity, as a seasoned practitioner, led him to important accomplishments that to this day bear his name. Volkmann was one of the first to publish clinical case histories. He was certainly one of the fathers of orthopædic surgery, with many important papers on limb growth, surgery for muscular torticollis, hypertrophy of capital femoral epiphysis, a gonio-meter, ischemic limb contracture, knee and hip osteotomies, penetrating injuries of the knee, loss of motion of the fore-arm, Esmarch's bloodless hip-surgery, treatment of septic bone and joints, great toe exostosis, gun-shot injuries, bone and joint resection for neoplasm, and the etiology and treatment of congenital club-feet. He recommended simple Achilles tenotomy and casting and to try at all costs to avoid major operations on the foot. Today, his name is immortalized by Volkmann's contracture and Hueter-Volkmann law.

Volkmann's personality and leadership led to the development of the German Society of Surgeons and the journal « Collection of Clinical Reports ». His evidence-based medicine study « Comparing Mortality Statistics of Analogous War and Peace Injuries » led to operating-room sterility 130 years before it became popular. His efforts, science, and leadership led antiseptic principles in German operating-rooms before Lister was able to accomplish the same in Britain. His many papers on orthopædic topics, especially treatment of gun-shot wounds and open-fractures, certainly justify considering him one of our orthopædic fathers. Volkmann was truly a remarkable individual who has left his mark and name in medicine as well as literature.

...

Doktor Richard von Volkmann (vor 1885 Richard Volkmann) (Pseudonym : « Richard Leander ») , deutscher Chirurg und Hochschullehrer sowie Poet und Märchendichter : geboren 17. August 1830 in Leipzig ; gestorben 28. November 1889 in Jena.

Richard Volkmann wurde als zweites von zwölf Kindern des Physiologen und Anatomen Alfred Wilhelm Volkmann und dessen Ehefrau Adele, geborene Härtel, geboren und besuchte die Fürstenschule Grimma von 1845 bis 1851. Ab 1850 studierte er dem Wunsch seines Vaters entsprechend Medizin an der Friedrichs-Universität Halle, der Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität in Gießen und der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, an der er (wie alle preußischen Ärzte) 1854 das Staatsexamen ablegte und zum Doktor der Medizin promoviert wurde. 1851 wurde er Mitglied des Corps Starkenburgia und des Corps Marchia Halle.

Er trat eine Assistentenstelle bei Ernst Blasius an der alten Chirurgischen Universitätsklinik am Domplatz in Halle an und habilitierte sich 1857. Während einer langen Erkrankung von Blasius vertrat er ihn in der Leitung der Klinik. Wegen der zunehmenden Spannungen mit dem zurückgekehrten Blasius verließ Volkmann die Klinik und den Lehrkörper der Universität und ließ sich in Halle als praktischer Chirurg nieder. 1863 kehrte Volkmann als außerordentlicher Professor an die Universität zurück.

Am Krieg gegen Österreich 1866 nahm er als Chefarzt des Lazarets Trautenau in Böhmen teil. 1867 wurden Volkmann das Ordinariat für Chirurgie und die Leitung der Chirurgischen Universitätsklinik übertragen. Während des Krieges gegen Frankreich 1870-1871 war er als konsultierender Generalarzt beim IV. Armee-Korps, später an der Maas und bei der Südmarmee eingesetzt. Im Krieg zog er sich eine Syphilis zu, die zur Tabes dorsalis führte.

1885 von Preußens König Wilhelm I. nobilitiert, starb er an einer Pneumonie. Sein Grab befindet sich auf dem hallischen Stadtgottesacker.

Von Volkmann war verheiratet und hatte sieben Kinder. Er hatte rotes Haar und blaue Augen.

Volkmann zählt zu den bedeutendsten Chirurgen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Er entwickelte neue Methoden zur Resektion der Gelenke, zur Operation komplizierter Brüche sowie zur Chirurgie und Orthopädie der Wirbelsäule und der Extremitäten. Er führte als erster deutscher Arzt die antiseptische Wundbehandlung mit Karbol (nach Joseph Lister, I. Baron Lister) ein, wodurch die Überlebenschance bei Operationen sprunghaft anstieg und Bauchchirurgie im eigentlichen Sinne erst möglich wurde. Volkmann selbst entwickelte Verfahren zur Resektion von Mastdarmkrebs.

...

Richard von Volkmann sei die « Zierde der medicinischen Fakultät », so Theodor Keil (1822-1894), Rektor der Universität Halle, im Jahr 1882. Wenige Tage nach der Feier zu Ehren Volkmanns im « Neuen Theater » von Halle beging er seinen 52. Geburtstag. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt war Volkmann auf dem Zenit seiner beruflichen Karriere: Seit 1877 war er ordentlicher Professor der Chirurgie und Direktor der Chirurgischen Klinik, 1879 wurde der von ihm angeregte Neubau der Chirurgischen Klinik in Halle eingeweiht und die von ihm beförderte antiseptische Methode galt als Meilenstein in der Medizin. Doch Volkmann war nicht nur Mediziner und 1872 Mitbegründer der « Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie », sondern ein Literat, dessen Märchen, die « Träumereien an französischen Kaminen », weltweit unzählige Erfolge feierten. Unter dem Pseudonym « Richard Leander », der griechischen Übersetzung von Mann des Volkes, führte er ein Leben als Chirurg und Literat.

Richard von Volkmann wurde am 17. August 1830 in Leipzig geboren. Von seiner Mutter Adele Volkmann (1808-1864), einer Tochter des Inhabers der renommierten Buch- und Musikalienhandlung Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, hatte er seine Liebe zur Kunst. Seine berufliche Laufbahn hingegen wurde von seinem Vater Alfred Volkmann (1801-1877), dem Professor für Physiologie und Anatomie in Halle und mehrfachen Rektor der Universität, geprägt. Zunächst besuchte Richard die Lateinische Hauptschule in den Franckeschen Stiftungen und wechselte anschließend an die Fürstenschule in Grimma. Vielleicht entstand hier sein Wunsch, klassische Philologie zu studieren, doch sein Vater ließ ihn für das Sommersemester 1850 an der Medizinischen Fakultät in Halle immatrikulieren. Volkmann studierte in Halle und Gießen, bevor er 1854 für die Staatsexamensprüfung nach Berlin zog. An der Charité-Chirurgie lernte er Bernhard von Langenbeck (1810-1887) kennen und wurde sein Schüler. Bereits am 26. August 1854 wurde er mit der Arbeit « De pulmonum gangræna » promoviert und bestand im Mai 1855 das Staatsexamen. Anschließend kehrte Volkmann nach Halle zurück, um im Sommer desselben Jahres eine Assistentenstelle bei Ernst Blasius (1802-1875) an der Chirurgischen Klinik am Domplatz anzutreten.

Fotostelle Universitätsklinikum Halle (Saale) : Richard von Volkmann (1830-1889) Bernd Göbel (geboren 1942), Freiberg, Bronzeguss 2008-2009 ; Lehrgebäude des Universitätsklinikums Parallel zum Alltag in der Klinik, die er in Vertretung von Blasius zwischenzeitlich leitete, arbeitete er an seiner Habilitation « Observationes anatomicæ et chirurgicæ quatuor ... ». Diese verteidigte er am 26. Juni 1857, war anschließend als Privatdozent an der Chirurgischen Klinik tätig und hielt Vorlesungen « Über die Krankheiten der Gelenke ». Am 28. Mai 1858 heiratete er Anna von Schlechtendal, die Tochter des Direktors des Botanischen Gartens in Halle, mit der er elf Kinder hatte. In den folgenden Jahren veröffentlichte Volkmann 18 wissenschaftliche Beiträge - beispielsweise über die « Penetrierende Kniegelenkswunde » oder das Coxangyrometer, das zur Vermessung des Hüftgelenks diente. In diese Zeit fiel auch die Anfrage von seinem Studienfreund Christian Billroth (1829-1894), einen Beitrag für das I. deutsche « Handbuch der allgemeinen und speciellen Chirurgie » zu schreiben, der nicht zuletzt seinen Ruhm begründen sollte. Seine umfassenden Tätigkeiten honorierte die Universität Halle 1863 mit einer außerordentlichen Professur an der Medizinischen Fakultät und als er im März 1867 aus dem preußisch-österreichischen Krieg zurückkehrte, erhielt er die Ernennung zum ordentlichen Professor und Direktor der Chirurgischen Klinik in Halle.

Nach seiner Rückkehr aus dem deutsch-französischen Krieg 1870-1871 erwarteten ihn in der Klinik enorme Schwierigkeiten : Die Wundinfektionen nahmen derart zu, daß 1872 zeitweise die Schließung der Klinik drohte. In dieser Situation entschloß sich Volkmann zur Prüfung der neuesten Lister'schen Methode. Danach mußten die Haut des Patienten, die Hände der Operateure, alle Instrumente, Schwämme und Verbandstoffe mit 5%iger Carbollösung desinfiziert, die Operationswunde kontinuierlich mit 2%iger Lösung besprüht und die « Luftkeime » im Operations-saal mit einer 4%igen Lösung bei Verwendung von Wasserdampf vernichtet werden. Volkmann, der die Methode modifizierte, war vom I. Erfolg vollkommen überrascht und durch weitere Experimente von Listers Methode überzeugt. Fortan wurde er zum glühenden Verfechter des antiseptischen Verfahrens und es ist vor allem ihm zu verdanken, daß sich die Antisepsis schnell in den deutschen Krankenhäusern durchsetzte. Federführend war Volkmann aber auch bei der Planung und Durchführung des Klinikneubaus auf dem Gebiet der Maillenbreite. Als Bauherr der Chirurgischen Klinik konnte er am 12. Juli 1876 den Grundstein legen und diese 1879 feierlich eröffnen.

Bereits während seiner Studienzeit hatte Richard von Volkmann aber auch I. Schreibübungen unternommen, die unter

dem Titel « Aus der Burschenzeit - Ein Idyll » erschienen. Vor allem die familiären Vorbilder, so beispielsweise seine Märchen schreibende Tante Clara Fechner (1809-1900) , inspirierten seine Lust am Schreiben. Den literarischen Durchbruch erlebte Volkmann mit seinen Märchen, die er im deutsch-französischen Krieg als Briefe an seine Kinder geschrieben hatte. Diese führte er zu einer Sammlung aus 22 Texten zusammen und veröffentlichte sie unter dem Titel « Träumereien an französischen Kaminen » . Der Erfolg ist bis heute deutlich : Das Buch wurde in Hunderten von Auflagen immer wieder neu verlegt und in viele Sprachen übersetzt. Eine 1878 verfaßte Prachtausgabe mit Illustrationen von Olga von Fialka (1848-1930) sandte er an die Frau von Wilhelm I. als Weihnachtsgeschenk. Der Kaiser hob Volkmann am 4. Mai 1885 in den Adelsstand. In den folgenden Jahren erhielt er auf verschiedenen Ebenen Anerkennung für seine Arbeit. 1877 wurde er zum Geheimen Medizinalrat ernannt, ein Jahr später zum Rektor der Universität Halle gewählt und 1880 als Mitglied in die Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina aufgenommen. Bis zu seinem frühen Tod führte er Operationen durch, hielt Vorlesungen und widmete sich der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit. Zuletzt suchte er an oberitalienischen Seen und in der Privatklinik von Otto Binswanger (1852-1929) in Jena Linderung. Dort starb Richard von Volkmann am 28. November 1889 im Kreis seiner Familie.

...

Richard Volkmann wurde in Leipzig als Sohn eines Universitätsprofessors geboren, besuchte die Fürstenschule in Grimma und studierte ab 1850 Medizin in Halle, Gießen und Berlin. In Halle war er Mitglied des Corps Marchia, in Gießen des Corps Starkenburgia. Nach der Promotion zum Doktor der Medizin (1854) wurde er Assistent an der chirurgischen Universitätsklinik in Halle. 1857 wurde er habilitiert, 1867 Ordinarius für Chirurgie und Leiter der Chirurgischen Universitätsklinik. Er gehörte zu den Gründern der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie und war deren langjähriger Vorsitzender.

Unter dem Pseudonym « Richard Leander » gab Volkmann die Märchensammlung « Träumereien an französischen Kaminen » heraus, die während seiner Teilnahme am Deutsch-Französischen Krieg als konsultierender Generalarzt beim IV. Armee-Korps entstand. Carl Reinecke verwendete das Werk als Vorlage für seine Kinder-Märchenoper « Glückskind und Pechvogel » .

Volkmann wurde 1882 zum Ehrenbürger der Stadt Halle ernannt und 1885 in den preußischen Adelsstand erhoben. Er starb am 28. November 1889 in Jena und wurde auf dem Stadtgottesacker in Halle beigesetzt. Sein Denkmal befindet sich vor der chirurgischen Klinik in Halle.

...

Richard Volkmann besuchte die Fürstenschule Grimma, ab 1850 studierte er Medizin an den Universitäten Halle, Gießen und Berlin, wo er 1854 zum Doktor der Medizin promovierte. Er trat eine Assistentenstelle in Ernst Blasius' chirurgischer Universitätsklinik an und habilitierte sich 1857 mit der 1858 veröffentlichten Abhandlung « Bemerkungen über einige vom Krebs zu trennende Geschwülste » . Während einer lang andauernden Erkrankung Blasius' vertrat er diesen in der Leitung der Klinik. Wegen der zunehmenden Spannungen mit dem zurückgekehrten Blasius verließ Volkmann die Klinik und den Lehrkörper der Universität und ließ sich in Halle als praktischer Chirurg nieder. 1863



kehrte Volkmann als außerordentlicher Professor an die Universität zurück. Am Krieg gegen Österreich nahm er als Chefarzt des Kriegslazarettes Trautenau in Böhmen teil. 1867 wurden Volkmann das Ordinariat für Chirurgie und die Leitung der chirurgischen Universitätsklinik übertragen. Während des Krieges gegen Frankreich war er als konsultierender Generalarzt beim 4. Armeecorps, später an der Maas und bei der Süarmee eingesetzt. Volkmann, der zu den bedeutendsten Chirurgen des 19. Jahrhunderts zählt, entwickelte neue Methoden zur Resektion der Gelenke, zur Operation komplizierte Brüche sowie zur Chirurgie und Orthopädie der Wirbelsäule und der Extremitäten. Er führte als erster deutscher Arzt die antiseptische Wundbehandlung mit Karbol (nach Lister) ein, wodurch die Überlebenschance bei Operationen sprunghaft anstieg und Bauchchirurgie im eigentlichen Sinne erst möglich wurde (Volkmann selbst entwickelte Verfahren zur Operation von Mastdarmkrebs). Volkmann wurde 1885 geadelt, Rufe nach an die Universitäten Berlin, Erlangen, Breslau, Heidelberg und Würzburg lehnte er ab, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil er den Neubau der chirurgischen Universitätsklinik Halle selbst konzipiert und nach seinen Vorstellungen eingerichtet hatte. Volkmann gehörte zu den Gründern der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie und war lange Jahre ihr Vorsitzender. Neben zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen (und andere « Beiträge zur Chirurgie », 1875) veröffentlichte er unter dem Pseudonym « Richard Leander » literarische Arbeiten. Zum Erfolg wurden seine während des Kriegseinsatzes verfassten Märchen « Träumereien an französischen Kaminen », 40. Auflage 1910). Der Hochdekorierte (und andere Roter Adler-Orden 3. Klasse, Kronen-Orden 2. Klasse, Kommandeur II. Klasse des anhaltischen Hausordens Albrechts des Bären, Kommandeur des Gustav-Wasa-Ordens, Ehrenmitglied der « Société Royale » Belgiens) erkrankte 1886 an Paralyse. Er starb in der Biswangerschen Klinik in Jena.

...

Nach ihm benannt sind das Volkmann-Dreieck (beim Knöchelbruch : vorderes und hinteres V.-D.) , ein scharfer Löffel (auch Volkmann-Löffel oder Scharfer Löffel (nach) Volkmann) , die Volkmann-Schiene (Beinschiene) und das Volkmannsche Gehbänkchen, eine Vorform des heutigen Rollators.

Rufe der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg und der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg lehnte er ab, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil er den Neubau der chirurgischen Universitätsklinik Halle selbst konzipiert und nach seinen Vorstellungen eingerichtet hatte. Volkmann gehörte 1872 zu den Gründern der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie und war viele Jahre ihr Vorsitzender.

### Medizinische Schriften

**1865** : Krankheiten der Bewegungsorgane.

**1875** : Beiträge zur Chirurgie.

### Literarische Arbeiten

Von Volkmann, in dessen Haus auch Künstler wie Wilhelm von Kügelgen sowie Robert und Clara Schumann verkehrten,

veröffentlichte seine literarischen Werke unter dem Pseudonym « Richard Leander ». Während seine Gelegenheitsschriften, wie Gedichte, Lieder und Geschichten heute weitgehend vergessen sind, wurden die während des Kriegseinsatzes 1870-1871 verfassten Märchen Träumereien an französischen Kaminen mit mehr als 300 Auflagen zu einem großen schriftstellerischen Erfolg.

**1871** : Träumereien an französischen Kaminen (Märchen) .

**1876** : Aus der Burschenzeit (Dichtung) .

**1878** : Gedichte.

**1885** : Kleine Geschichten.

**1889** : Alte und neue Troubadour-Lieder.

In der 1887 von Karl Emil Franzos herausgegebenen Deutschen Dichtung äußert sich ein Kritiker begeistert über die Träumereien :

« Ein Erstlingswerk, das erste Zeugnis eines Mannes, dessen Hand bisher nur das Messer und die Feder bloß zur Abfassung chirurgischer Fachschriften geführt - und welche Treffsicherheit des Stiles, welche künstlerische Glätte, welche fein abgewogene Zartheit oder Kraft der Farbengebung ! Alles fertig, rund, sicher, zuweilen höchstens ein Wort zu wenig, aber niemals eins zuviel, Inhalt und Form so vollständig zueinander passend, daß das kritische Auge kaum Gewand und Körper voneinander zu trennen vermag. » (N.N.)

## Märchen

Die künstliche Orgel.

Goldtöchterchen.

Vom unsichtbaren Königreiche (hierauf beruht die Oper Der Traumgörge von Alexander Zemlinsky) .

Wie der Teufel ins Weihwasser fiel.

Der verrostete Ritter.

Von der Königin, die keine Pfeffernüsse backen, und dem König, der kein Brummeisen spielen konnte.

Der Wunschring.

Die drei Schwestern mit den gläsernen Herzen.

Sepp auf der Freite.

Heino im Sumpf.

Pechvogel und Glückskind.

Die Alte-Weiber-Mühle.

Das Klapperstorch-Märchen.

Wie sich der Christof und das Bärbel immer aneinander vorbeigewünscht haben.

Die Traumbuche.

Das kleine bucklige Mädchen.

Der kleine Vogel.

Die himmlische Musik.

Der kleine Mohr und die Goldprinzessin.

Von Himmel und Hölle.

Der alte Koffer.

## Ehrungen und Auszeichnungen

**1877** : Geheimer Medizinalrat.

**1880** : Wahl zum Mitglied der Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina.

**1882** : Ehrenbürger der Stadt Halle.

**1895** : Nobilitierung durch Wilhelm II als König von Preußen.

Roter Adlerorden 3. Klasse.

Königlicher Kronen-Orden (Preußen) 2. Klasse.

Hausorden Albrechts des Bären, Kommandeur II. Klasse.

Wasaorden, Kommandeur.

« The Royal Academies for Science and the Arts of Belgium » , Ehrenmitglied.

### Denkmal

Der in Rom ansässige Bildhauer Artur Volkmann, ein Neffe Richards von Volkmann, schuf ein Marmor-Sitzbild des bekannten Arztes und Dichters, das am 1. August 1894 in Halle (Saale) vor der Chirurgischen Universitätsklinik an der Magdeburger Straße feierlich enthüllt wurde.

### Medaille

Die Mitteldeutsche Chirurgenvereinigung verleiht die Volkmann-Medaille alljährlich an verdiente Chirurgen.

### Bayreuth : Café Sammet

**Monday, 26 July 1886 (?)** : After a performance of « Parsifal » in Bayreuth, the conductor and composer August Scharer met in the evening Anton Bruckner at the Café Sammet. Bruckner talked about his 7th Symphony under Arthur Nikisch and his private audience with Emperor Franz-Josef (where he beg to do something about the wickedness of Eduard Hanslick against him) . Bruckner begged Scharer to come the next day at St. Georgen abbey-church (?) to see him improvise at the organ for an hour.

During the first Bayreuth Festival, in 1876, the « Café » Sammet-Angermann offered « Flosshilde Soup with Alberich Morsels, Wotan Ham “ à la ” Walhall, Stuffed breast of Swan “ à la ” Lohengrin, Siegmund Asparagus Spears and Nibelungen Dumplings » .

### Bayreuth Festival : tie-in products

The city of Bayreuth became a veritable industry of tie-in merchandise !

The firm of Moosdorf & Hochhäusler, from Berlin, advertised their « wave-maker bath-tub » with the help of the Rhine-Maidens from « Das Rheingold » !

Richard Wagner was used to promote Liebig's meat-extract paste. Wagner's sponsorship of what was actually the forerunner of the « Oxo » cube has an extra-dimension, however, as the founder of the Liebig's Extract of Meat

Company was organic chemist Justus von Liebig (1803-1873) who was one of young King Ludwig II's science teachers. Ludwig held him in high-regard.

Romain Rolland observed on his visits to Bayreuth, at the turn of the 20th Century :

« The Wagner shops. Nibelung pins with Fricka's rams, Grane. Table crockery with Wagner's stubborn features. Busts : bare or black-draped. Wagner cravats : a black cravat with a photograph stuck in the middle. A picture of a Wagner "soirée" decorating a visiting-card case. A dozen plates with scenes from the dramas. Wagner at the hair-dressers'. Wagner at the cobblers'. (...) »

### Liebig's meat-extract

Liebig's Extract of Meat Company was the producer of LEMCO brand Liebig's Extract of Meat and the originator of Oxo meat-extracts and Oxo beef stock cubes. It was named after Baron Justus von Liebig, the 19th Century German organic chemist who developed and promoted a method for industrial production of beef extract.

Liebig's meat-extract is a molasses-like black spread packaged in an opaque white glass bottle, which contains reduced meat stock and salt (4 %) . The ratio of meat to meat-extract is generally reported to be about 30 to 1 : it takes 30 kilograms of meat to make 1 kilogram of extract. The extract was originally promoted for its supposed curative powers and nutritional value as a cheap, nutritious alternative to real meat. As subsequent research brought its nutritional value into question, its convenience and flavourfulness were emphasized, and it was marketed as a comfort food.

Colourful calendars and trading-cards were also marketed to popularize the product (« Famous Composers » : Richard Wagner ; « Heroes of Wagner Operas » ; « Heroines of Wagner Operas ») . Liebig produced many illustrated advertising products : table-cards, menu-cards, children's games, free trading-card sets, calendars, posters, poster stamps, paper and other toys. In 1872, they began to include sets of trading-cards featuring stories, historical tidbits, geographic tidbits, and so on. Many famous artists were contacted to design those series of cards, which were first produced using true lithography, then litho-chromo, chromo-lithography, and finally offset printing. The cards remain popular with collectors and are often collected in albums.

In 1847, Justus von Liebig developed a concentrated beef extract in hopes of providing a cheap and nutritious meat substitute, « Extractum carnis » Liebig, for those unable to afford the real thing. His method was to trim the fat from the meat, break the meat into small particles, boil it with water to form a liquid of 6-8 % solids, and then, stir it over low heat, until it was reduced to a paste of 80 % solids. However, in Europe meat was too expensive to economically supply the necessary raw materials to create the extract.

Liebig made his process public, publishing the details in 1847. Liebig clearly stated of his process that « the benefit of it should ... be placed at the command of as large a number of persons as possible by the extension of the manufacture, and consequently a reduction in the cost » . A variety of companies produced small batches of meat-extract based on Liebig's ideas, often using his name on their products.

In 1862, George Christian Giebert, a young Belgium railway engineer visiting Europe, read Liebig's « Familiar Letters on Chemistry ». Convinced that the process could be industrialized, he wrote to Liebig to suggest opening a manufacturing plant in South America. Using the flesh of cattle that, before the popularity of canning or freezing meat, would otherwise have been killed for their hides alone, he hoped to produce meat-extract at 1/3 of the European cost. He visited Max Joseph von Pettenkofer's Royal Pharmacy in Munich, and Friedrich Mohr's laboratory in Koblenz, where small amounts of extract were being produced.

### Liszt's final days

**Wednesday, 13 January 1886** : While Claude Debussy was staying at the Villa Medici in Rome, Franz Liszt met him there with Paul Vidal and Victor Herbert. Liszt played « Au bord d'une source » from his « Années de pèlerinage », as well as his arrangement of Franz Schubert's « Ave Maria » for the musicians. Debussy, in later years, described Liszt's pedalling as « like a form of breathing ». Debussy and Vidal performed their piano duet arrangement of Liszt's « Faust » Symphony ; allegedly, Liszt fell asleep during this.

As an indication of the general interest aroused by the coming of Franz Liszt, Mister Punch burst forth in the following strain :

« A Brilliant Variation -

Mr. and Mrs. Littleton's reception of the “ Abbé ” Franz Liszt, at Westwood House, Saturday night last, was an event never to be forgotten. But it was not until all the Great 'uns had left the Littletons that the Greatest of them all sat at the piano in the midst of a cosy and select circle, and then, when Mister Punch had put on his Liszt slippers but to say more were a breach of hospitality. Suffice it that on taking-up his sharp-and-flat candlestick in a perfectly natural manner the “ Abbé ”, embracing Mister Punch, sobbed-out :

“ This is the ' Abbé Liszt ' evening I've ever had. ' Au plaisir ! ' ” »

(Extract from a Distinguished Guest's Diary. Privately communicated.)

« Although he was in his 76th year at the time of this, his last sojourn in England, his pianoforte technique astonished those who were capable to form an opinion, and who were amazed that he did not “ smash the pianoforte, like his pupils ” ! He was immensely gratified at his visit, and in parting with Mister Alfred and Mister Augustus Littleton, at Calais, he said :

“ If I should live 2 years longer, I will certainly visit England again ! ” »

Given the extent of Liszt's travels in 1886, which were nearly non-stop from mid-March until mid-May 1886, encompassing London, Vienna, Liège, Antwerp and 2 trips to Paris, the relative absence of complaints about the physical demands they put on him is noteworthy. It seems significant that he travelled to hear performances of his music. Yet,

even before his travels began, Liszt's concerns about his ever-weakening eye-sight had intensified. Starting in February, he requested that both correspondents write in large letters, because, though his eyes did not cause him pain, it was almost impossible for him to read and write, « even notes which are easier for me than letters » . He composed only to provide an orchestral accompaniment for his song « Die Vätergruft » (N. 22) , performed by Georg Henschel on 9 April in a concert of Liszt's music at St. James's Hall, in London.

After returning to Weimar in **mid-May**, Liszt went to Halle on **Tuesday, 1 June** to consult with 2 prominent physicians.

2 weeks later, on **Monday, 14 June**, he wrote to Carolyne :

« For about 12 days, the weakening of my sight is such that I have had to dictate all my letters and will continue to do so this week. In addition, I don't know what sort of leg-ailment has come-back. Without making me suffer in the least, it manifests itself through a little bit of swelling. The result of my consultation with 2 illustrious doctors in Halle, Volkmann and Græfe, was hardly agreeable. To heal the legs, Volkmann prescribes a cure in Marienbad or some other place that he will tell me about later ; afterwards, Græfe considers it probable that I would have to undergo an operation, quite harmless, he assures me. You know my dislike for water-cures, which I used only one time at Aix-la-Chapelle, more than 30 years ago. The operation of the left-eye almost appeals to me more ... »

« **July 2**, Bayreuth.

Please ask the most illustrious (Richard) Volkmann the names of the 2 doctors in Kissingen to whom he was so good as to recommend me. (August) Stradal will go to Kissingen 10 days or so before me to reserve my rooms, and I would like to give him the names of these 2 doctors. Daniela is to be married tomorrow, Saturday, at " Wahnfried " before the civilian authorities - the Mayor and the notary, plus the witnesses. The following day, Sunday, the religious wedding will take place in the Protestant church. The same evening, the couple will leave for Switzerland and will pay a call on the father and father-in-law, Baron Hans von Bülow.

Monday evening your " umilissimo servo ", Franz Liszt, will be at Colpach (Grand Duchy of Luxemburg) . »

The diagnoses were cataracts and dropsy, the latter characterized by swelling due to fluid accumulation. In addition to this willingness to undergo cataract surgery, Liszt informed Olga in a **Friday, 2 July** letter that he intended to follow Doctor Richard von Volkmann's recommendation for treatment of the dropsy. But the closing of the **Monday, 14 June** letter to Carolyne confirmed his determination not to let the doctors' diagnoses deter him from pursuing his travel plans in the meantime :

« Distribution of my time : (**Monday**) **28 June**, I will be in Dornburg for the celebration of the Grand-Duke and, **3 July**, in Bayreuth for Daniela's marriage. Until (**Wednesday**) **30 June**, I will remain in Weimar. Do not worry, I promise you to conduct myself very reasonably. 2 of my piano disciples (male) read to me several hours each day.

“ Your most humble slave ”, to whom the physicians promise long life, provided that he takes care of himself. »

The last letter that Liszt indited with his own pen is addressed to « Frau » Sofie Menter, and is dated Bayreuth, **Saturday, 3 July 1886**. What proved to be almost a death-bed epistle runs as follows :

« Tomorrow, after the religious marriage of my grand-daughter Daniela von Bülow to Professor Henry Thode (art-historian) , I betake myself to my excellent friends the Munkácsys, “ Château ” Colpach, Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. On the **(Tuesday) 20th July**, I shall be back here, again, for the first 7 or 8 performances of the « Festspiel » ; then, alas ! I must put myself under the, to me, very disagreeable cure at Kissingen and, in **September**, an operation for the eyes is impending for me with Græfe at Halle. For a month past, I have been quite unable to read, and almost unable to write, with much labour, a couple of lines. 2 secretaries kindly help me by reading to me and writing letters at my dictation. How delightful it would be to me, dear friend, to visit you at your fairy castle at Itter ! But I do not see any opportunity of doing so at present. Perhaps, you will come to Bayreuth, where, **from (Tuesday) July 20 to August 7**, will be staying. Your sincere friend, Franz Liszt. »

The Master was spared the infliction of the cure he dreaded at Kissingen, and « Frau » Menter did not meet him at Bayreuth for, on **Saturday, July 31**, Liszt died.

« To whom the physicians promise long life » would prove as inaccurate a diagnosis as the oculist’s assertion in February 1884 that Liszt need not fear cataracts. After the first stay in Bayreuth, Liszt did not return to Weimar, but travelled instead to Luxembourg as the guest of the Munkácsys at the Château of Colpach in Luxemburg, remaining there **from Monday, 5 to Monday, 19 July**. He reported contentedly on his reunion with Cardinal Lajos Haynald (1816-1891) , as well as a dinner at which Haynald and the Bishop of Luxemburg were present. Otherwise, he wrote of a fairly uneventful and unremarkable daily routine :

Nothing has happened here after last Wednesday’s dinner with Cardinal Haynald and the Bishop of Luxemburg. The days follow and resemble each other. Munkácsy is working here on a fairly large painting representing his studio in his house, with three young ladies and a view of the garden. He has one thing in common with me, which is that work makes him surly and sleepy.

« (...) As for me, I play only 2 or 3 hands of “ whist ” in the evening with 3 ladies, and go to bed at 10:30 after the prescribed massages, infusion, and bathing of my eyes (not very effective) .

Stavenhagen writes German letters very well indeed, under my dictation, and “ Madame ” Munkácsy.

Next Monday, I shall spend a few hours in Luxemburg, and, on the following day, will return to Bayreuth. »

**Monday, 19 July 1886** : The Luxemburg Music Society gave a concert at the Casino Bourgeois in honour of Liszt, at which he played several numbers, a last, minor lapse in his vow of 1877 about public performance.



But 2 days before, on **Saturday, 17 July**, he had reported to Olga, still with a trace of irony, that he was already seriously ailing :

« To my physical condition, already so pleasant, has now been added these 5 days a most violent cough which plagues me day and night. To comfort me, the doctor says that this type of cough is very tenacious. So far, neither cough medicine nor infusions, nor “ mustard plasters ”, nor foot-baths have rid me of it. »

Liszt did not keep his promise to Carolyne to take care of himself, and held to his travel plans, leaving for Bayreuth on **Tuesday, 20 July**, arriving there the next day, with no inkling that it would be his final journey. Our main witness to his final days is Lina Schmalhausen, a former pupil who had served as his house-keeper in Budapest and with whom he had remained close. She arrived in Bayreuth the same day as Liszt ; other pupils gathered around him in the days to come, as they typically did when he travelled. August Göllerich junior, another pupil, also recorded his impressions.

When Liszt arrived at « Wahnfried » in Bayreuth on **Wednesday, 21 July 1886**, in company with a persistent young Parisian lady (the paramount passion not quite extinguished) , he had difficulty in breathing, and he was obliged to take to his bed with a high-fever and a racking cough. Once more, he rented rooms at the Fröhlich house, where he had stayed 2 weeks earlier. Cosima, who was heavily involved in the Wagner Festival, brought his coffee across from « Wahnfried » at 6 o'clock every morning and chatted with him for an hour or so ; she would then leave for the « Festpielhaus » and remain there for the rest of the day. She had also arranged to have Liszt's meals prepared at « Wahnfried » . The idea was that he could walk across the road for them ; but as he was ill, that proved to be impossible, so they were sent over to him. For the first day or 2, Liszt confined himself to his room, and scarcely anybody knew that he had arrived. His more adoring pupils August Göllerich, Alexander Siloti, Thomám, and Bernhard Stavenhagen tried to keep him amused with games of « whist » , but his hands trembled so badly that he could hardly hold the cards, much less order them. He often lapsed into fitful slumber from which he was amused by yet another bout of coughing. Lina Schmalhausen had arrived in Bayreuth the same day as Liszt, in response to his « télégramme » asking her to join him there, and she was shocked when she observed his condition. It is from her unpublished diary, in fact, that we have our best account of what took place during his final days.

**Thursday, 22 July 1886** : That morning, Lina went to see Liszt at the Frölich's, where he had again taken rooms. She was shocked when she saw him :

« The Master looked as if he were suffering a great deal and coughed terribly. »

Lina Schmalhausen, August Göllerich (junior) and Liszt's manservant Mihály (« Miska ») Kreiner saw to the patient's needs, kept him company while he played « whist » (his favourite card-game) and read to him. But they had to keep breaking-off « because the Master continually coughed, and his whole body shook violently. His head became blood-red and he probably spat-out 4 handkerchiefs of phlegm during 2 hours. »

Once a day (generally first thing in the morning) , Cosima Wagner called on her ailing father and remained for about

an hour, drinking coffee. He initially took his meals with the Wagners at the Villa « Wahnfried », but when his condition continued to deteriorate, Cosima sent round food to the Frölichs. Since Liszt was suffering from problems with his teeth and gums, he was unable to eat the veal fillets, cutlets and steaks that Cosima provided. Mostly, he poked at his food with a fork and ate a few mouthfuls of rice. He had, in any case, very little appetite.

He is said to have exclaimed in his despair :

« If only I had fallen ill somewhere else, but to have to be ill right here, amid all this clamour, is really too stupid. »

**Friday, 23 July 1886** : Linz attended the opening-night of « Parsifal » .

**Saturday, 24 July 1886** : Anton Bruckner arrived in Bayreuth to attend performances of « Tristan und Isolde » and « Parsifal » .

The picture of the dying Master surrounded by his disciples, hardly any of whom had grasped the fact that he was so seriously ill he was soon to pass-away, etched itself deeply on the mind of Adelheid von Schorn, who arrived in the middle of that scene, which took place on **July 24**.

« Liszt was sitting on the sofa holding his cards in his hand and surrounded by a number of his pupils who were playing whist with him ... He coughed, fell asleep for a moment, then went on playing. He hardly knew who was there and could scarcely sit upright. Deeply depressed, I left knowing that there was nothing we could do for the Master we loved. »

**Sunday, 25 July 1886** : From time to time, the pupils would take turns to give Liszt a spoonful of the cough medicine his doctor had prescribed for him. Since it contained morphine, it not only helped to suppress the cough but also exacerbated the chronic drowsiness from which he now suffered. At one point, Lina heard him complaining to Göllicher about his weak eyes and his swollen body. And Lina added that a look of inexpressible gloom passed across his face as he made the remark.

(Liszt had fallen once more into a deep depression, and there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that he may have entertained thoughts of suicide. According to Gottschalg, one of the Stahr sisters told him that Liszt broke a window-pane with a seltzer glass so that the cold night air would hasten his end.)

His coughing was by now so chronic that he feared that he would be unable to get to the Theatre. A local physician, Doctor Karl Landgraf, was summoned by Cosima. He subjected Liszt to a thorough examination and had the manservant, « Miska », show him the chamber-pot so that he could inspect Liszt's urine and stool.

The doctor told Liszt :

« It is considerably better than before. The urine is much lighter, and, in a few days, you will have overcome this little

cold. »

Lina, who was also present, later reported that she was thoroughly alarmed to see what looked like ink in the chamber-pot, an indication that Liszt was passing blood.

But « Miska » told her that it meant nothing :

« It has been like that for 3 weeks already. »

Lina caught-up with the doctor in the hall-way. He re-assured her that there was nothing to worry about, that Liszt should not speak too much or meet too many people, otherwise the illness could turn into pneumonia.

When she reported that conversation to Liszt, he remarked ironically :

« But I thought that I already “ had ” pneumonia. »

From that moment, they lost faith in his medical treatment.

Liszt's problems were further compounded by the fact that no one seemed to understand that he could not eat the food prepared for him at « Wahnfried » . His dentures caused him discomfort, so he never wore them, with the consequence that he could not chew meat or solid foods. Some smoked veal cutlet covered in apricot sauce had been sent across, but Liszt gave it to Lina's dog, and Lina prepared some clear broth, which seemed better suited to his condition. In order to get some rest, Liszt instructed « Miska » not to admit anyone to his rooms except Lina and Göllerich, whom he now wanted to read to him. Göllerich chose some passages from the literary works of Wagner, and Liszt was soon asleep. He was disturbed by a visit from Henriette Liszt, the widow of his cousin Eduard, who insisted on seeing him, brushed « Miska » aside, and, according to Lina, bent his ear with idle chatter for an hour or so. No sooner had « Frau » Liszt departed than Sophie Menter arrived in the company of friends. It was an impossible situation for Liszt ; he needed to be left alone, but he knew that as long as he was in Bayreuth, he would be expected to hold court and remain a centre of attention.

Cosima's ban on visitors to her father's bedside was in Liszt's best interests, but her motive in banning Lina, who had acted as Liszt's nurse and who could have gone on tending him, appears to have sprung from extreme dislike of this young lady. Lina's diary tells us why. While Cosima was in Lisa's bedroom, her father had lapsed once more into delirium and had mistaken her for Lina. His failing eye-sight had done the rest. Unable to see Cosima properly, he addressed some intimate remarks to her that were really intended for Lina. Cosima resolved there and then to dismiss her.

Doctor Landgraf was sufficiently unconcerned to permit Liszt to attend « Tristan und Isolde » that evening, simply cautioning him to rest as much as possible and temper his speaking so that his condition did not deteriorate into pneumonia.

Bayreuth premiere of « Tristan und Isolde » , which Liszt had promised Cosima he would attend. He withdrew into the shadows of his box. He was accompanied by conductor Felix Weingartner. Throughout the entire evening, he slept from absolute exhaustion and held a handkerchief clasped to his mouth in an attempt to stifle his coughing. He moved forward only to show himself during the intermissions and acknowledged the applause at the end in company of Cosima.

**Monday, 26 July 1886** : Franz Liszt's condition becomes worse. He sees himself deprived of his daily cognac by the doctors. At the beginning, the Master is surrounded by some of his students who worship him. Among them, Arthur Friedheim, Alexander Siloti and Bernhard Stavenhagen. They are refused access to his room by Cosima when his condition worsened.

The year 1886 begins on a Friday. Liszt's birthday falls that year on a Friday. When tremors and delirium strike ; the superstitious Liszt (like the Italians) now fears death.

...

Liszt sat slumped on the sofa coughing, his forehead mottled blood-red with the effort. Every 5 minutes or so, he drifted-off to sleep. Since Göllerich was also ill (he had taken to his bed the previous day) , and since « Miska » had disappeared on some errands, Liszt was alone for much of the time. Then, word was sent across from « Wahnfried » that in fixture, broth would only be served twice a week, so Liszt had nothing to eat. Lina finally arrived, and Liszt begged her to keep watch on « Wahnfried » , and then, when everyone « over there » had left for the Theatre, to come and keep a vigil beside him. This was a revealing statement, which indicated that he wanted to place some distance between himself and the Wagners. Lina did his bidding, kept watch until the Wagners had left, and then, returned to Liszt. He asked her to help him to bed. With difficulty, she got him to his feet.

« His body was as heavy as lead. Finally, I had him standing-up. He embraced me, with a thankful gaze that was both heavenly and “ deeply sad ”. Then, he pressed a long kiss on my neck. I carried him closer to the bedroom (he could hardly place one foot in front of the other from weakness) , and he immediately fell onto the chair in front of his bed. »

Liszt called for « Miska » to undress him and put him to bed, but the house was deserted and his servant was nowhere to be found. Lina offered to undress him, but Liszt muttered :

« That is exactly why they hate you and gossip so much about us ; they begrudge your help. »

When Lina protested that he was ill, and that no one could possibly object, Liszt replied :

« The whole of Bayreuth would be full of gossip tomorrow. »

He was right. Liszt's inner-circle had not failed to notice the little attentions that he and Lina had given one another

ever since the young woman had served as his house-keeper in Budapest. Liszt knew that the outside-world might easily misunderstand their arrangement, and he was nervous of compromising her reputation at this moment. So, Lina left in search of « Miska », tracked him down in the neighbourhood, and had him put his Master to bed. Lina then sat by Liszt, holding his hand, and read to him. At 8:00 pm, « Miska » returned with Liszt's supper, chicken and rice, but Liszt could hardly touch it. Lina noticed that his whole body was boiling hot and that he was intermittently delirious.

He would abruptly wake-up and tell her :

« I know that I'm saying a lot of confused things ; I have a high-fever. I always feel as if a wave is coming and I am in the water, and yet, I know that I'm lying in bed. »

Later that evening, the doctor came, and, after declaring that there was nothing wrong with Liszt except a severe cold, he departed. Lina wanted to sit-up with Liszt all night, but he would not allow it. At 11, she put-out his night-light (« Extinguish it, I am not used to it. », he told her) and departed with a promise that she would come-back at 7:30 the following morning.

**Tuesday, 27 July 1886** : When Lina returned after breakfast, she found « Miska » in a highly nervous state. Liszt had hallucinated the whole night, no one had been to see him, and « Miska » did not know what to do.

In a lucid moment Liszt had said :

« If only I had fallen ill somewhere else ! But to have to be ill just here, where everything throngs around me, is really too stupid. »

Cosima then arrived and spent more than an hour in Liszt's room. For the first time, she seemed to realize the full-seriousness of her father's condition. When she walked-out, she looked neither at Stavenhagen (who had meanwhile returned to the house) nor at Lina Schmalhausen, but went straight-up to « Miska » and firmly instructed him to forbid anyone to see her father. This was easier said than done ; Cosima put no one in charge of her father's welfare, and since the students were now the only contact he had with the outside-world, they continued to minister to his needs in defiance of Cosima's ban. At 4:00 pm, however, as Lina came-back to « Siegfriedstraße » from some small errand, she encountered « Miska », who told her that everybody (Stavenhagen, Göllicherich, and Lina herself) had been formally excluded from Liszt's presence, that Cosima herself was now nursing her father.

### Death of Franz Liszt

« I have never wished to live long. In my early youth, I often went to sleep hoping not to awake again here below. »  
(Franz Liszt)

After seeing her father's poor condition earlier in the day, Cosima had called in one of the best physicians from

Erlangen University, Doctor Richard Fleischer, who examined Liszt the next day and diagnosed pneumonia. The students hovered outside the house, offended by Cosima's ban but uncertain what to do next. A great reception was held at « Wahnfried » that afternoon, at which Cosima played the hostess while her father lay dying across the street. To do her justice, however, she had left instructions that a bed be set-up for her next to Liszt's room so that she could start to keep watch over him during the night.

On **Thursday, July 29**, she carried blankets, sheets, and pillows across the road and established herself in a room next to Liszt's. « Frau » Fröhlich, the land-lady, was highly critical of this move ; she complained to Lina that Liszt's illness had already caused her enough inconvenience. Moreover, « Frau » Fröhlich went on, she herself could not sleep at night.

Her bedroom was directly above Liszt's and his moaning and rattling cut her to the quick :

« Last night, he moaned terribly, and I wept on bedside, closed the door and retired to her room. At 2:00 am, there was a dramatic scene. Liszt suddenly leaped-up in a frenzy, clutched his chest, and shouted “ Luft ! Luft ! ”. He was gasping for air. “ Miska ” tried to restrain him, but Liszt had incredible reserves of energy and hurled him aside. His cries of pain lasted for half an hour and could be heard across the neighbourhood. Cosima dressed hurriedly and called Doctor Landgraf, who did not appear for an hour and a half, by which time Liszt had collapsed diagonally across the bed.

Landgraf at first declared :

“ He is dead. ”

But he massaged Liszt's ice-cold body until the limbs warmed-up, and gave him Hoffmann's drops. From then on, Liszt remained in a coma. »

**Saturday, 31 July 1886** : Liszt suffered an apparent heart-attack at 2:00 am calling-out in pain for a half hour, then lapsing into a coma. In the morning, Cosima wired an Erlangen physician named Richard Fleischer, who got to Bayreuth in the early afternoon. The whole Wagner family (Cosima, Daniela, Eva, Isolde, and Siegfried) was gathered in the salon outside Liszt's room. Fleischer informed them that the coming night would be crucial. He now considered it to have been a mistake to forbid Liszt all alcohol, and he prescribed a cocktail of heavy wines and champagne in an attempt to revive the patient. As the mixture was forced into Liszt's mouth, he came to for a few seconds. He tried to speak, but although Cosima bent over him, she could not catch the words. The Wagners then left, since Cosima had arranged a supper party at « Wahnfried » in the evening.

Doctor Fleischer was now joined by Doctor Landgraf. Throughout the evening, Fleischer sat by Liszt's bed, continually taking his pulse with one hand and checking it against a pocket-watch in the other. At 10:30 pm, Liszt stopped moaning but continued to breathe heavily. About 11:00, both doctors leaned over the bed, holding 2 large silver candelabras, and examined Liszt closely. At 11:30, Liszt was given 2 injections in the region of the heart. Some sources

have claimed these were injections of morphine. Others have claimed the injections were of camphor, shallow injections of which, followed by massage, would warm the body. An accidental injection of camphor into the heart itself would result in a swift infarction and death.

(Some sources say that these were injections of morphine ; others say camphor. Lina Schmalhausen, from her vantage-point just outside the open windows of Liszt's room, smelled the aroma of the injections as it drifted towards her, and morphine has no perceptible smell. Camphor was sometimes used to counter the effects of hypothermia, and shallow injections beneath the surface of the skin, followed by massage, were known to warm the body. But an accidental injection of camphor into the heart itself would have resulted in a swift infarction, and death.

It is a small detail, but the death-register puts the official time of death at 11:15 pm, while Lina Schmalhausen observed the 2 doctors give the injections at 11:30 pm.

Doctor Karl Landgraf is memorably called « the bungler of Bayreuth » .)

The effect was dramatic ; Liszt's body was shaken by convulsions ; the bed-covers flew violently up and down ; and then, he became still, his left arm falling by the side of the bed. Once more, the doctors bent over him, then left the room without exchanging a word.

Franz Liszt died in the arms of his daughter Cosima, as a result of pulmonary congestion.

His last word will be :

« Tristan »

(There is not a shred of evidence to support the statement that the last word Liszt uttered just before his death was « Tristan » . After the heart-attack that led to his coma, in the early hours of July 31, he was unable to speak. It doubtless suited the Bayreuth Circle to think that, even in death, Liszt had been thinking of Wagner's Masterpiece.)

Questions have been posed as to whether medical malpractice played a part in his death.

...

This series of events is exactly what Lina Schmalhausen describes in the eyewitness account in her private diary, the most detailed source regarding Liszt's final illness.

Lina was initially unsure what to make of all this, especially since no words were exchanged. Neither mother, daughter nor the 2 doctors spoke. The silence was eerie. Once Isolde and the 2 doctors had left the room, Cosima lay diagonally across Liszt's lower limbs, then, after a while, went to sit in the chair at the foot of the bed and again folded her hands. She then fell asleep, her head nodding back and forth and up and down. From time to time, she

would wake-up, only to doze-off again. When morning came, Lina left the Frölichs' garden since she was afraid of being discovered there. She felt relieved as she thought that Liszt had received a sedative injection and that he had spent the night asleep. Any other interpretation seemed impossible. The thought that Liszt was dead and that Cosima had simply fallen asleep beside her dead father seemed so absurd that she assumed the Master was still alive.

...

Cosima entered the room shortly afterwards and knelt before the bed. Completely calm, showing no trace of emotion, she gazed for a long time at the body and lovingly caressed Liszt's left-arm. She then laid herself diagonally across his feet, and remained in this position for several minutes, as if in prayer. Isolde came in, knelt before the bed, embraced her mother, and left the room. Cosima then sat-down on a chair at the foot of the bed and remained there for a long time, looking at her father ; she eventually drifted-off to sleep. Lina, who had observed every detail of this dramatic scene from just outside the window, did not know at that moment that Liszt was dead. In fact, she was convinced that he was resting, else why would Cosima be sleeping ? She stood in the garden observing this strange tableau until 4:30 am, and crept back to her lodgings, chilled to the bone, just as the first grey light of dawn was breaking. It was not until breakfast that her landlady came to arouse her with the news « So, Liszt is dead » . Lina rushed back to « Siegfriedstraße » , pushed her way past « Miska » , and entered Liszt's room. He lay fully-clothed on his bed, dressed as an « abbé » , a rosary in his right-hand ; his face was a waxen yellow, his body like a shell. The face wore a strange expression, but it looked 10 years younger, gaunt but peaceful. Liszt had often asked Lina to pray for him after his death. This, she now did as she knelt at his bedside. Cosima then entered and gave her Liszt's prayer-book. She also gave her permission to remove a lock of Liszt's hair. Whatever hostility Cosima had shown the young woman on previous occasions was forgotten in the trauma of her father's death. After Lina had returned to her lodgings, she went into the garden, picked a small bunch of forget-me-nots, ran back to Liszt's room with them, and placed them in his left-hand. It was a hot day, and some flies had started to attach themselves to Liszt's face. Lina went-out and got a small bottle of pine-essence, which she rubbed onto his face, throat, and hands. She closed his left-eye, which had remained partially open, kissed him for the last time, and then, covered the body with muslin. Although Liszt was a Roman Catholic cleric, no priest had been called in during his illness, and he had not been given extreme unction. It was only now that the local priest was summoned and a service held at the bedside for the Wagner family alone ; Liszt's friends, pupils, and close associates were excluded. After the service, a death-mask was taken by the sculptor Weißbrod, in the presence of Paul von Joukowsky and Wagner's old « factotum » Bernhard Schnappauf. (The death-mask was later sent to Weimar, where it was photographed by Louis Held.) While this was happening, Lina went-off in search of a photographer and returned with Hans Brand, who took 3 pictures. The first one did not come-out very well, because the warm wax used for the death-mask had raised the features, but the other 2 were excellent.

These 2 photographs provide us with a piece of evidence that is impossible to ignore, for it conclusively supports Lina's testimony. They show Lina's forget-me-nots in Liszt's left-hand, and the lock of Liszt's hair, just as she described them in the brief interval separating the taking of these images. The hands were moved in accordance with Lina's request to feature them more prominently in the picture, and this change of position is also reflected in the photography.



(Photo) « Liszt A. D. Sterbebeff » : Portrait of the remains of Franz Liszt in the form of a postcard, due to Berlin photographer Ramme. We see the composer on his death-bed, dressed in a dark costume, seizing a bouquet of flowers in his left-hand.

At 10:00 am, Cosima gave permission for the corpse to be viewed. Word spread quickly throughout the small town that Liszt had died the previous night, and crowds of people turned-up at the house. Some were legitimate mourners who wanted to pay their last respects ; others were morbid sight-seers - a few of whom even trooped into the room with their small children.

Later in the day, there was an attempt to embalm Liszt's body. We have few details, but according to Schmalhausen's account, the procedure was bungled, and the corpse was cut apart so badly that the body and face were bloated almost beyond recognition. Consequently, it was forbidden to view the distorted remains, which were covered in gauze. Cosima locked the door to the death-room and the body remained in darkness all night.

The following day, **Monday, August 2**, Lina went-back to « Siegfriedstraße » . All round the death-bed stood bowls of chlorine, and the doors were wide open to ensure a supply of fresh air. A young man was scrubbing the floor around the body in an attempt to clean the area around the bed. As Lina left the house, she encountered a boy rolling the coffin along the street on a hand-cart.

The coffin was made of brown metal and bore the inscription :

« The Lord Jesus Christ »

« Frau » Fröhlich insisted that the corpse be put into the coffin at once, since the body was starting to decompose and her other tenants objected to the odour. Cosima was so angered by this that she and Schnappauf put Liszt's body into the coffin themselves.

...

« Doctor Liszt died in the night. » , Weingartner was informed by his Swabian maid on the morning of **Sunday, August 1st**. He dressed and made his way to the house of mourning, which was already seething with activity. Bernhard Schnappauf and « Miska » had draped the room in black and decorated it with flowers. Liszt's body had already been laid on a bier. At its head, significantly, was a bust of Richard Wagner, at its foot a crucifix.

Weingartner described the scene :

« His face had fallen in and his hair had been smoothed down - he looked a little old man, and it was hard to recognize in his lifeless body the man he had been so shortly before, the man who had created the “ Faust ” and the “ Dante ” Symphonies. »

By now, Lina Schmalhausen had learnt the news from her land-lady. She found it hard to grasp what had happened, since only a few hours earlier she thought that Liszt had fallen into a restful sleep. When she arrived at the house, a Catholic priest was blessing the body.

« Not one of the 3 grand-daughters nor Siegfried shed a single tear. Cold, without the slightest trace of melancholy, they stood around the death-bed. »

Cosima had also refused to allow her father, an « abbé », to receive the last rites, a decision that the priest found inexplicable.

But the « dance of death » was not yet over. Since Cosima was unwilling to have her father's body in « Wahnfried » (she had arranged for an official supper to be held there that evening), the body was simply left at the Frölichs.

According to Schnappauf :

« “ Frau ” Frölich expressed her disapproval of the fact that the body was being laid-out in her house without so much as a by your leave. »

Her annoyance increased when a large crowd of on-lookers gathered outside the house. Even on his bier, Liszt remained a tourist attraction.

Lina noted in her diary :

« The public now arrived “ en masse ”. The inhabitants of Bayreuth brought along their 3 and 4 year old children in their arms. Few of them were sincere in their grief. They were mostly driven by curiosity. »

When the body began to putrefy on account of the high-temperature and Isolde became ill with the smell, Frölich finally lost his temper, laying into Schnappauf and ordering him to remove the body forthwith as he and his wife had other tenants and had no wish for an epidemic to break-out within their 4 walls. Unless Liszt's body was taken-away, he would call the police.

Schnappauf recalled :

« I immediately hurried-off to find “ Frau ” Cosima. She was still in bed. I told her what had happened and was instructed to transfer the body to “ Wahnfried ” once it had been placed in a coffin and the coffin had been sealed. »

Cosima dressed quickly and accompanied Schnappauf back to the Frölichs. Franz Liszt's mortal remains were finally collected in an ordinary hand-cart.

« “ Frau ” Cosima took the feet and I took the head. The coffin was wheeled into “ Wahnfried ” through a side-

entrance and placed on an improvised trestle in the hall, where it was covered in black material taken from the room's existing decor. »

It was above all Liszt's many friends and pupils who were dismayed at such a service. Almost as bad was the fact that the Wagner family did not attend.

« A " Requiem " Mass or a reception for the German crown prince - that was the alternative they faced. »

The Wagners showed no other signs of mourning - quite the opposite in fact.

According to Felix Weingartner :

« Everything was made to look (as if on purpose) that Franz Liszt's passing was not of sufficient importance to dim the glory of the Festival even temporarily by a veil of mourning. »

Nothing was allowed to disrupt Cosima's inscenation of Wagner's legacy, and so, life went on as usual in Bayreuth. On the evening of the « Requiem » Mass, she held another of her « soirées » at « Wahnfried » .

Even her favourite conductor, Felix Mottl, was repulsed by the spectacle :

« " Wahnfried ". Food. In the entrance-hall, there was still the smell of mortality emanating from Liszt's dead body ! »

The lack of respect that was shown to Liszt in death proved a rallying call for those contemporaries who were already critical of the Wagner family and of Bayreuth. They wondered why Liszt had been buried in a town where he had never lived and where he had died more or less by chance. The answer was simple : Cosima Wagner wanted it so. Even so, family reasons were secondary. Now in sole charge of the Bayreuth Festival, she regarded the deceased celebrity as a kind of relic or, worse, a trophy. Bayreuth was the epi-centre of Wagnerolatry, and she reckoned that Liszt's grave could be effortlessly integrated into the local cult : Liszt was another jewel in Wagner's crown.

In implementing her plan, Cosima skilfully took advantage of a certain confusion concerning her father's final wishes, a confusion to which he himself had contributed. His will of 1861 had failed to mention where he wanted to be buried, and, in the years that followed, he had made only contradictory remarks on the subject : in 1863, he had expressed the wish to be interred in Rome, whereas 3 years later, he had spoken of Blandine's grave in the Maritime Cemetery at Saint-Tropez. Tivoli and Hungary had also been mentioned.

**Tuesday, 3 August 1886** : Franz Liszt's death in the midst of the Bayreuth Festival made something low-key out of the question, even assuming that Cosima knew of his wishes.

In accordance with his wishes, Liszt was buried in Bayreuth's municipal cemetery but in haste (that he might not interfere with the current Wagner Festival) . No doubt, he is mourned at leisure.

The funeral « cortège » of hearse, friends and dignitaries on foot, and carriages travelled along the « Maximilianstraße » to the city cemetery, the street lined with spectators. Olga was there to witness it, Carolyne was not.

It would not be inaccurate to describe the funeral as a combination of State occasion and social spectacle. The deceased's closest friends and family members met at « Wahnfried » at 10:00 in the morning. Liszt's friend of many years' standing, Olga von Meyendorff, fainted and had to be revived with a glass of red wine. A priest again blessed the body, after which the « cortège » set-off for the cemetery headed by a delegation from the volunteer fire brigade followed by an imposing carriage festooned with flowers. After it came the local clergy, 3 precentors and « Miska » Kreiner, who carried Liszt's numerous orders on a velvet cushion. Then came the catafalque with its gilded coffin.

Felix Weingartner recalled :

« We, his latest pupils and friends, were his pall-bearers. Low clouds hung-down, creating a bleak impression, but there was only light rain. »

Immediately behind the coffin came the Wagner family - Siegfried Wagner and Henry Thode were on foot, while Cosima Wagner and her daughters rode in a carriage. Behind them walked representatives of the various German Courts, the Town Council, the Regional Council, the officer corps, the Festival artists and thousands of townspeople. Bayreuth was in mourning.

According to the local paper, the « Bayreuther Tagblatt » :

« All of the gas lamps were lit and, draped with black crepe, they shed a sombrely muted glow that added to the mood of grief. »

Half an hour later, the « cortège » reached the cemetery, where, following the service, the local mayor, Theodor Muncker, and Liszt's old friend, Carl Gille, both gave moving speeches.

A new terror was added to death by the ugly tomb of the dead man, designed by his grandson, Siegfried Wagner ; said to be a composer as well as an amateur architect. Victories usually resemble each other ; it is defeat alone that wears an individual physiognomy. Liszt, with all his optimism, did not hesitate to speak of his career as a failure. But what a magnificent failure ! « To die and to die young - what happiness » , was a favourite phrase of his.

According to his pupil Alan Walker, the choice of the burial site gave rise to numerous disputes and requests for repatriation from the cities of Weimar and Budapest.

The tragedy was that Franz Liszt lived to hear himself denounced as an imitator of Richard Wagner ; butchered to make a Bayreuth holiday. The day after his death, in 1886, the news went abroad in Bayreuth that the « father-in-law of Wagner » had died ; that his funeral might disturb the success of the current music Festival ! Liszt, who had begun his career with a kiss from Ludwig van Beethoven ; Liszt, whose name was a flaring meteor in the sky of music when

Wagner was starving in Paris ; Liszt the path-breaker, meeting the usual fate of such a Moses, who never conquered the soil of the promised land, the initiator, at the last buried in foreign soil (he loathed Bayreuth and the Wagnerians) and known as the father-in-law of the man who eloped with his daughter and had borrowed of him everything from money to musical ideas. The gods must dearly love their sport.

When attacked by his last illness at Colpach, where Franz List had gone to visit Munkacszy, the painter, Miss von Schorn went to Bayreuth to look after him. There, at the door of his bed-chamber, she was refused admittance, « Madame » Cosima Wagner, through a servant, telling her that the daughter and grand-daughters of Franz Liszt would care for him. The truth is that « Madame » Wagner had always detested the Princess Wittgenstein and saw in the Weimar lady one of her emissaries. Miss Von Schorn left Bayreuth deeply aggrieved. After Liszt's death, her correspondence with the princess abruptly ceased. She tells all this in her book. Even Liszt had shown her his door at Weimar, several years before he died. He detested gossips and geese, he often declared.

### Funeral Mass of Franz Liszt

**Tuesday, 18 March 1879** : Liszt had rehearsed for Carolyne, at her request, his wishes for his own funeral and disposal of his belongings. He wanted to be buried without « any fracas, with no other funeral service than a low-Mass - consequently, without music » .

**End of November 1879** : Finally, Franz Liszt had written to Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein :

« I want no other resting place for my body than the cemetery that is in use in the place where I die, nor do I want any other church service apart from a silent Mass (not a sung “ Requiem ”) in the parish church. »

**Wednesday, 4 August 1886** : A « Requiem » Mass was held in Bayreuth's Catholic church (« Schloßkirche ») (though Franz Liszt would have preferred « no fracas ») .

At Cosima Wagner's behest, Anton Bruckner (who had been in Bayreuth since **24 July**) performed at the organ (3 manuals, 64 stops, 47 registers and 3,268 pipes) .

He played the « “ Requiem ” for organ » from 1883 (S. 266) - which is based on the « Requiem » (S. 12) composed between 1867 and 1871.

It is in 7 movements :

Dies iræ / Ricordare piu Jesu ! / Sanctus / Benedictus / Agnes Dei / Postludium.

Bruckner also played his own improvisations on themes taken from « Parsifal » .

If there had to be music, « Parsifal » , which he considered the most sublime work of his age, might well have pleased Liszt.

Pianist Bernhard Stavenhagen, a pupil and disciple of Liszt, read the funeral oration.

The church choir sang a number of simple occasional compositions. The rest of the interminable service was made-up of nasal chanting by 2 or 3 priests in response to the choir.

Bayreuth's large Symphony Orchestra also performed during the celebration.

Conductor Felix Mottl, an admirer of Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner and Bruckner, was present.

Lina Ramann noted in her diary :

« The church was full of artists. They breathed a sigh of relief when he began as they expected something highly-artistic and worthy of Liszt. Unfortunately, it wasn't to be. »

Anton Bruckner's playing was « monotonous, endless, wearisome. When Liszt's pupils, unable to conceal their dismay, asked him why he had not based his improvisations on a theme from one of Liszt's own compositions, he replied that, unfortunately, he did not know any - they should have given him one » .

In his obituary to Liszt, Hugo Wolf wrote poignantly :

« The eye of this brilliant phenomenon is forever closed, but it was the eye of an immortal. »

Professor Frederick Niecks said :

« Liszt has lived a noble life. Let us honour his memory. »

When Liszt died, there was a heartfelt outpouring of grief throughout Europe.

Composer Camille Saint-Saëns, an old friend, whom Liszt had once called « the greatest organist in the world » , dedicated his Symphony No. 3 « Organ Symphony » to Liszt ; it had premiered in London only a few weeks before the death of its dedicatee.

**July 1994** : A commemorative plaque by artist Rudolf Holler is unveiled on the front of the « Schloßkirche » :

« The large Symphony Orchestra and organist Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) performed on August 4, 1886, the “ Requiem ” by Franz Liszt at the invitation of Cosima Wagner. Bruckner, a fervent admirer of Richard Wagner, regularly attended the Bayreuth Festival until 1892. »

**Bruckner, the alpinist**

« A Famous Alpinist » : A recollection by August Stradal.

**Summer of 1886** : Anton Bruckner travelled to Bayreuth for the first production of Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » to be staged at the Festival Theatre. Hardly had he reached his destination that Franz Liszt died. Cosima Wagner, Liszt's daughter, wanted Bruckner to play the organ at a memorial service but, for once, inspiration deserted him. August Stradal (1860-1930) , who studied composition with Bruckner and piano with Liszt, recalls Bruckner's return to Austria.

At the railway station, I met the Hungarian music-publisher Nándor Táborzsky (Táborzsky & Parsch was founded in 1869 by Nándor Táborzsky, 1831-1888, and József Parsch who died in 1895) , an old friend of Liszt's who had missed the funeral and was now returning to Pest via Munich. I invited Táborzsky to travel with me and told him that Anton Bruckner would be going to Munich by the same train, never suspecting the catastrophe that I was about to unleash. Bruckner dashed-up at the last minute, carrying an enormous travelling-ease with a floral design ; I promptly introduced Táborzsky to him as Liszt's most loyal friend. But the peeved composer bellowed, with every sign of impatience :

« Don't give me that friendly smile, “ Herr ” Táborzsky, you haven't published anything by me ! Oh, and “ Herr m” Stradal, here, is just the same as his Master was. He must have company day-in, day-out and never be on his own. All that's missing are the lady friends - how piquant that'd be ! »

When we reached Weiden, the train had a longish wait. All of a sudden, 2 tankards of beer bobbed-up in front of our carriage window and Bruckner, who was holding them aloft, called :

« Prosit Stradal, prosit Táborzsky ! Here's your beer, and allow me to join you ! »

We emptied the huge glasses in great delight, drinking to the Master's health, and peace was fully-restored. Bruckner became very loquacious, talking about his 8th Symphony, about the passing-bell imitated in the music at the end of the first movement, the « deutsche Michel » whom the Scherzo shows dancing, the Cossack-riders (beginning of the Finale) and the mighty theme for winds representing the 2 rulers.

But, suddenly, right in the middle of his account, Bruckner fell silent again. For Táborzsky suffered from asthma, which made his breathing noisy, and this was getting more and more on Bruckner's nerves. After a period of silence had elapsed he said that, while « Herr » Táborzsky had his complete sympathy, he couldn't stand his wheezing, and he left the compartment once more, taking his florid travelling-ease with him.

We reached Munich by evening. « Herr » Táborzsky travelled straight-on, but Bruckner had not decided whether to go on to Linz overnight or to stop-over in Munich. We had supper together in the station restaurant. Suddenly, Bruckner asked me where to go to see the « Großglockner » : he had always wanted to see Austria's highest-peak. Somewhat distracted by all the excitement of the previous days, I told him that he only needed to travel to Zell am See. On hearing this and in my distraught state, I had got the « Großglockner » confused with the « Kitzsteinhom » -

Bruckner became very keen on the idea and caught the night train for Worgl and Zell am See. When I next visited the composer in Vienna, I was given a very frosty reception. Asked what had put him out, Bruckner answered :

« You “ Viechskerl ”, you “ Halawachel ” (2 of his favourite Upper-Austrian expressions) , that was a fine trick you played on me ! At 4 in the morning, there I am getting-off the express in Zell am See and asking the station-Master where to look for the “ Großglockner ”, and he laughs at me and says you can’t see it from here ; it would take 4 hours of clambering-up the “ Schmittenhöhe ”, because you can see the “ Großglockner ” from the top, on a clear day. Meanwhile, the train had left without me and I had to wait for the next express in the afternoon ! The deuce take your “ Großglockner ” ! »

Bruckner often told this story against me, and whenever our friends were discussing mountain hikes he would remark with irony :

« “ Herr ” Stradal is a famous Alpinist. »

### Vienna Conservatory : Academic Year 1886-1887

**Monday, 20 September 1886 :**

Im Kapitel « B. Unterrichts-Leitung » des Jahresberichts ist zu lesen :

« 4. Lehrkörper.

I. Ordentliche Lehrer :

(...)

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

...

Zu Anton Bruckners Schülern am Wiener Konservatorium gehören :

Victor Bause (« 21 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Harmonielehre. ») , Gottfried Brzibohaty (« 17 Jahre - Fagott A. II. , Kontrapunkt. ») , Albert Dörnhöfer (« 17 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Hermann Haböck (« aus Hall, 17 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre. ») (siehe auch) , Leopold Materna (« aus Graz, 16 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») , Rudolf Merwald (« aus Gmunden, 20 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Kontrapunkt I. , Klavier II. ») , der noch während des Schuljahres verstarb , Josef Meyer (« 19 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , Komposition II. ») , Carl Paur (« aus Moor, 25 Jahre - Orgel A. II. , General der Musik, Klavier A. I. , Kontrapunkt II. ») , Jacob Schmalhofer (« 17 Jahre - Violin A. II. ,



Harmonielehre. ») , Nicolaus Scordelli (« aus Kiew, 22 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , William Sichel (« aus Hannover, 18 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , Kontrapunkt, Komposition I. ») , Josef Steinberger (« aus Schaboglück, 36 Jahre - Orgel V. I. , Harmonielehre. ») , Adolf Steininger (« aus Altmannsdorf, 18 Jahre - Klavier A. II. , 2. Zeile mit eigener Nummer : Orgel A. II. , Kontrapunkt II. , General der Musik. ») , Theodor Tschöpe (« aus Weinburg, 21 Jahre - Cymbalom A. II. , Orgel V. I. ») und Theodor Vogl (« aus Raab, 19 Jahre - Harmonielehre, Klavier I. ») .

...

Und andere folgende Schüler dieses Schuljahres (vielleicht auch in Brucknerschen Kursen) spielen in Bruckners späteren Jahren noch eine Rolle :

Hedwig Abel (« aus Budapest, 16 Jahre - Klavier A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Josef Chimani (« 13 Jahre - Violin V. II. ») , Marie Demar (« aus Comorn, 22 Jahre - Gesang V. II. , Mündlicher Vortrag, Poetik und Mythologie. ») (siehe auch) , August Duesberg (« aus Gelsenkirchen, 19 Jahre - Violin A. I. ») , Rudolf Fitzner (« 18 Jahre - Violin A. II. ») , Carl Hrubý (« 17 Jahre - Violin A. III. , Komposition I. ») , Carl Lasner (« 21 Jahre - Violoncello A. II. , Harmonielehre, Klavier II. ») , Gisela Röhrenbacher (« 22 Jahre - Gesang A. II (Op. II.) , General der Musik , Musik und Theorie. ») , Georg Valker (« 20 Jahre - Komposition A. III. , General der Musik. ») , Peter Zachariades (« aus Constantinopel, 26 Jahre - Komposition A. I. ») und vielleicht Alexander Zemlinsky (« 15 Jahre - Klavier V. III. ») .

Von den neun Orgelschülern gehören 4 zur Ausbildungsschule, 5 zur Vorbildungsschule. Der « Übersicht der in den einzelnen Lehrfächern unterrichteten Schülerzahl. » ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Orgelschülern 3 halb und einer ganz vom Schulgeld befreit waren. 2 Schüler (beider Lehrkräfte) hörten Kontrapunkt als Hauptfach, neun Harmonielehre. Als Nebenfächer wurden Harmonielehre von 98 und Kontrapunkt von 19 Schülern besucht.

...

Auszug aus der « Unterrichtsstatistik » :

« A.

In den Vorbildungsschulen ...

(...)

Orgel, I Jahrgang.

Schülerstand : systemisirter : 4 ; effectiver : 4.

Monatlich ertheilte systemisirte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

(Die von der Ausbildungsschule deßelben Faches weniger in Anspruch genommene Unterrichtszeit kam diesen Schülern

zu Statten.) (...)

B.

In den Ausbildungsschulen ...

(...)

Orgel, 2 Jahrgänge.

Schülerstand : systemisierter : 4 ; effectiver : 3.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 8, sonach im Jahre ... 80.

(Die hier weniger in Anspruch genommene Unterrichtszeit kam den Vorbildungsschülern dieses Faches zu Statten.) (...)

C.

In der Musiktheorie ...

Harmonielehre, I Jahrgang.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 32.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 48, sonach im Jahre ... 480.

Kontrapunkt, 2 Jahrgänge.

(2 Parallelclassen.)

Effectiver Schülerstand : 21.

Monatlich erteilte systemisierte Lehrstunden : 40, sonach im Jahre ... 400. »

...

Marie Demar wird in diesem Schuljahr Schülerin Ferdinand Löwes am Wiener Konservatorium. Anton Bruckner erneuert die Bekanntschaft mit ihr und bietet ihr (nach der Fertigstellung) die Widmung der 8. Symphonie (**WAB 108**) an und

deutet auch seine Heiratsabsichten wieder an.

Ludwig Grande wird Kontrapunkt-Schüler Anton Bruckners (bis Sommer 1888) (vermutlich privat, da er in der Schülerliste des Wiener Konservatoriums nicht verzeichnet ist) .

Hermann Haböck studiert von 1886 bis 1889 (?) bei Anton Bruckner Orgel und Kontrapunkt.

### Bruckner and Freud : close neighbours (1886-1891)

Anton Bruckner felt abandoned in his « Heßgasse » flat on the 4th floor, at the onset of the fall in Vienna. His sometime ally, Gustav Mahler, was away, struggling to re-organize the Budapest Opera. Hugo Wolf, another occasional friend, was engrossed in his surreptitious love-affair and in his own work. Bruckner abided in isolation, just like Sigmund Freud, right across the street ...

**Friday, 1 October 1886** : Sigmund Freud set his medical practice in his Viennese apartment of the so-called « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement - which opened on December, 8, 1885) located on « Maria Theresienstraße » Number 8, by the « Ringstraße » . His family lived there, until 1891. Emperor Franz-Josef had this house built on the grounds of the former « Ringtheater » , destroyed by a violent fire on December 8, 1881. In the course of this tragic event, 386 people had been killed.

The Freuds had been entitled to think that their investment in a good address would pay-off. A neighbourhood of arrived doctors and distinguished professionals. Anton Bruckner lived opposite at the « Hôtel de France » on « Heßgasse » Number 7. But if the old musician ever troubled to look-down from his 4th floor clutter to the young doctor's orderly household on the second floor across the street, he would have seen a precious few patients in the waiting-room.

### Freud's dream about Hugo Wolf

In his « Interpretation of Dreams » , Sigmund Freud discusses a dream that alludes to Hugo Wolf. The dreamer is identified only as a woman of Freud's acquaintance, assuming that she was a daughter of Freud's early collaborator, Doctor Josef Breuer, some of whose children were Wolf's devoted pupils in the early 1880's. In the dream, a man with the features of conductor Hans Richter paces back and forth in a violent sweat on the caged-in top of a tower. He is trying to conduct a Richard Wagner Opera that has lasted all night. Freud is able to identify the man as Wolf, and he gives a fascinating account of the dream as an expression of the dreamer's predicament. It is also, however, an expression of Wolf's predicament, an astute insight from a pupil who has once loved her teacher. What we have here is a rare opportunity to turn a psychoanalytic dream analysis into music-criticism.

### Doctor Josef Breuer

As Josef Breuer's biographer Albrecht Hirschmüller has correctly noted, Breuer certainly has remained among the less

famous men of this period. Despite his important contribution to the beginnings of psychoanalysis as a collaborator of Sigmund Freud and co-author of the « Studies on Hysteria » published in 1895, he has been over-shadowed almost entirely by the latter. He was also a leading physiologist as well as the father-in-law of Professor Robert A. Kann. Breuer's family history and career reflect many aspects of the upward mobility experienced by Jews in Vienna during the 19th and early 20th Centuries.

Josef Breuer's father, Leopold Breuer, was born in Karlsburg in Hungary on January 8, 1791. Leopold's father had been an impoverished village surgeon and had died at an early age, while the mother was alive still in the 1830's. Leopold attended the rabbinical school in Mattersburg near Preßburg. From here, he accompanied his famous teacher, the rabbi Moshe Sofer, to Preßburg where the largest rabbinical school of the monarchy was located. Here, students were trained to become orthodox rabbis. From Preßburg, Leopold Breuer continued to Prague at the age of 15 to acquaint himself with additional branches of learning. He then became a tutor for Leon Pollak in Pest while concurrently busying himself with issues in pedagogy, Bible exegesis, and history of religion ; he also learned Latin and Greek.

In 1836, Breuer obtained a position as instructor of religion at the Vienna « Kultusgemeinde » , presumably through the helpful intervention of his friend, the Viennese rabbi Mannheim. He taught there for 22 years, meanwhile building-up the school library and writing a number of books, which were recommended by the ministry of education to be used as text-books. As an instructor in religion, Breuer was not un-controversial, especially after the 1848 Revolution, « when Vienna was inundated by relatively uneducated and impoverished “ Ostjuden ” » . Being rigidly orthodox, these « eastern Jews » wanted to see parochial schooling limited to religious instruction and the learning of the Hebrew language, whereas Breuer, along with other enlightened and assimilated Jews wanted to prepare modern Jewish children for a scholarly or bourgeois life and its demands even in the context of religious training. When, in 1849, a second instructor in religion was hired, Breuer of his own accord resigned from his position because of these differences. In 1840, Leopold Breuer had married the 22 year old Bertha Semler who came from an old, long resident « tolerated » Viennese Jewish family. Bertha's father was a merchant of silk goods, and her brother, Salomon, was a merchant of spirits. The latter belonged to the so-called « Ludlamshöhle » , « an organization, in which a number of members of the educated bourgeoisie (in particular, however, writers, musicians and actors) came together and indulged in harmless, often child-like high-spirited pastimes » . The marriage of Leopold and Bertha produced 2 sons : Josef, born on January 15, 1842, and Adolf, after whose birth in 1844 the mother died. The maternal grandmother assumed the responsibility of raising the children. Leopold Breuer never married again. When Josef set-up house, Leopold moved in with him. He died on August 24, 1872. Adolf died in 1874 at the age of 30.

Because his father taught him at home, Josef Breuer did not attend any primary school. At the age of 4, he was able to read. In 1850, he began attending the « Akademisches Gymnasium » , one of Vienna's most traditional and prestigious secondary schools. His favourite subjects were German and the natural sciences. He was an excellent student and passed his final exams with honours on July 22, 1858. He had decided already at an early age to become a doctor. In the Winter Semester of 1858-1859, since his father recommended that he begin with 1 year of general studies, he inscribed at the University in the Liberal arts curriculum. It was the heyday of the Second Vienna School of Medicine, whose point of departure was Carl Rokitansky's new school of pathology. In the Winter Semester of 1859-1860, Josef Breuer started studying medicine under Rokitansky as well as others such as Josef Škoda, Ernst Brücke,

Johann Oppolzer and Ferdinand von Hebra. The psychologist Ernst Brücke (1819-1892) and the internal specialist Johann Oppolzer (1808-1871) exerted the strongest influence on Breuer. After the prescribed minimum 10 semesters of study, Breuer completed his final examination in the Summer Semester of 1864 and became Doctor of Medicine on July 1st of that year. In 1877, he also obtained a doctorate in surgery, which at that time still existed as a separate field and which, along with a Master's degree in obstetrics, was required for public positions.

On January 26, 1867, Oppolzer proposed Breuer to the faculty as a candidate for the position of assistant, since his predecessor, Doctor Johann Schnitzler, the father of Doctor Arthur Schnitzler, had resigned from the position. Breuer became Oppolzer's best collaborator, but did not plan, initially, to seek a « Venia legendi ». After Oppolzer's unexpected death from typhus, Breuer might have become his successor, since he had the best qualifications, but preference was given to an otherwise weaker candidate who, however, was a Dozent. Breuer subsequently left the clinic in 1871 and settled in Vienna's 1st District as a general practitioner.

In 1873-1874, Breuer published his findings on a sensational discovery, namely, the function of the semi-circular canals in the inner-ear and their relation to positional sense or balance. At this juncture, he did apply for his « Venia legendi », which was approved by the ministry on March 20, 1874. From the Winter Semester of 1875-1876 to the Summer Semester of 1885, Breuer lectured on various topics in internal medicine, sometimes with accompanying demonstrations. Unlike the « Ordinarien », « Privat-dozenten » could only with great difficulty obtain the few patients needed for live demonstrations. Therefore, Breuer gave-up his « Dozent » position in 1885 - a move which was then unprecedented ; subsequently, a « Dozent » position was to be rejected also by the surgeon Moritz Schuster (1855-1920) in the 1890's, in this case, in order to change professions altogether. Also in 1885, an initiative undertaken on Breuer's behalf to secure for him a position as head of the 3rd Medical Department of the Vienna General Hospital failed. Breuer then devoted himself exclusively to his thriving private practice and studies in which he achieved the significant physiological discoveries that are named after him.

Josef Breuer had a large circle of patients and friends. He had known Sigmund Freud since 1878. In 1882, he introduced Freud to the case of « Anna O. » (Bertha Pappenheim) , whom Breuer had treated by himself between 1880 and 1882. For many years subsequently, Breuer and Freud worked together on developing psychoanalytic theory. The article « On the Psychic Mechanisms of Hysteric Phenomena : A Preliminary Report » (1893) was developed by the 2 of them, and they appeared as co-authors of the 1895 « Studies in Hysteria » . However, because Breuer did not fully accept Freud's strong emphasis on the role of sexuality in the development of neuroses and for other reasons, their previously close and friendly relations were broken afterwards \*.

\* Albrecht Hirschmüller (« Physiologie und Psychoanalyse » , pages 202-256) discusses the intellectual and personal relationship of Breuer and Freud in great detail. The break between the 2 men might date more exactly to October 1895, when Breuer reacted to Freud's further presentation of his theories « Über Hysterie » in a way that Freud found disappointing (pages 231-232) .

Another of Breuer's particularly good friends was the pathologist Ernst Fleischl von Marxov. Moreover, his circle included, among others, Sigmund Exner, Anton von Frisch, and Carl Bettelheim. His teachers Ernst Brücke, Johann von

Dumreicher, Theodor Billroth, Carl Kaposi and others were his patients. Breuer acted as friend and for many decades as family doctor in the Wertheimstein and Gomperz families, who were the leading Viennese Jewish families after the « unreachable » Rothschilds. He had contacts with the young Hugo Wolf for several years. His friendship with his patient Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach was particularly close ; their rich and steady correspondence (which spanned a period of almost 27 years) was later published by Robert A. Kann.

In 1868, Josef Breuer had married Mathilde Altmann, 4 years his junior and the youngest daughter of the wealthy spirits merchant Salomon Altmann ; Mathilde's brother Leopold supported penniless artists. The happy marriage of Josef and Mathilde produced 5 children : 2 sons and 3 daughters. The oldest son, Robert Breuer (1869-1936) , followed in his father's foot-steps to become a doctor. He was Professor Hermann Nothnagel's assistant in 1898, obtained his « Venia legendi » in 1902, and, in 1904, became head of the clinic at the IKG hospital - a position that he held until his death. He was a great music aficionado and held the final vigil at Johannes Brahms' death-bed. (He saw the opened score of a Bach Motet on the piano.) In 1906, Robert Breuer married Johanna (1883-1965) , the daughter of the pianist and composer Ignaz Brüll. The oldest child of this marriage was the daughter Marie born on August 30, 1907. Her nickname was « Mariedl » . Her younger and only brother Josef, born in 1913, became a doctor like his father and grandfather before him. Marie married Robert A. Kann in 1937, and their children Peter and Marilyn were born in 1942 and 1948, respectively - already in America. Marie's mother and brother also came to the United States ; they died in New York in 1965 and 1999, respectively.

« Gasthaus zum Riedhof » : difficult fasting

**Sunday, 24 October 1886** : Anton Bruckner writes in his pocket calendar (prayer-notebook) a note on the importance of observing fasting, especially on the occasion of the Jubilee. He goes to the wine-cellar of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » , near the Vienna General Hospital, run by inn-keeper Johann Benedickter.

He is back before midnight :

« Evening at “ Riedhof ”. Supper at 9:40 pm. Returned home at 11:45. **Did not eat anything more.** »

The « lean » Friday menu

On « Lean » Friday, Anton Bruckner had to settled for 1 fish and 8 eggs !

New Year greetings to Nikisch

**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 »

### Bruckner threatens to call the police

**January to April 1887** : Josef Schalk worked « in secret » on the 4 hand version of Bruckner's 5th Symphony. 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 5th Symphony in an arrangement for 2 pianos. The creation will take place at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » during an evening concert sponsored by 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, 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 1st 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 5th 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. »

**Wednesday, 20 April 1887** : The first performance of the 5th Symphony in a 2 piano version played by Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann finally took place at the « Wagner-Verein » after some problems, such as severe difficulties with Bruckner before the concert. (This occasion typified Bruckner's often-stubborn character.)

Afterward, at the celebration in Gauze's restaurant, Bruckner treated all to the finest wine. At this point, one can detect a radical mood shift, which more details of these incidents prove. Schalk was responsible for the copying of Bruckner scores and also making piano reductions.

### Bruckner writes to Theodor Helm

**Friday, 22 April 1887** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Theodor Helm (Vienna) :

« Right Honourable Doctor !

Greetings ! As the only representative of my work in Vienna, I thank you for allowing my 5th Symphony to be recommended. At your request, I have consented to the preliminary performance. The chorus, " Um Mitternacht " is new, the 3rd with the same title. The Society has returned from Straßburg (in the region of Alsace) , no doubt by the shortest route from the " Schottenring " ? I am allowing myself to send you the newspaper. In thankful respect and with a thousand Cheers, please permit me to send you this wine, that most graciously will not be disdained ! There is that already-mentioned circumstance in regard to my sending it to you but, by no other means, can I present the spring draught with my toast to the honorable doctor.

With great thanks and respect,

Anton Bruckner »

### Wolf resigns

**Sunday, 24 April 1887** : Hugo Wolf presented his resignation as music-critic to the management of the « Wiener Salon-Blatt » in order to devote himself entirely to composition, once more.



Wolf wrote perceptively on many aspects of Viennese concert-life in the mid-1880's during his brief stint as music-critic for the « Wiener Salon-Blatt » considered as a weekly social and gossip organ, not a daily political newspaper. For all his strongly held opinions about musical politics, he had little to say about socio-political issues.

### Death of Hugo Wolf's father

**Monday, 9 May 1887** : Death of Wolf's father in Windischgrätz. Hugo is devastated. For a time, he was inconsolable.

What was it to him now, he cried, if his songs were published, since no success now could bring him any cause for rejoicing ? No longer could he hope to prove to his father that he had been justified in disregarding his advice and insisting on being a musician.

Wolf experienced his first severe depression. He did not compose for the remainder of the year and continued to give music lessons.

### Bruckner and the « the 3 Bs »

**1887** : One evening, in a Vienna inn, Anton Bruckner was told the expression « the 3 Bs » (that had been going-on in some Viennese musical circles) which included his own name with those of Beethoven and Brahms.

This formula did not please him at all. On the contrary, Bruckner believed that he could not be placed on the same level as his Master, Beethoven, and that he did not wish to be compared to his fierce opponent Johannes Brahms.

### St. Florian's generous welcome

**Friday, 17 June 1887** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Bernhard Deubler :

« Thank you very much for the remembrance and honour to my humble self, and I wish you everything good.

In addition, I rejoice to be able to be at St. Florian, where I can engage in composition peacefully. Only one thing weighs me down heavily : having to place the burden of my being there, on the praiseworthy Monastery. If only I myself could pay for my board, I would be more at ease staying there because every good has its limit ! »

### Richter's not-so-funny joke

Anton Bruckner never became a close friend of Hans Richter, the conductor was too down-to-earth to understand such a man as Bruckner. Richter often irritated the composer by taunting him with plain untruths. One such occasion took place in the **summer of 1887**, when the first version of the 8th Symphony (**WAB 108**) was finished. Bruckner was invited to Nasswald, the Richter family's annual summer holiday retreat. They all returned together whereupon Richter, in full Nasswald costume, blew the horn-calls from the 7th Symphony on the post-coach horn.

Bruckner's friend Professor Reinhold Lichtenberg was told by the composer that, on a walk in the woods with Richter during the holiday, he asked the conductor which Opera was his favourite, « Tristan » or « Meistersinger » .

Richter replied :

« “ Dutchman ”, because I don't have to conduct it. »

This quite deliberate provocation on Richter's part drove Bruckner into a fury, though it is doubtful if he showed it to Richter at the time.

### Gustav Mahler meets Richard Strauß

**Thursday, 13 October 1887** : Gustav Mahler meets Richard Strauß for the first time.

### Eduard Marxsen's last years

Eduard Marxsen's last 4 years were marked by physical deterioration. According to the 1937 article in the « Altonaer Nachrichten » and Albert Dietrich's 1953 article, he suffered from asthma and ailing kidneys.

On **Friday, 4 November 1887**, 14 days before his death, Marxsen attended a performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony. His friend, Josef Sittard, reported that Marxsen wanted to take his departure from life with the Master's most powerful work. At the concert, he extended his trembling hand to Sittard and said :

« Today, I come for the last time. »

In another final tribute to Beethoven, Marxsen sent money to Vienna to « add a glass a champagne » for the occasion of the annual musicians' dinner, in Vienna, held on Beethoven's birthday, December 16. It had been Marxsen's legacy that had initially founded the dinner for the professors at the Vienna Conservatory, in memory of his studies there with Ignaz von Seyfried and Carl Maria von Bocklet. Brahms was a regular honoured guest, and Joachim attended on this particular occasion. The dinner continued to be held, at least until 1892.

### Bruckner writes to « Frau Barbara »

**Friday, 27 January 1888** : Letter from Betty von Mayfeld (Schwanenstadt) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) about the last performance of the 4th Symphony :

« At long last, our compatriots are beginning to understand your music and the critics are becoming aware of your genius !!!!! What a miracle and illumination from above !

I am full of pride that I have always recognized you and that I am sufficiently musical to understand your music and

have a feeling for it. 3 Cheers for you, and may our Beethoven of today continue composing for a long time, so that your music will resound not only in Austria but throughout the world !!! »

Baron Moritz and Baroness Betty von Mayfeld were friends of Bruckner ; he often visited with them at Schwamenstadt, and this letter may well refer to one of those occasions. Nevertheless, they showed him so many kindnesses that it is impossible to be certain, for the letter also contains a number of details about forthcoming performances of his Symphonies.

**Monday, 30 January 1888** : Anton Bruckner writes to his friend « Frau » Betty von Mayfeld (Schwannenstadt) that « the 8th Symphony is far from done » and needed « major alterations » :

« Gracious Lady !

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your graciousness, as well as that of your husband, the Government Councillor. The 8th Symphony is far from finished ; I have many proposed changes and too little time for working at them. On the 22nd of the month, Crown Princess Stefanie bestowed upon me her utmost esteemed congratulations. During the course of March, the 4th Symphony (the “ Romantic ”) will be performed in Munich. In London, Boston, and Prague, the 7th Symphony has had enormous success.

With a hand-kiss and with great respect,  
Anton Bruckner »

He also gives only a glimpse of his illness :

« It's terrible if one is not well ! »

**Sechter's nephew**

**Summer 1888** :

Anton Bruckner meets the teacher and writer Moritz Sechter (a nephew of Simon Sechter) in Vienna's « Prater » park during the Commercial Exhibition. Bruckner had already given several organ-concerts on this site.

After an « unsuccessful » contact with a young girl, Bruckner spends the evening with Moritz at the restaurant « Griechenbeisl » located at « Griechengasse » Number 9 and « Fleischmarkt » Number 11, near the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church.

Moritz Sechter also reported (without specifying the dates) meetings with Bruckner (accompanied by Ferdinand Löwe, the Schalk brothers, Josef Vockner and Jordan Kajetan Markus) to the restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel » at « Am Hof Platz » Number 11, the « Gasthaus zum Kühfuß » at « Kühfußgasse » Number 2 (« Tuchlauben » Nummer 10) near the « Petersplatz » (1st District) , and the restaurant « Schweizerhaus » in the « Prater » .

The teacher and writer Moritz Sechter was born on 9 September 1854 in Frymburk, South of Bohemia (now, Český Krumlov, Czech Republic) ; and died on 26 January 1924 in Vienna. He is the nephew of Professor Simon Sechter.

### Vienna : Restaurant « Griechenbeisl »

The « Griechenbeisl » (since 1447) is one of Vienna's oldest inns. Artists, scholars and politicians would congregate in the « Griechenbeisl » to eat, drink, debate and reflect - often into the early hours. From the world famous balladeer « Der lieber Augustin » to later figures of the stature of Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Richard Wagner, Johann Strauß, Johannes Brahms, Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, Moritz von Schwind, Feodor Chaliapin, Mark Twain, Franz Grillparzer, Johann Nestroy, Karl Lueger, Graf Zeppelin have all appreciated its traditional Viennese cuisine and creature comforts. The framed autographs on the walls of the famous « Mark Twain Room » ensure that their presence lives on here.

The picturesque building situated at the corner of « Fleischmarkt » and « Griechengasse » , which houses the « Reichenberger Griechenbeisl » on its ground-floor, is generally considered to be one of the oldest in Vienna.

The « Griechenbeisl » stands just where the straight line of the « Fleischmarkt » , following the historical plot boundary, turns into a shallow arch curving towards the opening of the « Griechengasse » . This arrangement provides the attractive « ambiente » that gives the location its charm, and this is also where we have our Romantic outdoor dining area during the summer months.

The first historical record of the house dates to 1350, when it belonged to Lienhart Poll, an important and wealthy burgher, who in addition had the status of a knight. The next mention in the sources is of the sale of what by then appears to have been a fairly prestigious building to the abbey of Lilienfeld (in Lower-Austria) in 1385. In 1550, the house is extensively refurbished and partially expanded : the residential tower, still clearly distinguishable in the courtyard, appears to have become part of the structure at that point. It is possible that the lower-levels of this tower served as a store-room for one of the Levantine merchants who are known to have resided in this quarter from the late- Middle-Ages. It seems that the upper-floors were used as habitation even then. The tower has often been confused with the so-called « Hafnerturm » , a component of the city-walls, and has erroneously been considered part of the medieval fortifications, but this was never the case. It is also not true (although this has often been claimed) that the whole building lies on top of the medieval city-wall. It is rather the case that it is an organic whole which has grown by incorporating various elements in the course of the Centuries, hand in hand with urban development.

This continuous activity of restructuring and extending the building, and of incorporating elements into it, has left its mark on its deep and labyrinthine cellars. Their oldest part lies in the lower-section of the « Griechengasse » . There one can still see a walled-up, rectangular opening in its ceiling ; perhaps, stairs led-down from there once. Direct access from the outside would have made it easier for customers to visit the cellar when wine was sold to the public there.

There is no evidence, though, for a commercial tavern with a proper name in the « Griechenbeisl » house during the Middle-Ages, but we can be sure that a seasonal trade in wine for drinking on the premises (as it is well-documented

for medieval Vienna) took place, and that this would have been an occasion for communal eating and drinking. This activity can be considered the nucleus of the present-day restaurant.

The first commercial tavern in this place, by the name of « Zum gelben Adler » (The Yellow Eagle) , is documented for the early-16th Century. During the 17th and 18th Centuries, the name changes to « Zum goldenen Engel » (The Golden Angel) , and then, to « Zum roten Dachl » (The Red Roof) , until after the mid-19th Century the name « Griechenbeisl » (Tavern of the Greeks) , or also « Reichenberger Griechenbeisl » , prevails. Both refer to the popularity the tavern enjoyed with the Levantine and Greek merchants, who had flocked to Vienna in great numbers from about the 17th Century and settled in the vicinity of the « Fleischmarkt » - as did the cloth merchants from Reichenberg in Bohemia, who also liked to gather here.

...

The « Griechenbeisl » is the oldest restaurant in Vienna, founded in 1447.

Restaurant derives its name from the Levante merchants, who lived in the vicinity of the building, and the intensive trade relations between Vienna and the Orient since the time of the Babenberger period.

The first documentary mention of the « Griechenbeisl » dates back to 1447. Around 1500, the present Greek settlement was called « Zum gelbe Adler » (To the Yellow Eagle) . Later, the building appears to be a inn (« Gasthaus ») - this house name is related to a tower dating back to around 1200 from the former town fortification, possibly already incorporated into the Late-Gothic building in the residential tower in the 14th Century. Also today, the « Griechenbeisl » appeared with the name « Zum Goldenen Engel » (1762) or « Reichenberger Beisl » . When Greek and Levantine merchants settled around the middle of the 17th Century, the area they inhabited was called the Greek quarter. Thus, the guest-house received its present name of Greece. But there was always the Viennese cuisine.

Historically important is the year 1852 when the host Leopold Schmied decided to bring the completely new « Pilsner Urquell » from Plzeň in Bohemia to Vienna for the first time.

In the 17th Century, the singer and bag-piper Marx Augustin regularly appeared here.

...

The « Griechenbeisl » restaurant is located in a historical building that is hundreds of years old. According to the restaurant description, the 1350 City of Vienna register, this building was listed as the home of a rich citizen and knight-commoner Lienhart Poll. By 1447, it was mentioned as an inn called « Zum Gelben Adler » (The Yellow Eagle) . From this time on, though the names changed, it has been an inn. In 1852, the inn-keeper Leopold Schmied introduced the « Pilsner Urquell » as the inn's beer.

...

Dating from 1447 and frequented by Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, Franz Schubert and Johann Strauß among other luminaries, Vienna's oldest restaurant has vaulted rooms, wood panelling and a figure of Augustin trapped at the bottom of a well inside the front-door.

Its warren of rooms include the oldest section, the « Zither Stüberl », and the « Mark Twain Zimmer » (named for another former guest) , inscribed with the autographs of Twain and others, which has been granted heritage status.

### The battle cry of Hugo Wolf

Max Graf :

**1888** : It was in the standing-room section at the Philharmonic Concerts that I met Hugo Wolf for the first time. He stood there during one of the rare performances of Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony, leaning with his back to the great mirror which ornamented the rear wall of the great concert-hall. He was a slender man in his 30's, dressed in a brown velvet jacket, a wide black artist's tie around his neck, extremely pale in the face and with eyes which burned like live coals - the eyes of a fanatic.

Around him stood young people, enthusiastic followers of Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz, the storm-troopers of the new musical generation. Many of them had long, streaming hair and wild looks. All excitedly awaited the appearance of Hans Richter, the conductor whose baton was the magic wand that exorcized the ghosts of great music. Everyone discussed music with enthusiasm. Some held scores which they studied like mystical books.

An excited Hugo Wolf jumped-up and shouted before the beginning of the 4th movement of the « Romantic » Symphony, menacingly and imperiously raising his fist :

« Attention ! Now, the sublimest part is starting. »

Bruckner's University student Max Graf later reported :

« It sounded like a battle cry. »

Shortly after seeing Wolf for the first time, Graf was given the welcome opportunity of making his acquaintance.

### Hugo Wolf at Oberammergau

**Summer 1888** : During this summer of reprieve, Hugo Wolf took a leave of absence from the Oberammergau « Passion Play » with Melanie Köchert.

She read his furlough notice in the personal-advertisements column of the Vienna « Neue Freie Presse » :

« With a heartfelt wishes a letter is sent to you today, sweet friend. »

## University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1888)

Students of the Faculty of Philosophy who inscribed in Bruckner's university lectures :

Johann Fegerl, Reinhold Lichtenberg, Anton Loose, Guido Peters and Innocenz Tallavania (from Linz) .

### Bruckner's « pince-nez »

**Thursday, 21 June 1888** (4:00 pm) : The remains of Ludwig van Beethoven are exhumed from the Währing Cemetery in outer Vienna. The casket is opened for inspection by experts (doctors and scientists) . Prior to a reburial in a belated Grave of Honour at the Central Cemetery (« Zentralfriedhof ») in Vienna, skeletal measurements are taken by 7 anthropologists - their calipers ascertain curvature and depth of the brain cavity. The skull is photographed and a plaster cast is made. A commemorative appreciation is pronounced by the Mayor's representative.

Anton Bruckner, the tenor Benedict Randhartinger, Carl Hrubý, Ludwig Grande and other pupils are present.

At half past 5, the officials want to replace the remains in the coffin. Against the protest of a policeman, an uninvited Anton Bruckner had barged into the Währing chapel. When he saw Beethoven's open casket, he brushed past horrified specialists at work, greatly excited, and insists on touching the head « of the Master » . Clamping on his « pince-nez » , he grasps with both hands the forehead. A doctor tries to interfere but Bruckner, at 64, still has the single-minded enthusiasm of a boy.

Staring into the empty sockets of the skull as if he were trying to divine the sublime riddle of genius, he declaimed in his heavy Upper-Austrian dialect :

« Ain't it true, dear Beethoven, that if you were alive today you'd allow me to touch you ? And now, them strange gentlemen here want to forbid me that ! »

Bruckner had to be forcibly removed.

On the way home, he realizes that his « pince-nez » now has only one lens.

« It must have fallen in when I stooped over the casket. » , he says to his companion, Carl Hrubý.

He seems « quite happy » about it.

He can't be sure, though. The lens might have dropped-out at home. « Frau Kathi » conducts one of her grim searches through Bruckner's 4 rooms at « Heßgasse » Number 7. She detests the barn-like dishevelment of the place which defies all her attempts at order. She plows through heaps of manuscripts, score-sheets, books, and God knows what else under which the Bösendorfer grand piano, the Matthäus Mauracher pedal-harmonium, even the desk are

buried. She assaults similar piles in the bedroom where an ever-proliferating chaos of paper spilled across the bed, the only furniture. In vain. The lens is gone. Kachelmayr glowers. Bruckner rejoices !

Carl Hrubý, who was a pupil of Bruckner, described the scene in « My Recollections of Anton Bruckner » (1901) :

« The day Beethoven's remains were exhumed, Bruckner invited me to go with him to the old Währing Cemetery. Those who took part in the ceremony will undoubtedly remember the unforgettable moment when, just as the coffin was being lifted up and solemn silence had descended all around, a nightingale suddenly launched into a torrent of sobbing notes from a nearby tree - as if in final tribute to the great " Meistersinger ". The powerful effect was soon spoiled when the representatives of the City of Vienna began squabbling about whether the coffin should be opened in the cemetery or later, in the chapel. In the end, they decided on the first option. Bruckner stood in front of me and stared into the coffin, deeply moved. On the way home, his mood was serious. The gloomy solemnity of the occasion appeared to have shaken him to the core. Suddenly, he noticed that one of the lenses had fallen out of his " pince-nez ". " I think ", he said, brimming over with joy, " it must have fallen into Beethoven's coffin while I was leaning over ". It delighted him to know that his eyeglass was buried with Beethoven. »

A Vienna correspondent of the « Times » telegraphing on **June 21, 1888** :

« I was present this afternoon at the private exhumation of Beethoven's remains in the pretty suburban cemetery of Währing. The composer died in 1827, and his tomb is close to that of Franz Schubert, who died in the following year at the age of 21. Beethoven's remains have not lain undisturbed since their first internment, for in 1863, some of his admirers, having subscribed to place a monument over his grave, obtained leave to transfer his body from the wooden coffin in which it had been buried into a new coffin in zinc. Beethoven was deaf during the greater part of his life, and, at his death, a distinguished anatomist of the period, Professor Wagner, was allowed to amputate his ears, with the whole of the 2 aural cavities, in order to investigate the causes of the deafness. The ears were placed in 2 glass jars full of spirits of wine : but Wagner died before he had finished his examination of them, and soon afterwards, the jars mysteriously disappeared. The story goes that they were bought from Wagner's servant by an English doctor and removed to England. The ceremony of to-day was rendered necessary by a scheme of municipal alterations, under which the cemetery of Währing is to be cleared away altogether. The destruction of the cemetery is to be much regretted, for it is a beautiful place, full of trees and flowers, and containing many tombs of historical interest. Very few persons witnessed the exhumation, and most of these were officials. All heads were bared as the coffin was lifted and placed on a settle, where the metal lid was at once prised open and removed. The skeleton then became exposed to view. The bones were damp and of a brown colour, showing that moisture must have penetrated into the coffin. The cranium had become detached from the face of the skull, and one of the by-standers took it up in his hand. It looked unusually large. The entire lower-row of teeth was complete, and very fine, strong teeth they were ; but all the front teeth of the upper-row had fallen-out. The leg bones were long ; the hands had quite crumbled into dust. The skeleton remained exposed for less than 10 minutes ; but already, a gentleman who held a portable camera had taken a photograph, while another gentleman, who belongs to an anthropological society, entered into an altercation with the officials, who refused to let him take some measurements and a plaster cast of the skull. The lid having been replaced, the coffin was transferred to an iron shell, and slowly borne towards the chapel of the cemetery by 6 undertaker's



men in black uniforms, with cocked hats. The officials and other persons present followed in a procession two and two.

The chapel is very small, and it was quite full of bouquets and floral wreaths sent by different musical societies in Austria. To-morrow (Friday) , the composer's remains will be carried to the central cemetery in Vienna, and there, re-interred with great pomp ; and soon, a new monument worthy of Beethoven's fame will be erected over his grave. 5 directors of the Society of the Vienna Friends of Music and 5 professors at the Vienna “ Conservatoire ” will carry the coffin to the grave. Bishop Angerer, who, as a boy of 11, attended Beethoven's funeral, will read the service, and the Vienna musical societies will sing in the choir. »

#### AT BEETHOVEN'S GRAVE.

Removal of the Remains of the Great Composer.

#### THE PLACE WHERE THEY LIE.

Beethoven and Schubert Buried Side by Side.  
But Mozart's Last Resting Place  
is Unknown.

*Chicago Tribune.*

« **Thursday, June 21**, the remains of Ludwig van Beethoven were removed from the grave in the Währing Cemetery, near Vienna, where they have rested since 1827, to that portion of the great Central Cemetery of Vienna reserved for the reception of Austria's illustrious dead. The ceremonies connected with the removal have been briefly described in the cable despatches, but so far as we can learn, the musical world will possibly regret that the remains were ever touched. Ludwig van Beethoven was buried in a most beautiful place, near to the surroundings among which he had lived when in life, near to the places where he had written some of his greatest works. And to think that a scandal should have taken place about the grave during the removal, “ A painful scene occurred ”, says a cable despatch, “ at the Währing Cemetery during the exhumation of Beethoven's body, caused by some of the professors of the medical faculty of the University wishing to take measurements of the great composer's skull. The representative of the Government present would not permit this ; a heated discussion arose, and only the intervention of the ' Burgmeister ' put an end to the painful scene. ”

One could really wish, in view of such scandal, that Beethoven's grave had been unknown, like that of Mozart, who was buried in the St. Mary's Cemetery in Vienna. In this connection, some remarks by the author of the charming book, “

The Rambler Among the Musicians of Germany”, seem to be well worth quoting. The author visited the “ Abbé ” Stadler the “ young and dear friend of Mozart ” and of this visit, he says :

“ In the ' Abbé ' Stadler, I saw the real tomb of Mozart, and few of those who have lived in marble for 200 years may boast of such an honour as to have their remembrance last fresh and ardent in the warm bosom of a human being for 40 years. The acquaintance of the ' Abbé ' with Mozart commenced when the latter was 9 years old, but in less than 40 years, so completely has every bodily trace of Mozart vanished from the minds of the people of Vienna that there is not a soul there who can tell even the place in which he was buried. By some strange accident, the ' Abbé ' does not even know it. There is no rude memento no sculptured stone to indicate that the divine Mozart once sojourned in Vienna, and, as for the spot of his interment, it may not be thought too fanciful to suppose that Earth, the general mother, jealous of her production, has hidden him again in her womb, lest celestial beings should claim him as their own. This is perhaps a poetical apology for what is in fact a piece of neglect everlastingly disgraceful to the Viennese, who, lam afraid have more joy in the pageant of a funeral than they have sorrow for the loss of great men. ”

The resting place of Beethoven's body has been, up to the present time, in the Währing Cemetery, near to the grave of Schubert, who was buried in 1828. It has frequently been described.

The “ Rambler ”, above quoted, who visited Vienna in 1828, says :

“ As Beethoven was at my visit no longer to be found in the body, I resolved to make a pilgrimage to his tomb ; and the reader will pardon me for lingering over the grave of this great man with some of those tender yearnings of spirit which Old Mortality feels for his friends, and which all should feel for those who have given them great pleasure. Beethoven resided in one of a row of tall white houses overlooking the city walls, on the road to Währing, the prettiest outlet of Vienna. In the cemetery of this quiet little village, in a corner against a low wall, whence an infinite deal of country may be seen, he reposes close to the nephew of an English Ambassador, who was suddenly killed upon the ' Prater ' by falling from his frightened horse.

Here, among rustic chapels, wooden crucifixes, mounds of earth with flowers growing on them (such are the simple memorials) “ one might become half in love with easeful death ”. The place itself might have been in Beethoven's lifetime his study, for it was in the green lap of Nature and among the old trees that the composer wove his fancies ; not by the flickering of a night lamp. It is much more pleasant to the imagination that a poet or musician should rest from his labours where the atmosphere is pure above than that he should be buried forever in the cold depths below the pavement in a cloister. A monument is preparing for Beethoven, and a huge unmarked stone covers the spot of his interment until that shall be ready.

Professor Ella, the well-known London musical leader, writes an account of a visit to Beethoven's tomb.

He says :

“ The 19th of November, the late esteemed publisher of music, Signor Mechetti, invited me to accompany him to the Cemetery of Währing, a small village on the outskirts of the city. When we reached the left extremity of the cemetery, Mechetti suddenly directed my attention to the dazzling ' grandeur ' of the scene that presented itself below the eminence where we then stood. The glittering rays of the setting sun behind the gilded spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral, with the fine Kahlenberg on our left, the vast plain of the Danube stretching as far as the eye could discern, and the Styrian Mountains in the distance, formed a grand panorama of natural scenery. Whilst gazing at this prospect in silent admiration and thinking over the lives of the triumvirate of musical genius (Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven) as they pursued their professional career in the Imperial city, Mechetti gently placed his arms about my waist and turned me round with my face toward the East, saying : ' Ecco, la tomba di Beethoven ! ' This unexpected gratification of being on the spot where thousands of musical pilgrims had paid tribute to the genius of the immortal musician at his funeral in 1827 quite over-powered my feelings, and I am not ashamed to say that I kissed the flagstone that covers his remains and plucked a bunch of fern which grew at the base of the monument, a memento that I still preserve. Whilst preparing to make a sketch of the tomb, a mass of persons attired in black gradually approached the spot where Mechetti and I stood. As the procession advanced, we moved a few paces, where we observed a general halt and uncovering of heads, close to the tomb of Beethoven. My curiosity became excited to know the meaning of this dumb show, for not a word was uttered during the whole of the ceremony. Mechetti, at first ignorant as myself of the cause of this gathering, suddenly recollected that the 19th of November was the anniversary of the death of Schubert, whose mortal remains lie buried beside those of Beethoven. From among the crowd, I observed a grave black-bearded person step forward, and, with bended knees, place on the tomb a wreath of laurel entwined with a blue ribbon, in which was printed in letters of gold “ To the Father of German Song ”. As musical ceremonies are forbidden in Catholic cemeteries, the party retired as they came, with measured step, and without uttering a word. This silent language to musical genius threw me into a state of ' rêverie ' and I found myself involuntarily following in the train of these votaries of music. Mechetti quickly pursued and bade me return to the spot where the wreath of laurel was deposited. Presently, we saw the same party, assembled outside the cemetery, immediately behind Schubert's tomb, and a choir of fresh, well-chosen voices sang a vocal quartet with such pathos and solemnity of expression as moved every one present to tears. ”

(...)

The skulls of great composers, not excepting that of Beethoven, seem at all times to have been tempting objects to the scientific world. At the Bologna Exhibition is to be found the skull of Donizetti, the composer, to which is attached a printed statement to the effect that it was rescued from the house of a pork-packer of Bergamo, whose children had used it as a money-box. The skull of Haydn, who is buried in Vienna, was for a long time missing, and it was eventually found in the possession of a medical man. A strong feeling manifested itself to have the bodies of Beethoven and Schubert exhumed. In the “ Life of Beethoven ”, edited by Moscheles, it is stated that a few days after the funeral of the composer, a considerable sum of money had been offered to the custodian of the cemetery at Währing if he would bring the head of Beethoven to a place specified in Vienna. On this account, the grave was watched every night for some time. In 1863 (36 years after his burial) , a committee was formed and, in the presence of (Josef) Hellmesberger, students of the “ Conservatoire ”, and other persons, the graves of Beethoven and Schubert

were opened and the bodies found intact. A minute description was published of the actual appearance of the remains.  
»

**Friday, 22 June 1888 (or Saturday, 23 June 1888 ?)** : Transfer and restoration of Beethoven's remains at the Vienna Central Cemetery (« Zentralfriedhof ») .

Representatives of all the major musical institutions in Vienna are taking part in the ceremony : the Vienna Academic Choral Society (« Wiener Akademischen Gesang-Verein ») , the Vienna Schubert Association (« Wiener Schubertbund ») , and the Vienna Men's Choral Society (« Wiener Männergesangverein ») .

Professor Hermann Grädener, executive vice-deputy Lieger, committee member Doctor Schindler laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Immortal. Berlin concert impresario Hermann Wolff is also attending.

The grave-stone (Grave Number 29 ; Group 32a) is a copy of the original from the first cemetery. Written on it are the following words (translation) :

« This grave-stone was built to the same design as the original in the “ Währinger Ortsfriedhof ” and erected by the Association of Friends of Music in 1888 with financial help from the Imperial City Development Fund of Vienna and the Philharmonic Association. »

Beethoven and Schubert were exhumed so they could be reburied in more secure coffins (grave-robbers were a persistent threat in the 19th Century) . The composer's skull stayed above ground for 9 days of tests and measurements, and Doctor Gerhard von Breuning was the only one left alone with the skull. As a friend of Beethoven's who once visited him so often, the composer nicknamed him « trouser buttons » (because Bruening stuck to him the way a button does to clothing) , he may not have been able to resist slipping a memento or two into his pocket.

### « Fräulein » Biellohaubek

**July 1888** : Anton Bruckner still appreciates social pleasures such as making the acquaintance of the pretty glove-maker's daughter, « Fräulein » Biellohaubek, whom he met at the « Annenfest » in Vienna.

### The « Annafest »

The « Annafest » was a popular festival celebrating St. Anna and all the girls having this first name. It was an important cultural event especially in the 18th and 19th Centuries. It consisted among others of theatrical performances, singing and beauty competitions, fireworks, and gift-giving.

St. Anna Day (« Annetag ») which was celebrated on July 26th, was an official holiday until the late- Maria-Theresa period.

Since 1776, Johann Georg Stüwer organized on St. Anna Day one of his iconic fireworks in the « Prater » including other various attractions. For example : ascent of air-balloons (1784, 1785) and aerostatic figures (1789) .

Johann Hieronymus Löschenkohl often produced special gift-wrapping paper-sheets (at different prices) for St. Anna Day.

The oldest detailed description of the « Annafest » dates from 1787.

In 1788, Joachim Perinet mentions the « Annafest » in his « Annehmlichkeiten in Wien » (Amenities in Vienna) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Strauß senior, Johann Strauß junior, Joseph Lanner paid tribute to the « Annafest » by composing Polkas and Quadrilles.

The dance-hall of « The Golden Pear » (« Zur goldenen Birne ») was called « Anna's Viennese Temple » (« Wiener Annentempel ») by its inhabitants because of the numerous related events that were organized there.

In the mid-19th Century, during the « Annafest » , a beauty competition was held between girls which first name was Anna. It took place on the Kahlenberg hill, in the Vienna Woods. The creator of this event was Anna Ziegler whose plaster bust was installed around 1830 in the one-storey « Ziegler-Villa » , located east of the « Josefskirche » .

...

Das Annafest, das zu Ehren der heiligen Anna für alle Mädchen mit diesem Vornamen in Form eines Volksfests begangen wurde, hatte vor allem im 18. und im 19. Jahrhundert Bedeutung (Theateraufführungen, Serenaden, Feuerwerke, Geschenkvergabe unter anderem) ; der Annentag (26. Juli) war bis in die spätmariatheresianische Zeit ein offizieller Feiertag. Seit 1776 veranstaltete Stüwer am Annentag eines seiner Feuerwerke im Prater, verbunden mit verschiedene anderen Attraktionen (1784 und 1785 Aufstieg von Luftballons, 1789 von aerostatischen Figuren und so weiter) . Löschenkohl produzierte zum Annentag häufig « Geschenkblätter » und Fächer in verschiedene Preislagen. Die älteste eingehende Schilderung des Annafests ist aus 1787 erhalten ; Perinet erwähnt es 1788 in seinen « Annehmlichkeiten in Wien » . Auch die Musik (von Mozart bis zur Annenpolka von Johann Strauß) nahm auf das Annafest Bezug. Der Tanz-Saal « Zur goldenen Birne » wurde von der Bevölkerung « Wiener Annentempel » genannt, weil dort das Namensfest der Wiener Annen gefeiert wurde. Auch auf dem Kahlenberg wurde am Annentag ein Annenfest abgehalten, das mit einer Schönheitskonkurrenz der erschienenen Mädchen und Frauen verbunden war ; die Begründerin dieses Annentages war Mitte 19. Jahrhundert Anna Ziegler (deren Gipsbüste seinerzeit in der einstöckigen, um 1830 östlich der Josefskirche auf dem Kahlenberg erbauten Zieglervilla angebracht wurde) . Bedeutende Komponisten trugen der Annenverehrung durch Annapolkas und -quadrillen Rechnung (Johann Strauß senior, Joseph Lanner, Johann Strauß junior und andere) ; es gab auch Theaterstücke und Singspiele, die mit Erfolg aufgeführt wurden.

Paying 3 months in advance

**Monday, 2 July 1888** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 1888 July 2. “ Frau Kathi ” for July, August and September : 21 Florins. »

### Henrietta Sammet

**July 1888** : Hugo Wolf had left for Bayreuth with the Wagner Society charter-train. Anton Bruckner boarded the same train and, for him, the departure from Vienna was a still more distinct summer tide relief. He could escape from his house-keeper harpie « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr who caught-up with him at the Western Railway terminal, irate because he had forgotten his snuff-box. Bruckner could arrive in Bayreuth and have his gray fringe cut by « Herr » Bernhard Schnappauf, the late- « Master's » barber (and pedicurist) ; and he could indulge in another of his frequent young girl crushes, this one on Henriette Sammet, the daughter of « Herr » Christian Sammet who owned the « café » where Wagner had once sipped mocha.

**End of July 1882** : Anton Bruckner was enthusiastic about Henriette Sammet. He admired her photography.

### Schubert's remains

**Saturday, 22 September 1888** : Transfer and restoration of Franz Schubert's remains at the Vienna Central Cemetery (« Zentralfriedhof ») . Professor Anton Bruckner and representatives of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » are in attendance.

At noon, Bruckner puts on his best black suit with its trousers too short and too wide, his Sunday St. Florian jacket, and his top-hat which his house-keeper, the formidable « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr refuses to brush because, she says, it is no use, the « Herr » Professor had let it get wet again, the night before. So, Bruckner brushes it himself at great length.

At 3:00 pm, he boards the horse-tramway out to Währing, to the District cemetery located in outer Vienna. (Schubert was buried as close to his idol as was possible - 4 graves to Beethoven's left.) A number of officials from different musical organizations has already gathered at the grave-site, together with some doctors and anthropologists. Bruckner takes his place in the front-row. At 3:45 pm sharp, the cemetery workers start digging. Within minutes, the vehicle of the visitor rises into view : a crane lifts the heavy sarcophagus from the tomb, and transports it to the chapel where only Bruckner and a few officials and scientists are admitted. In the chapel, the coffin lid is opened. Anton Bruckner stands face to face with Franz Schubert, now 60 years dead.

As in his earlier confrontation with Beethoven, Bruckner starts forward, but is restrained. First, others have their turn. The Mayor's representative delivers an address praising the bones that has produced such beautiful melodies. Today, he intones, these exalted remains have been exhumed not only to give them a more dignified resting place in the Central Cemetery but, also, to afford scientists a chance to examine the physical evidence of genius.

Everything proceeds with characteristic Viennese ritual. On a small table covered by a black piece of velvet, Schubert's skull is placed, as ceremoniously as though it was a priest's monstrance. Doctor Langl photographs it 4 times,

especially the profile on the right-side, which is much better preserved. A secretary in top-hat takes down minutes of the event. It is noted that Schubert's head is a deep yellow ; that his teeth are still in excellent condition (much better than Beethoven's as observed in the similar procedure in June) and that only one molar is missing ; that the face is strongly developed in proportion to the skull-top ; and that some clothes and hair are still present.

Bruckner clutches the skull until the Mayor's representative has to dislodge his hold gently (with some mild physical force) . But he is permitted to put the skull into the coffin. Thus, Bruckner becomes the last man to touch Schubert.

Bruckner goes home again in the horse-tramway while Schubert wends his way toward the Central Cemetery in a black coach (plot : Group 32 A, Number 28 ; between Beethoven and Johann Strauß junior) .

It is hard to say who was more fulfilled ...

...

With age, Bruckner started to show a very strange inclination and a strong, over-reacting curiosity towards death and the dead. He was dreaming about ghosts, seeing ghosts of the dead people in his dreams. He used to go to cemeteries, once crying and crying on Richard Wagner's grave, studying graves epitaphs, showing and counting dots on epitaphs.

### Face-to-face at the « Musikverein »

**Fall 1888** : Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms would pass one another, face to face, in the building of the « Musikverein » . Bruckner might be on his way to one of his Conservatory classes, Brahms coming from a session of the high-council of the organization. Along the corridors, people would slow down to watch. They'd see Brahms nod with clipped courtesy. Bruckner would bow elaborately :

« Most obedient servant, “ Herr ” President ! »

A fraught encounter, a loaded greeting. By « “ Herr ” President » , Bruckner let drop the implication that he recognized Brahms as president of the Composers' Association ; that it was the bureaucratic title which warranted his salute, not necessarily the talent.

### Bruckner writes to Karl Waldeck

**Saturday, 3 November 1888** : Anton Bruckner communicated with Karl Waldeck, one of his former students and his successor at Linz Cathedral, writing :

« Dear Friend !

May you receive the sincerest renewal of my deeply felt congratulations on your Name-Day ! Notwithstanding the

highly-delightful fruits of your artistic work (for which I heartily congratulate you) , it is your physical well-being, your health, that I desire with my whole being from the all bountiful heaven. God grant you many, many healthy years to come !

Your old friend,

Anton Bruckner »

### Bruckner writes to « Fräulein » Martha Rauscher

In 1888, there are 2 letters to a women identified as « Fräulein M » . She was further identified as « Fräulein Martha » . Bruckner had met her during his trip in Upper-Austria ; obviously, he was enchanted with her. She did send him her portrait, but nothing more is heard from or about her.

**Monday, 5 November 1888** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (« Heßgasse » Number 7, Vienna's 1st District) to « Fräulein » Martha Rauscher (Vienna) :

« Highly-Respected “ Fräulein ” !

What will you think of me ? I felt indescribably joyful over your dear, sweet letter and put it immediately in my pocket next to my heart, where it was to stay until “ Fräulein ” Martha can come to Linz. Suddenly, I can find my jewel no more. Perchance, my house-keeper “ Kathi ” is at fault. But, we seek in vain. Therefore, I am using this address, which I picked-out just now.

I thank “ Fräulein ” Martha very sincerely for this distinction, and request her beautiful photograph right away. Unfortunately, I cannot see you now (I mean, in reality) . For that reason, I want to look upon your picture often and with pleasure.

I have dreadfully much to do and am a little desperate for this reason. Stay in genuinely good health. As for myself, I am not completely well and will visit Professor Schrötter in the very near future, because of my larynx.

To the gracious wife of the State Councilor, a hand-kiss ; to the Councilor, my respects ! You remain my honoured friend.

With a kiss on the hand and affectionate compliments,

Yours, with highest-esteem,

Anton Bruckner »



Bruckner had lost the treasured letter he had received from Martha.

Professor Hermann von Schrötter was Anton Bruckner's physician.

Bruckner wrote to Martha Rauscher thanking her for her portrait. In those days, one sent one's portrait to another for whom one had the highest-regard. The conclusion remains that she did, at least, respect him - and, a little more, he may have hoped.

**Friday, 23 November 1888** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (« Heßgasse » Number 7, Vienna's 1st District) to « Fräulein » Martha (Vienna) :

« Highly-Respected “ Fräulein ” !

I cannot express my great joy at receiving your magnificent portrait. Thank you for it, from the bottom of my heart ! That, being portrayed through this very well-done likeness, is not a trivial thing ; you are such a highly-intelligent, splendidly turned-out, beautiful young lady, proclaimed with the most noble feminine virtues. Whoever knows you better can only admire you ; and, please, God, that you remain so ! Once more, thank you very much. (I do not have your address.) I kiss the hand of the assistant Councilor's gracious wife, as well as yours, my honourable friend. To “ Herr ” Councilor (“ Ehepaar ”, Moritz von Mayfeld) , my respects ! With the most sincere respect, I remain

Your admiring old friend,

Anton Bruckner »

### Doctor Leopold Schrötter

A committee of prominent Viennese physicians and laryngologists has recently been formed to commemorate the Centenary of the birth of the man, equally illustrious as laryngologist and physician, whose full-name and titles were « Hofrat Professor Doktor » Leopold Bitter Schrötter von Kristelli. He was born at Graz on February 5, 1837, the son of the eminent chemist who discovered amorphous phosphorus. He studied medicine at Vienna, where he qualified in 1861. From an early stage in his career, he took a keen interest not only in diseases of the chest, which he had an unrivalled opportunity of studying under Professor Josef Škoda (1805-1881) , the great authority on this subject, but also in laryngoscopy, the importance of which to the physician he was the first to emphasize. During his subsequent career, he occupied the important positions of director of the first laryngological clinic to be established and, later, the chair of clinical medicine at the University of Vienna. His principal work was a book on diseases of the larynx, trachea, nose and throat, which for a long time was the standard publication on this subject. He also contributed important articles to various systems of medicine on diseases of the heart and pericardium and syphilis of the larynx. Lastly, he deserves recognition as being one of the first to introduce sanatoria for the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis, and to combat the pessimistic outlook of the medical profession regarding the cure of this disease.

...

The Austrian internist and laryngologist Leopold Anton Dismas Schrötter von Kristelli (name often given as Leopold von Schrötter in medical literature) was born on February 5, 1837, in Graz. He was the son of chemist Anton Schrötter von Kristelli, and father to physician Hermann Schrötter-Kristelli (1870-1928). Leopold Schrötter Ritter von Kristelli studied at the « Akademisches Gymnasium » in Graz. In 1861, he received his medical doctorate from the University of Vienna, and, following graduation, remained in Vienna as an apprentice-surgeon to Franz Schuh (1804-1865). From 1863 to 1869, he was an assistant to Josef Škoda (1805-1881), receiving his habilitation in 1867. Following the death of Ludwig Türck (1810-1868), he attained the 1st chair of laryngology at Vienna, and, 3 years later, became director of the world's first laryngological clinic at the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus »). In 1875, he became an associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») of laryngology, and, from 1875 to 1881, he was head of the department of internal medicine. In 1881, he was appointed « Primararzt » (primary physician) at the General Hospital, and, in 1890, was named professor and director of the 3rd medical clinic in Vienna. In addition to his expertise in the field of laryngology, Schrötter is remembered for his work involving diseases of the heart and lungs. He was a driving force in construction of the « Alland Lungenheilanstalt » (Alland Lung Clinic), an institution that began attending to patients in 1898. With British surgeon James Paget (1814-1899), the eponymous « Paget - Schrötter » disease is named. This disorder involves primary thrombosis of the axillary vein or subclavian vein.

Leopold Schrötter died in Vienna on April 22, 1908. He was buried at the Central Cemetery (« Zentralfriedhof ») : Group 14 A ; Number 19.

...

Austrian internist and laryngologist, born February 5, 1837, Graz ; died April 22, 1908, Vienna.. The name is also given as Leopold Schrötter Ritter von Kristelli.

Leopold Schrötter Ritter von Kristelli (commonly named : Leopold von Schrötter) was the son of the famous chemist Anton von Schrötter who, in 1845, discovered amorphous, or red, phosphorus, which led to the safety match. He studied in Vienna and received his doctorate at that University, in 1861. He was subsequently, for 2 years, apprentice in surgery under Franz Schuh, then assistant under Josef Škoda (1805-1881). Already at this time, he concerned himself with laryngoscopy and the study of diseases of the heart and chest, giving lectures on diseases of the chest under consideration of laryngology. He was habilitated as private lecturer (« Privatdozent ») for laryngology, in 1869.

Following the death of Ludwig Türck (1810-1868), he was appointed to the first chair in laryngology at the newly-established clinic for laryngology and, from 1871 to 1873, he published the annual reports of his clinic. In 1875, he became professor « extraordinarius » for diseases of the throat and chest and, from 1877 to 1881, headed the department of internal medicine in the « Rudolfsspital ». In 1881, he became primary physician (« Primararzt ») in the « Wien allgemeines Krankenhaus » and, soon afterward, received the « venia legendi » for the entire field of internal medicine. In 1888, he was called « zum Consilium » to San Remo, to the sickbed of the German crown prince. Schrötter, in 1890, was appointed full-professor and head of the 3rd medical clinic and, in 1896, he became « Hofrat

» . He was a member of several learned Societies.

Schrötter occasioned the establishment of special health institutions for people with diseases of the chest, a demand for which he had set forth in his paper « Das kranke Krankenhaus » (The Sick Hospital) , in 1883. The large institution Alland owes its foundation to Schrötter. Schrötter also arranged for holiday resorts for poor « Gymnasiasten » (high-school pupils) and a hospital for poor students. He designed the first modern equipped lecture-room (« Hörsaal ») , with a laboratory to match it.

His son, Hermann Schrötter-Kristelli (1870-1928) worked in a wide field of medical scientific topics. In 1894, he designed an oxygen mask with which the meteorologist Artur Berson (1859-1942) set an altitude record of 9,150 metres (30,000 feet) .

Schrötter published on diseases of the heart in Hugo Wilhelm von Ziemssen (1829-1902) , et al. : Ziemssen's « Handbuch der speciellen Pathologie und Therapie » in 17 volumes, Leipzig (1875-1885) , later published by Carl Wilhelm Hermann Nothnagel (1841-1905) ; and on syphilis of the larynx in Maximilian Zeißl's (1853-1925) « Handbuch » .

### Bruckner and Josef Schalk at the « Zur goldenen Kugel »

**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 8th and the 3rd, 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.

### Franz Schalk has a good thought for Bruckner

**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 »

### Hugo Wolf's highly-productive period

The years **1888 and 1889** proved to be highly-productive for Hugo Wolf. He published a lot of his works during this period. His works received positive reviews and he was very happy with his own compositions. However, again, he began suffering from ill health and went into depression.

...

Though, he had several bursts of extraordinary productivity, particularly in **1888 and 1889**, depression frequently interrupted Hugo Wolf's creative periods, and his last composition was written in **1898**, before he suffered a mental collapse caused by syphilis.

### 1888 : Bruckner feels sad around Christmas time

Opposite the Freuds, on the top-floor of « Heßgasse » Number 7, all was dark, all quiet at the Bruckner flat. « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr need not fret over her frowsy « Herr » Professor. He had left town for a while, to overcome his old-bachelor loneliness during Christmas. The Abbot of Kremsmünster, in Styria, had invited him. Around the monastery, snow hung on the rolling woods. Inside, the monks sat in awe as Bruckner played the organ at Midnight Mass, improvising far beyond the printed note into great godly dreams of sound. Afterward, they prayed and gave him a little roast pork and more « Pilsner » , and much love.

...

When he did go out, Johann Strauß avoided the carnival and went to the Ronacher, the big cabaret-revue theatre. « Unfortunately, I've already ordered a box at the Ronacher. » , he wrote his friend Adalbert von Goldschmidt who had proposed a dinner with Anton Bruckner.

« I would like to cancel it for your and Bruckner's sake. But I cannot change my plans because I have a “ rendez-vous ” there (at the Ronacher) with friends. I hate the very idea of such an evening. Just now, I have a lot of work,

and such get-togethers always last much longer than seems necessary. They keep me from my task. Evenings like this start at the Ronacher and end at Brady's (Brady's "Wintergarten", a popular night-club) and, usually, don't see me returning home before dawn - which I hate. Then, I get very upset over my frivolity, and get so very angry at what can no longer be undone that I can't accomplish a thing in the days which follow. I just pace up and down in my study and can't concentrate. I can only work when I have no petty upsets. »

The carnival lit-up Professor Bruckner's isolation. After his Christmas sojourn at Kremsmünster, he was back in Vienna, teaching at the Conservatory, playing the organ at the Imperial Chapel, re-reworking the 3rd Symphony, sketching-out the 9th, and being alone. He saw very few of his colleagues. Johann Strauß was one of his remote celebrity acquaintances ; but when plans were made for a meeting, something always happened to abort them.

He suspected that « something » might be the Brahms - Hanslick clique, his shrewd enemies with whom Johann Strauß cultivated friendships. He feared he wouldn't feel welcome at most of the city's « Fasching » (Carnival) affairs. He felt very awkward with the sophisticated dissipation at which Vienna was so good.

On **Friday, 11 January 1889**, Bruckner did go to one affair : the Upper-Austrian Foresters' Ball at the « Blumen-Saal » . As the city's most prestigious Upper-Austrian, he had been invited as honorary guest. For the occasion, he had asked his « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr to fish-out black socks instead of the customary white from the disorder of his clothes cup-board. The foresters were mostly employees of Viennese magnates with Upper-Austrian possessions. In a way, they were salaried hicks like himself ; they spoke his dialect. At their urging, he finally took a « dirndled » \* maiden by the waist and, for the length of an oom-pah-pah « Ländler » , bobbed around the hall with her.

\* « Dirndl » : Type of traditional dress worn in southern Germany (especially Bavaria) , Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Austria and South Tyrol, based on the historical costume of Alpine peasants. Dresses that are loosely based on the « dirndl » are known as « Landhausmode » (country-inspired fashion) .

Then, he was done, thank God. That **January 1889**, he was more uncertain with women than ever. During his Christmas stay at Kremsmünster, another adorable young girl had confounded his blood. Her name was Mathilde Feßl, a lawyer's daughter, and she had asked him nice questions about music in the most pleasing way. But then they'd started talking about the period of Lent. And he couldn't believe his ears. She was a free-thinker ! An infidel ! An atheist girl of 17 ! To Bruckner, the world was more incomprehensible than ever. No wonder it was the kind of world that celebrated Brahms but acted so meanly towards him. It was not the kind of world which set him dancing.

Brahms did no dancing at all, this countless ball invitations notwithstanding. « Fasching » amused him, as the Viennese did in general, but it was much too unbuttoned a joy for his North-German temper. Besides, he never changed his regimen of rising at 5:00 am. And even if the carnival had kept more sensible hours, say, right after his nap in the early afternoon, Brahms would still have been too busy for extra-curricular gaieties, in **January 1889**.

There was fancy work to be done. Josef Joachim, the violin virtuoso, was in town again, preparing, another Brahms concert. The composer himself would accompany on the piano in his newly-published Violin Sonata in D minor. For

such personal appearances, Brahms left absolutely nothing unprepared, down to the bows, he planned to take. For these, he preferred the conductor to pull him, with gentle force, out of his hiding place behind the curtain. He liked to tune his applause as if it were a fine piano. That was his carnival.

During « Fasching », Doctor Sigmund Freud hid himself with much more conviction. He was more of an outsider than ever, taking no part at all in the carnival. The city sang with a million throats, danced with millions of legs, but he was deaf to rhythm. Quite literally, « Frau » Freud suggested that they take advantage of post-Christmas sales and buy a piano, so that little Mathilde could play it, one day. But the Master of the house laid down a veto which lasted into his most prosperous years. No piano, no violin, nothing of the kind. He proscribed music in the world's most musical city.

Carnival disrupted his one conviviality, the Saturday tarok game. Doctor Rie and Doctor Königswürt, card-partners and fellow-physicians at the Pediatric Institute, went to balls on some tarok nights. Freud had no room for « Fasching » in his budget. He had to husband money and time for more essential concerns. At this season, his late-afternoon walks around the « Ringstraße » often took place in a darkness crowded and brightened by people in evening dress, on their way to excitement :

« What a stage for the sparkling, beauty-minded, thoughtless world. It's a marvelous tumult in which to be alone. »

A teenage Freud had written that about Vienna's World's Fair, in 1873. Now, it was still true for him as he strode through the carnival of 1889. He'd arrive in his study on « Maria Theresienstraße », a continent away from the masked faces that passed laughing below his second floor window. And the paper on hysteria, waiting for him at his desk, removed him still further. Not even friendly colleagues, like Josef Breuer or Rudolf Chrobak, could keep him company here. His paper took him on a journey longer and more unauthorized than he realized himself.

### New Year's Eve : Wolf writes to his mother

**Sunday, 30 December 1888** : Hugo Wolf wrote on New Year's Eve :

« Dear, good mother !

Best wishes for the New Year. If my success gives you joy, please think as I do of the incredible miracle of the past year. It was the most fertile and, therefore, the happiest year of my life. In this year, I composed no less than 92 songs and ballads, and not one is a failure. I think I may be satisfied with the year 1888. What will 1889 bring ? In that year, the Opera whose execution I will start in a few days will be finished. \* If my success can colour your life in a friendlier hue, then, you should see everything in the rosiest glitter. My young fame is now powerfully ascendant and, perhaps, I will soon play the leading role in the musical world. True, it may take reviewers long to understand my thoughts because my art is too new. But I have already gained an unprejudiced public. I have every right to call 1889 : a year that augurs luck. »

(\* The Opera « Der Corregidor » would not be written until 1895.)

## Hugo Wolf and Doctor Josef Breuer

Until now, there has been no biography in English of Josef Breuer. « The Life and Work of Josef Breuer » triumphantly fills that gap. Translated from the original German edition, revised, and updated, it offers a comprehensive and engaging story of the intriguing life of one of the key-figures in the history of psychoanalysis, a man whose contributions in psychoanalysis and physiology have been over-shadowed by the work of Sigmund Freud. Based on documents from many sources, including letters with Breuer and August Forel, Freud, Wilhelm Fließ, and Hugo Wolf, and personal recollections of family, friends, and clients, Albrecht Hirschmüller provides a new picture of Breuer's life and work, including his family origins and home, his school and student days, his professional career, and a complete assessment of his scientific achievements. For the first time, we are given the complete story of the treatment of Bertha Pappenheim. Returning to primary sources, including letters from Breuer, the patient, her mother, and her cousin, Hirschmüller places this case on new and broader foundations and dispels some of the myths surrounding her treatment. Hirschmüller also uncovered notes and letters regarding other patients treated by Breuer, some of whom were referred by Freud.

Albrecht Hirschmüller. « The life and work of Josef Breuer : Physiology and psychoanalysis » , New York University Press New York City (1989) ; xiv, 514 pages.

...

Josef Breuer had a brilliant reputation as a practical physician. He was the physician of many prominent contemporary scholars, with whom he also partly maintained close friendships, such as with Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, with whom he conducted an extensive correspondence, or with the physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach, with the philosophers Friedrich Jodl and Franz Brentano, with the musician Hugo Wolf. He took care of the « Wertheimstein and Gomperz families » , the first Viennese Jewish families (Hirschmüller, 1978, page 50.) . As well as Johannes Brahms in his last months of life. As a special honour of his competency, it can be considered that « a number of the most important professors of the Faculty of medicine, who had partly been his teachers, later chose him as their dormitory, and regarded him as worthy of their friendship, especially Ernst Bridge, his most important teacher » .

## The mistake of the « Gaudeamuses »

Contemporary letters and the subsequent memoirs of the « Gaudeamuses » portray a lively circle.

**Wednesday, 2 January 1889** : Josef Schalk wrote to his brother Franz (then in Reichenberg) to tell him how Anton Bruckner had joined his young friends for New Year's Eve drinks at the « Zum Roten Igel » , on the « Wildpretmarkt » , where Bruckner had proposed a solemn toast to Franz, before « wandering-off together » for some punch at Griensteidl's « café » on the « Michælerplatz » . By this time, however, strains had begun to show in the relationship. From the outset, Bruckner's relationship with his « Gaudeamuses » had been subtly undermined by an insidious class difference, taking the form of a corrosive mixture of awe for the creative genius they genuinely revered, and pity for his social ineptitude and apparent intellectual short-comings ; the mistake of the « Gaudeamuses » was to confuse

Bruckner's inability to formulate and articulate abstract argument with an inability to view his own creative output critically, failing to appreciate that Bruckner had achieved just this, at a sophisticated level, with his 1877 revision of the 3rd Symphony.

But there are cliques within cliques, and the 2 members of this circle who were tied most closely together were the brothers Josef and Franz Schalk. The family relationship explains how the brothers developed a joint outlook ; they operated on the basis of a shared way of looking at the world, and they felt free to act as they later did, and had the courage to act as they did, because each had the other for support.

### Wolf on Brahms

Hugo Wolf was a highly-esteemed music-critic in Vienna. The Viennese loved, above all, his malicious and aphoristic talent. He was the brilliant spokesman of the Brahms opponents in Vienna. He always wrote snappy articles, which Brahms gladly read to his friends at the « Red Hedgehog » (« Zum Roten Igel ») .

« Doctor Brahms is champion in composing works without thoughts. »

### Budapest : Mahler escapes a fire

**Saturday, 26 January 1889** : Shortly after the music begins in the Hungarian Opera House in Budapest, a fire starts in the prompter's box. Gustav Mahler is forced to stop the music as firemen douse the flames. 30 minutes later, the performance resumes. At the end the audience is ecstatic, both with Mahler and with the production.

### Mathilde Mayr (born Feßl)

During his Christmas stay at Kremsmünster (1888-1889) , another adorable young girl had confounded Anton Bruckner's blood. Her name was Mathilde Feßl, a lawyer's daughter. At a certain point, she asked Bruckner nice questions about music in the most pleasing way. But then, they had started talking about Lent. And he couldn't believe his ears. She was a " free-thinker " ! An infidel ! An atheist girl of 17 ! To Bruckner, the world was more incomprehensible than ever.

...

Anton Bruckner was allowed to visit (for musical purpose only) the, then, 17 year old Mathilde Feßl.

These anecdotes (originating from a pencil-note taken by an unknown hand was, then, transferred in typed text) come from a concert in Vienna :

« On **(Thursday) February 24, 1889**, the 7th Symphony of Bruckner is played at the " Bösendorfer-Saal ", under conductor Hans Richter. The concert was organized by the Wagner Society of Vienna. »



Apparently, Mathilde arrived in the hall at the last minute. She wanted to go to her place but, unfortunately, got lost. Finally, she arrived in front of the last door that was open in the hallway.

She writes :

« In search for a hidden-place, my eyes fell on an old gentleman, in a front-corner. He was not dressed festively, slightly obese, bald and extremely trustworthy.

I said to myself :

“ For sure, I will present myself to this old gentleman. ”

I went-up to him and stood behind him. He, then, turned around and looked at me and said, in surprise :

“ Yes, how come you are alone ? ”

“ I know that this is not my seat. I agree that I committed myself. But I can go elsewhere immediately if you want. I'll find my place in the concert-hall. ”

He protested vividly :

“ No, no, no, nobody's there. It is quite right for me. ”

So, the concert really began. Then, I forgot everything. I was in a weird situation : an old man with a black tail-coat - and the music.

Then, the first movement was over, the old man turned around and asked :

“ Did you liked it ? ”

I stayed still, feeling like in a daze :

“ Wonderful ! It's Bruckner ! ”

He replied, pointing at himself :

“ Well, yes, it's me. ”

I was speechless. Not that my imagination already visualized the persona of Bruckner but he was anything but the imposing type. He was almost a comical old man ; him, the creator of this wonderful musical work. I could not put

myself together. Since the next movement began (Adagio) , I dreamed having angel wings ! And soon, I saw everything in a different light and was shaken to the core, that such a simple man was chosen to give us this divine music.

During the next pause, he again talked to me. As soon he looked down at his clothes, he said :

“ Being highly-graded, I have to wear this old garment again. ”

Then, he reached into his neck :

“ This collar is killing me. I would gladly remove it to feel more comfortable. However, I am glad you came by. I feel proud having attracted something beautiful.

He asked my name, who I was, and where I came from. I said to him that I come from Kremsmünster, in Upper-Austria, that I was the daughter of the lawyer Doctor FeBl, and so on.

He said very pleased :

“ I come from Upper-Austria. But I now live in Vienna, here's my address. People on the street notice me. It makes me happy. They say : it's Bruckner. ”

I never saw him again in Vienna. But, after 2 years, he really came to see me in Kremsmünster. I was already engaged. One day, I was sitting at the table, near the window, working on the sewing-machine. There was a knock, a gentleman was at the door and presented himself with respect. I immediately recognized the voice of Bruckner.

As he saw me, he cried pleased :

“ Yes, it's me ! ”

Bruckner's companion for the occasion, the organist Leitenmayr, later told me that it was a rather eccentric presentation.

In fact, Bruckner was talking of St. Florian's monastery when he was permitted to enter :

“ I have met a daughter of Doctor FeBl in Vienna. I have to see her again. ”

The servant laughed and said :

“ This will be difficult. ' Herr ' FeBl has 5 daughters. ”

Bruckner said :

“ It does not matter. Mathilde already knows me. ”

I jumped from my chair, went to meet him and shook his hand. He turned to his friend organist and said :

“ I am grateful you accompanied me to visit this beautiful girl. ”

He took us for a snack at a coffee-shop. There, he also played the piano for a long time.

I had to sit next to him while playing. Suddenly, during a particularly beautiful moment, he turned to me and said quietly :

“ This is not from me, it is a Viennese piece. ”

He often told me something about counterpoint and the laws of harmony and the like, and I said :

“ I see nothing of that sort. If only my sister was here. ”

He did not let me finish and protested strongly, immediately :

“ Well, well, well, your sister ! She seems quite capable. She could share with me her music knowledge and her own compositions. ”

Often, he held my hand and stroked it tenderly.

I became a little bit concerned. Can I allow a stranger to become my husband ? I withdrew my hand from him and even left the room. My dear father who saw the whole scene, came to me and said :

“ But my child, do not be punctilious. You cannot measure a man like Bruckner which has higher-standards compared to the rest of the people. By being in company of such a genius, for few exquisite hours, you will keep this beautiful moment for the rest of your life. ”

I went straight back to the piano-room and sat-down next to him. In his innocence, Bruckner had noted nothing of this little interlude. He, again, took my hand and stroked it. I looked at my father and he was glad. He nodded at me, and also smiled. We also went on a walk across the meadows which offered a beautiful view of the mountain. Bruckner followed us and told me about his life in Vienna.

His modesty was great. He said, for example :

“ The fact that I am a composer, I know exactly what it takes ! Today's young guys, only aged 20, want to learn just a little bit of piano because they want to try to compose immediately ! But, in reality, nothing will come-out of this

approach. »

The evening gradually came to an end, and he had to go back to the monastery. He said goodbye and, with increasing sadness, I watched him go. I anticipated that I would not see him again because, after a few years, he left his earthly home with a place in heaven. To me, he was always joined by his divine music.

The book entitled « Memories of Upper-Austria / Encounters with Anton Bruckner » written by Mathilde Mayr, « née » FeBl, was published by Professor Wilhelm Formann. It relates conversations of the composer with young girls (these recollections come from Mrs. Magda Preibsch, of Neuhofen-an-der-Krems. She is a grand-niece of Mathilde) .

### Bruckner and the Tragedy of Mayerling

**February 1889** : In the week after the tragedy at Mayerling in which the 30 year old Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria and his mistress Marie Vetsera were found dead (around 6:00 am on January 30th) inside the hunting-lodge in mysterious circumstances, Anton Bruckner and his private secretary Friedrich Eckstein traveled to the monastery of « Stift Heiligenkreuz » to ask the abbot there for details of what happened.

...

Bruckner was not merely affected by the « The Mayerling Incident » . He was consumed by it !

On an icy mid-February morning of 1889, somebody knocked at the door of Bruckner's young musician friend, Friedrich Eckstein. Outside stood the Master's house-keeper, the incomparable and much-trying « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr. She had a message. Professor Bruckner had got it into his head to go sleigh-riding in the Vienna Woods with « Herr » Eckstein, if « Herr » Eckstein would share the expense, and that's why she had to go chasing through the cold streets at this unearthly hour. What did « Herr » Eckstein say to such an idea ? The Professor was dying to know in his usual sudden fashion.

« Herr » Eckstein had a well-to-do father, as well as an unquestioning reverence for genius. He was one of Bruckner's very few true friends. An hour and a half later, the 2 boarded a train at the Southern Railway terminal. Bruckner, in his usual broad-brimmed hat and « loden » cape, pulled at his enormous scarf and, peculiarly distracted, exclaimed over and over again at how wonderful the fresh snow looked and how marvelous the landscape would be still deeper in the woods. They got-out at Baden. Here, Bruckner fussed tremendously over the right kind of horse and the suitable sort of sleigh, and it was not until he told the driver to head toward the Monastery of Heiligenkreuz that Eckstein grasped the reason behind the frenzy.

Eckstein wrote in his memoirs :

« Here, it became obvious what the true subject of Bruckner's thought was, and the object of his trip. It was about the event that had occupied him so much during the last few days, the entirely unexpected death of Crown Prince

Rudolf, the catastrophe of Mayerling. It was barely a week since these things had happened that had filled Bruckner with the deepest horror. Now, he began once more, perhaps for the 100th time, to discuss the matter with me and to ask my opinion of it. He confessed that the true purpose of the sleigh-ride was not his need to breathe fresh air or to enjoy the winter scenery, but the insatiable, overwhelming desire to visit the site of all these horrors, to inspect closely the area itself, and, if possible, to learn from persons living there details about the uncanny events.

Therefore, he had decided to visit first the Monastery of “ Heiligenkreuz ”, to find-out details from some of the monks or, perhaps, even from the Abbot himself, who was his personal friend, and of whom it was said that he had performed the last rites over the corpse.

After lunch, we entered the monastery. Bruckner asked a monk to announce him to the Abbot, who greeted Bruckner very respectfully. The Abbot asked him to play the organ. He obliged with one of his memorable improvisations on a chorale theme.

The conversation was general at first : the seriousness of the times, certain ecclesiastical issues, the musical situation in Vienna, etc. Not a word about the Crown Prince or the catastrophe of Mayerling. Bruckner began to show obvious signs of impatience. I saw that he was getting tired of all this diplomacy. And, sure enough, he burst-out. Really ! Would the Abbot not ever mention anything about those certain occurrences ! Those critical days at Mayerling ?

The Abbot, so suddenly interrupted in his small talk, actually seemed not to have heard the question. But Bruckner repeated it and became more importunate. The Abbot, at bay, had to give a serious reply.

Yes, he said, he had given final blessings to a corpse under unusual circumstances, at an unusual hour ; but he was still so shaken by the events that it was entirely impossible for him to talk about it. (This was the Abbot who had buried Mary Vetsera. In addition, he could not grossly violate the silence to which he had been sworn.)

Bruckner, very disappointed, now gave-up his effort. We returned to small talk, and before taking our leave, Bruckner had to agree to the Abbot's request to play the great organ of the monastery for the evening's blessing.

Soon afterward, I had the good fortune to hear the Master make this venerable powerful instrument come alive in the deepest silence of the forest. Bruckner fantasized for a while variations on a choral theme which preoccupied him just at that time, and he knew how to get the most moving effects out of this very simple melody.

At 6:00 pm, we climbed into the sleigh again, but, to my surprise, Bruckner asked the driver not to return to Baden, but to drive first to Mayerling itself. We reached it after a marvelous journey through wooded gorges, now swathed in darkness. Bruckner had hoped to meet a local, here or there, and to get him to talk, or to look at the site of these murderous events, from up close. Again, he was disappointed. The sequestered hunting-lodge was quite dark, all entrances locked and barricaded, no human being anywhere. We climbed-out of the sleigh to look at the place more closely, but saw no movement. But, as we walked along the building, we noticed a feeble light in the last window on the ground-floor. Inside, we spied a few nuns in black veils who were reading their breviaries by candle light or

whispering prayers. This unexpected sight was so spooky that Bruckner vehemently clasped my arm.

Now, it was obvious that we had no business being there, and that we had no alternative but to return with our purpose unfulfilled. Silently, we returned to our monastery, in order to warm and fortify ourselves with its wine. This drink chased away the ghosts of night.

They did not stay chased very long and went back to Vienna.

2 weeks after the Crown Prince's death, Franz-Josef took a number of steps which proved Doctor Sigmund Freud a precise case-historian of Mayerling and, incidentally, Anton Bruckner an accurate spy. Rudolf's testament bequeathed Mayerling to his little daughter, Elisabeth. The Emperor lost no time in buying it from her, very quietly, sometime in mid-February. A few days later, the Lord Marshal's Commission, still taking inventory at the lodge, found itself interrupted again. Now, it was not the Papal Nuncio but another spiritual personage : Maria Euphrasia Kaufmann, Prioress of the order of Discalced Carmelites at Baumgarten, near Vienna. She was accompanied by the architect Josef Schmalzhofer. It was His Majesty's command, " Herr " Schmalzhofer said to build a new Carmelite nunnery on the site. For that purpose, he had to do some surveying here. And, very soon, even before the arrival of masons, the Carmelite Sisters began to take-over Mayerling. Bruckner had glimpsed their dark, hooded figures that winter night. He may have been among the first outsiders to know a fact which was not announced until April 9. The architect's instructions were to bury the hunting-lodge under the convent. The walls of the bedroom, that had enclosed Rudolf's end, were pulled-down, and the parquet floor ripped-up. The spiral staircase was demolished together with the rarely used matrimonial bedroom to which it led. On the roof, the chimneys were plucked away. All the outer-contours of this wing were changed and enlarged so that it might serve as the convent church, with altar, sacristy and side-chapel. Suitable remodeling in the rest of the building provided for the nuns' dormitory and for dining and reception rooms, etc. Even the garden was replanted and its dimensions changed. All the fences around the property were rebuilt to a greater height. »

### A deadly duel

**Wednesday, 13 March 1889** : 2 of young Arthur Schnitzler's crowd, both bucks of the « haute-bourgeoisie » , clashed blades in fencing practice. The exchange grew heated. The foil-tip of one partner (Max Friedmann) broke through his opponent's mask, punctured an eye, pierced the brain, and killed the man on the spot.

Schnitzler wrote :

« At the time, Max Friedmann and I were seeing a lot of each other. Often, we went to masked balls together. I, therefore, considered it my duty to visit him the day after the accident and to commiserate with him. I was strangely affected by the fact that, not only in conversation with me, but also with others, Max dealt hardly at all with his unfortunate victim but seemed solely occupied with the question of whether or not the courts would find him in any way delinquent. The investigation was terminated a few days later because of a lack of incriminating evidence ; and, sooner than any of us would have thought possible, friend Max was back in the fencing arena. »

Newspaper reports of the incident struck Bruckner, who knew none of the parties involved but was a connoisseur of death. His niece had just died and, on **Thursday, 14 March 1889**, he wrote a short note to his sister, enclosing 20 Florins to help meet expenses for the funeral.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Rosalia Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

« Please accept my heartfelt sympathy at the deepest, saddest loss of your only daughter ! God give you two-fold strength ! For the departed (our dear niece) , however, eternal peace ! A week ago, I attended a High-Mass at the “ Schottenkirche ” for the deceased Johanna ; I am sending the enclosed 20 “ Gulden ” to help with the cost of the funeral. Let us pray regularly for the dear one who has gone before us ! »

Bruckner also had a fascination, almost a preoccupation, with death. After his signature, at the very end of the same letter, he mentions with no logical connection to his preceding lines :

« P.S. : Yesterday (Wednesday) , a young officer son of a very rich “ burgher ” was stabbed to death at a fencing exercise. »

What such a statement is doing at the bottom of a letter of condolence regarding the death of Johanna (his niece) , only daughter of Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber, is hard to understand except in psychological terms. However, by now, Bruckner's problems must have been making themselves obvious again to his family. Unfortunately for Bruckner, this incident illustrates only one of his strangenesses.

By 1885, Anton Bruckner had only 2 surviving siblings, Rosalia (Hueber) to whom he often referred as « Sali » , and his brother Ignaz. Bruckner's deep feelings for members of his family do not manifest themselves often in his letters, but he loved them and never forgot them in times of need.

**WAB deest 9 : « At Gause » inherits a song**

**Monday, 29 April 1889 : (WAB missing)** - « Heut kommt ja Freund Klose “ zum Gause ” » , secular chorus (canon) in C major (4 measures) for mixed vocal quartet (SATB) quoting Bruckner's friend Friedrich Klose at one of his favourite pub-restaurant :

« Heut kommt ja Freund Klose zu Gause / Und geht nach der Jause nach Hause. »

(Today, our friend Klose comes “ at Gause ” / And go home after the snack.)

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 1st District.

**Mahler : First operation for hemorrhoids**

**Wednesday, 17 July 1889** : Gustav Mahler undergoes an operation for hemorrhoids in Munich.

**Saturday, 27 July 1889 - Tuesday, 20 August 1889** : Mahler stays 3 weeks at the Spa facility of the « Englischer Hof » in Marienbad (nowadays Sofia) to recuperate from his operation. The house is located on « Kaiserstraße » - today, at Number 52 « Hlavni » (Main) Street (« Hlavni trida » , cp. 52) .

### Numeromania relapse

As time progressed, Anton Bruckner's mental state worsened and his old aberrations, from 1867, began to recur.

After having investigated himself the tragedy of Mayerling, accompanied by his private secretary Friedrich Eckstein, Anton Bruckner returned to Vienna. He stood in front of the Imperial Palace and counted, over and over again, its many hundreds of windows.

At home, he tried to find a letter from his friend August Göllerich junior in Regensburg. It had answered his request to total-up the exact number of embellishments on Regensburg Old City-Hall (« Altes Rathaus ») : turrets, weather vanes, gargoyles, etc. Bruckner's counting-mania had come upon him again, as it sometimes did in times of stress : the need somehow to order and structure and contain a great amorphous doom.

The building of the Town Hall of Regensburg, which was partially built in the middle of the 13th Century, has an architecture similar to that of the patrician houses, which were very influential at the time.

**Monday, 12 August 1889** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to August Göllerich junior (Bayreuth) :

« I wish to know of what the spires above the dome of the city towers, where we were, consist. Next to the dome is a) the stud ; then, b) the weather-vane with ornament ; isn't it ? Then, c) a cross ??? And a lightning rod or what else ? Is there a cross ?

What is on the spire of the Catholic church ? I believe only a weather-vane without a cross ?

Excuse me many times, and I thank you in advance. Please, make a note of “ everything ” ; in the autumn, I shall ask for clarification. »

Since Bruckner was asking about Bayreuth, he could not easily check for himself.

Nevertheless, this is a very unusual request for information, seemingly of no real significance, except to a victim of what looks like an obsessive-compulsive disorder.

Bayreuth : « Stadtkirche »



The first Church was built in 1194, but was destroyed during the Hussite Wars in 1430. In the crypt under the North tower remained the Foundation of its initial construction. The construction of a new Church began in 1437, and its towers, constituting 50 meters in height, was completed only in 1529. Interestingly, the care-taker lived inside the tower until 1934, it preserved « house » on the tower, dated 1448 year. From 1668, the top of the towers are connected by a stone corridor.

In 1528, the Margrave of the city announced the transition to Protestantism, and from that moment, the Church became Evangelical. In the early-17th Century, the Church suffered 2 fires, and, in 1634, during the Thirty Years War, a cannonball broke a window in the choir loft, and inside it was a lot of people, but fortunately, all survived. This miraculous event was immortalized in the following way : inserted the new glass looked broken, and it was the year of the accident.

Until the mid-18th Century, the town Church was also the Margrave tomb - their graves are in the crypt under the choir. In the 19th Century, the Church was restored several times, was added a Baroque and neo-Gothic elements. Inside the Church special interest is the altar 1615, tricuspid reminiscent of Gothic altars. The font, benches and a pulpit was made in 1871-1872 year in neo-Gothic style. It is worth noting that the font is decorated with alabaster reliefs 1615, the author of which was the Nuremberg Master, the Creator and also the main altar of the Church.

In addition to urban electors in the Church was buried by other no less eminent a person, inside it is a lot of tombstones and epitaphs in the 17th and 18th Centuries and even earlier, more wooden tombstones belonging to the « Burgmeisters » (mayors) , priests and super-intendents.

The towers have 8 bells, some of them preserved since 1624, and the rest was replaced in 1961. The largest bell weighs 2,300 pounds.

### Payment for September

**Saturday, 17 August 1889** : Viennese pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 17 August, “ Frau Kathi ” - 7 Florins for September. »

### Luise Blümelhuber

**Friday, 23 August 1889** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entry for September 1889 (unknown hand-writing) :

« “ Fräulein ” Luise Blümelhuber, Enge-Gasse Number 17. Steyr, 23 August 1889. »

### « Enge-Gasse » Number 17

Dieses fünfachsige und zweistöckige, mit einem Scheingiebel versehene Haus wurde schon 1974 in die Fassadenaktion

der Stadt Steyr einbezogen und trägt nunmehr durch seine alten, trotzdem fast modern anmutenden Sgraffiti (vergleiche Ennskai Nummer 5) , den Fenstergewänden im ersten Stock und der Scheinarchitektur zum Schmuck der Engen Gasse in Steyr bei.

Das Haus Enge Nummer 17, deren Besitzer die Grundabgaben durch Jahrhunderte dem Bürgerspital zu leisten hatten, wird um 1491 dem Tyboldt Rarmoser gehörig bezeichnet. Weitere Mitglieder dieser Familie werden mit Berchtold (1441, Berggasse Nummer 79) und Hans (1455) und Chunrad (1567, Enge Nummer 27) genannt.

Um 1505 gehörte das Haus dem Thomas Selzam und in den Vierziger Jahren der Witwe nach Andreas Rosenstingl. Das Stammhaus der Familie Selzem ist Enge Nummer 4 (Berggasse Nummer 3) . Ab der Mitte des Jahrhunderts hatten Vorderhaus (Enge Nummer 17) und Hinterhaus (Endskai Nummer 9) verschiedene Besitzer. Auf Enge Nummer 17 waren angeschrieben : der Schneider Stephan Artmann (1567-1609) , der Goldschmied Wolf Hauser (1609 bis 1620) , Margarete Seyder (vor 1651) und der Bäckermeister Hans Hornhuber (um 1651) .

Wolf Hauser hatte am 3. Juli 1609 die Artmann'sche Behausung gekauft (600 Gulden) . Erst am 9. April 1611 wird die halbe Währung (300 Gulden) als bezahlt bezeichnet. Er starb am 11. November 1620 im 63. Lebensjahr. Wolf Hauser hat eine schöne Ansicht von Steyr in Kupfer gestochen. Die Jahreszahl « 1584 » wurde nachträglich in die Bildaufschrift eingesetzt. Doktor Josef Ofner datiert die Entstehung des Hauser-Stiches um 1610. Diese Datierung wurde den archivalischen Aufzeichnungen eher entsprechen als 1584 ! Das Hinterhaus (Ennskai Nummer 9) ging von dem Nestler Wolfgang Erlinger (1567 bis 1586) an seinen Berufskollegen Georg Gallenberger (um 1597) , dann an dessen Witwe Catharina (um 1625) , von deren Erben an die Bäckerin Gertraud Knabl (um 1645) über, bis dann Hans Hornhuber 1651 beide Hausteile gemeinsam bis 1669 besaß.

Im Jahre 1669 kam es zu einer neuerlichen Besitzteilung. Das Hinterhaus wurde von Hornhuber an den Schuhmacher Christoph Korner verkauft. Im Vorderhaus folgten nach Horuhuber Valentin Aigner und von 1710 bis 1715 N. Niss (vielleicht Josef Franz) , im Hinterhaus auf Christoph Korner der Bäcker Andreas Peyrl (um 1684) und dann die schon oben Genannten, der Maurermeister Georg Aigner und ab 1715 N. Niss. Der Handelsmann Niss vereinigte 1715 endgültig beide Hausteile in einer Besitzerhand. 1731 kaufte Johann Christian Hirth das durch den Brand von 1727 zerstörte Haus. Der Eisenhändler Michael Ruebacher und dann seine Witwe Maria-Anna besaßen das Haus bis 1788. Dann ging dieses zwar an den Obervorgeher der Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft in Weyer Engelbert von Wintersberg über. Doch das Eisenhandelsgewerbe blieb weiterhin der Verkäuferin vorbehalten.

Die grundbücherlichen Aufzeichnungen weisen als nächste Besitzer den Eisenhändler Franz Schontban (1797 bis 1802) , den Stadtkassier Franz Xaver Gruber (1802 bis 1810) und dann den Lehrer Joseph Sengt (1810 bis 1814) als Besitzer aus. Am 30. August 1814 kam die Fabrikantenfamilie Schlager durch den Kauf um 9.000 Florins in den Besitz des Hauses Enge Nummer 17. Die Hälfte des 1824 wiederum abgebrannten Hauses kam 1829 als mütterliches Erbteil an den Sohn Johann Baptist, nach dem Tode des Vater 1832, dessen Teil über die Witwe Anna wiederum an den Sohn als nunmehrigen Gesamterben (bis 1866) .

Die radizierte Eisen-, Geschmeid- und Nagelhandlungsgerechtigkeit wurde schon 1801 über Ansuchen von Franz

Schöntban auf das Haus Stadtplatz Nummer 9 (Meditzhaus) übertragen.

### Little Schnabel

**1889** : Professor Teodor Leszetycki advised Artur Schnabel's mother (Ernestine Taube, « née » Labin) that her 7 year old son should have lessons in composition. So, she took him to the house of Anton Bruckner in Vienna, knocked on his door and said she wanted to give lessons to her son in theory. He replied : « I don't teach children. » , and shut the door ! Following that failed initial approach to the old Master of St. Florian, Artur Schnabel studied for 7 years music theory and composition under professor Eusebius Mandyczewski.

Through Mandyczewski (a friend and assistant to Johannes Brahms) , Schnabel was introduced to the composer's Circle. He was often in his presence ; taking Sunday walks with him. The young boy once heard Brahms play in a performance of his 1st Piano Quartet ; for all the missed notes, said Schnabel, it « was in the true grand manner » . Schnabel's mother remained in Vienna after the « Anschluß » and, at the age of 83, in August 1942, was deported to Theresienstadt concentration camp, where she died 2 months later. Artur Schnabel never returned to Germany or Austria after the War.

### « Café Griensteidl » : Hugo Wolf

**Autumn 1889** : After his summer's rest, Hugo Wolf began work on a new set of songs - those of the « Spanisches Liederbuch » of Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel. To these, as well as the « Italienisches Liederbuch » of Heyse, he seems to have been introduced some time before by Doctor Franz Zwegbrück. Friedrich Eckstein had taken Wolf up to Zwegbrück in the « Café Griensteidl » and asked the writer if he knew of any good poetry for his friend to set to music.

### Doctor Justinus Kerner

Hugo Wolf's mastery of the art of the « Lied » is universally acknowledged. His power to wed and weld song and thought is fabulous. Every syllable is weighed in the finest balance. His choice of poets is faultless. The Mörike poems might be the envy of every language, and even so they are transcended in the Wolf settings.

Justinus Kerner was a doctor of medicine and thereto something of a mystic, his wife being a « clairvoyante » . The mystic's resort to paradox is evident in the poem : « Nacht muß es sein, / Daß Licht mir werde » ; and « Glanz der tiefsten Nächte » . The unseen is more-real than this world. The poem breathes the metaphysical atmosphere of the age of Hegel, and no such poem is conceivable in any other western European language.

...

The German poet, practicing physician, and medical writer Justinus Andreas Christian Kerner was born on 18 September 1786 at Ludwigsburg, in Württemberg ; and died on 21 February 1862 in Weinsberg.

After attending the Classical schools of Ludwigsburg and Maulbronn, Kerner was apprenticed in a cloth factory, but, in 1804, owing to the good services of Professor Karl Philipp Conz, was able to enter the University of Tübingen. He studied medicine but also had time for literary pursuits in the company of Ludwig Uhland, Gustav Schwab and others. He took his doctor's degree in 1808, spent some time travelling, and then settled as a practising physician in Wildbad. Here, he completed his « Reiseschatten von dem Schattenspieler Luchs » (1811) , in which his own experiences are described with caustic humour. He next collaborated with Ludwig Uhland and Gustav Schwab in the « Poetischer Almanach » for 1812, which was followed by the « Deutscher Dichtewald » (1813) , and in these some of Kerner's best poems were published. In 1815, he obtained the official appointment of District medical officer (« Oberamtsarzt ») in Gaildorf, and, in 1818, was transferred to Weinsberg, where he spent the rest of his life.

His house, the site of which at the foot of the historical « Schloß Weibertreu » was presented to him by the townspeople, became a mecca for literary pilgrims, all of whom were made welcome. Gustav IV Adolf of Sweden came with a knap-sack on his back. The poets, Christian Friedrich Alexander von Württemberg and Nikolaus Lenau were constant guests, and, in 1826, Friederike Hauffe (1801-1829) , the daughter of a forester in Prevorst, a somnambulist and « clairvoyante » , arrived ; she forms the subject of Kerner's famous work « Die Seherin von Prevorst, Eröffnungen über das innere Leben des Menschen und über das Hineinragen einer Geisterwelt in die unsere » (The Seeress of Prevorst, revelations of the human inner-life and about the penetrations of the spirit world into ours (1829) ; 6th edition, (1892)) . In 1826, he published a collection of Gedichte which were later supplemented by « Der letzte Blütenstrauß » (1852) and « Winterblüten » (1859) . Among others of his well-known poems are the charming ballad « Der reichste Fürst » ; a drinking-song, « Wohlauf, noch getrunken » , and the pensive « Wanderer in der Sägemühle » .

In addition to his literary productions, Kerner wrote some popular medical books, dealing with animal magnetism, the first treatise on sebaceous acid and botulism, « Das Fettgift oder die Fettsäure und ihre Wirkung auf den tierischen Organismus » (1822) , and a description of Wildbad and its healing waters, « Das Wildbad im Königreich Württemberg » (1813) . He also gave a vivid account of his youthful years in « Bilderbuch aus meiner Knabenzeit » (1859) and, in « Die Bestürmung der württembergischen Stadt Weinsberg im Jahre 1525 » (1820) , showed considerable skill in historical narrative.

In 1851, he was compelled, owing to increasing blindness, to retire from his medical practice, but he lived, carefully tended by his daughters, at Weinsberg until his death. He was buried beside his wife, who had died in 1854, in the grave-yard of Weinsberg, and the grave is marked by a stone slab with an inscription he himself had chosen : « Friederike Kerner und ihr Justinus » .

« Red Hedgehog » : Smoked ham and dumplings !

**Friday evening, 25 October 1889** : Personal friends and supporters of Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms, hoping to end the ugly quarrel between the 2 Masters, agreed to bring them together at the Viennese restaurant called the « Zum Roten Igel » (The « Red Hedgehog » Inn) ,, located on « Tuchlauben » Number 12, « Brandstätte » Number 8-10, « Wildpretmarkt » Number 1.

Bruckner, quite amicable, had arrived early (7:00 pm) accompanied by 2 of his friends. The waiters were astonished. Usually, the peasant Mæstro ate elsewhere, at the restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel » on the « Am Hof Platz ». Bruckner already had 2 or 3 portions of « Nudel » soup. And the wonders of the night had only begun. A few minutes later, Johannes Brahms marched-in, complete with white beard, nimbus and a retinue of 3. After a stiff greeting, he took a seat at the opposite end of a long table.

« Stiff and cold, they faced each other across the table. » , related one of those present.

It was an uncomfortable situation and the well-meaning conspirators were highly-disappointed.

Even though this was his regular restaurant, whose dishes he knew by heart, Brahms decided to brake the silence by demanding the menu, quick !!

With a forced display of good nature, he cried-out :

« Now let's see what there is to eat ! »

He glanced along the list of courses, suddenly looked-up, and ordered :

« Waiter, bring me smoked ham and dumplings ! »

Bruckner tried to match the other man's fierceness by yelling for the same thing in his Upper-Austrian dialect.

He joined-in, shouting :

« That's it, Doctor ! Smoked ham and dumplings. At least that's something on which we can agree on ! »

The effect of this remark was instantaneous. The table dissolved into laughter. The ice was broken and the remainder of the evening proved to be friendly and jolly.

Bruckner explained the situation thus :

« He is Brahms (hats off ! ) ; I am Bruckner ; I like my works better. He who wants to be soothed by music will become attached to Brahms ; but whoever wants to be carried-away by music will find but little satisfaction in his work. »

Brahms himself had declared before joining the Eduard Hanslick camp :

« Bruckner is the greatest Symphonist of the age. »

Once after listening to a Bruckner Symphony, Brahms approached the composer, saying :

« I hope you won't feel hurt about it, but I really can't make-out what you are trying to get at with your compositions. »

Bruckner answered :

« Never mind, Doctor. That's perfectly all right. I feel just the same way about your things. »

### Otto Böhler : Brahms' silhouette

The « silhouette » artist Otto Böhler will immortalize the composer Johannes Brahms as he walks, smoking the cigar, crossing a little « red hedgehog » (the icon of his favourite restaurant) that will eventually symbolize the composer's « edgy » personality as well.

Brahms was a man of society. The composer was also a man who loved life's pleasures. In 1871, his physical appearance was described as « of medium height, broad, well-built, still with no tendency of over-weight » which he developed over the years. There are pictures and photographs which show how well-being, « soupés » , dinners and feasting in a society of the exuberant late 19th Century among the rich paved the way for Brahms' risk factor and obesity. One of the pictures shows the virtuoso whose prominent belly seems almost to keep him at distance from the concert piano.

### Brahms' eating habits

Anton Bruckner was a pathetic joke to many Viennese. Johannes Brahms was their marvel. They admired his very quirks. Brahms was the only notable in town to rise almost as early as Emperor Franz-Josef. He left bed at 5 am. After that, he marched through his day's program with a self-assurance as solid and axiomatic as the Emperor's.

A son of a poor family in the poor neighbourhood from North Germany, Brahms was humble and never extravagant on food. However, His love of food was well-recorded in many biographies and anecdotes.

Brahms' contemporaries often mentioned his love of food and drink in their remembrances of him. Indeed, we know quite a lot about his eating preferences, favourite restaurants, and drinking habits ... and let's just say that the evidence is almost exactly the opposite of what one might expect of a famous « Herr Doktor » who rubbed shoulders with the « élite » of Viennese society.

« I live in Vienna as if I were in the country » , Brahms once told a friend.

A keen walker and lover of nature, he often went walking in the woods around Vienna, when he often brought penny-candy with him to hand-out to children. He also enjoyed walking holidays in Italy. The press noted his style of walking

with his hands firmly behind his back.

His proletarian taste also revealed itself in the homes of those who hosted him.

The Max Kalbeck family noted Brahms' fondness for « Silsalat » (an Austrian herring salad) .

« There at the head of the table sits the ' Uncle ' with the long, white flowing beard. The laughter with which he signs receipts for jokes, roars its way out to us. Yes, Uncle Brahms can drink and eat ! »

(Flore Kalbeck, daughter of the music-critic Max Kalbeck, on her memories of Brahms visiting their family home for supper.)

During Otto Dessoff's tenure with the Vienna Philharmonic, « Brahms was invited to dinner in his home after every Sunday concert - " Frau Frederike " (Dessoff's wife) was a good cook. »

Once, Brahms was gravely disappointed when he contracted an illness for which his doctor prescribed a strict diet.

He protested :

« But this evening, I'm dining with (Johann) Strauß and we shall have chicken paprika. »

« Out of the question. » , the doctor ruled.

Brahms replied :

« Very well, then, please consider that I did not come to consult you until tomorrow. »

### The daily routine

According to his habits and personality, Johannes Brahms had a relatively calm life, when compared to some famous actors and musicians of his time. His daily life in Vienna was all that is more routine.

An early riser, Brahms made his own special dark coffee (accompanied by a few sweet buns) with beans sent to him by an admirer in Marseilles.

After this simple but satisfying breakfast, he took his early-morning walk. Then, settled-down to composed the whole morning and sometimes, in the afternoon.

His desk-work followed a seasonal routine. All his actual composing was done during the hot months. From September to December, he re-drafted, modified, prepared for publication the music born during his Swiss summers.

Brahms worked till noon. Then, he allowed « Frau » Celestina Truxa, who had arrived meanwhile, to help him into his over-coat. Fingers intertwined authoritatively behind his back, he started to walk north, toward the inner-city. He crossed the « Ringstraße » with his massive figure, his powerful profile, his dynast's beard, his stunning gray mane. Children followed him as he moved down the « Karntnerstraße » . There was always candy in the great man's pocket. It didn't matter that he talked with a harsh North-German accent in a surprisingly thin high-voice. He was so kind, handing-out sweets. He knew how to lace distinction with affability.

Like his great predecessor Ludwig van Beethoven, Brahms loved to take long afternoon walks around Vienna. One of its favourite spots was the « Prater » park, which attracted many visitors since the Universal Exhibition of 1873. (The famous Ferris wheel will be erected 1 or 2 years after its death.)

Brahms worked little in the evenings, preferring to spend time with friends and admirers on the unpretentious second floor dining-room of the « Zum Roten Igel » on the « Wildpretmarkt » .

Brahms enjoyed eating-out in Vienna's cheap « cafés » and restaurants, but for him, the « Roten Igel » was his second Viennese home. There, he would drink strong coffee (so strong only he could make it to his satisfaction) . He was also known to have a special weakness for « Rindspilaw » (beef-pilaf) , a simple peasant dish.

He first passed by the main dining-room frequented by higher-government officials. A « Stube » farther back was his favourite ; coachmen cut into their goulash here, and here, a corner-table was famous for being the Brahms lunching place.

In fact, Brahms never ate alone ; he always had « 2 or 3 acquaintances » with him (like the Hungarian physician Doctor Ignaz Semmelweis) , and the meal could be accompanied by 1 « Pilsner » or 2, card-games, jokes and prickly insults of all sorts. Brahms was evidently fond of a « highly-seasoned meat course » there (like goulash beef or roast pork and « sauerkraut ») . The staff at the « Roten Igel » kept in the cellar a small barrel of the finest Hungarian « Tokay » for his private consumption. He was also known to have a special weakness for « Rindspilaw » (beef-pilaf) , a simple peasant dish.

« Sauerkraut » dates back to around 200 B.C. China where the workers building the « Great Wall » ate it as a supplement to their normal diet which consisted mainly of rice. Admittedly, it was made with wine at that time, but nevertheless, it was the origin of today's recipe.

...

Max Graf :

« Brahms loved to sit in the garden of the inn, under the shadowy trees, drinking coffee. He would beam with delight and contentedness, so pleased was he with his surroundings. The lovely graciousness of the Viennese landscape was in direct contrast to his own severe nature. He had come here from a land of fog where the sea raged and the brown



heath stretched for miles on end, and like all northerners, he longed for sunshine and gaiety. »

« One of Brahms' friends, the theorist and musicologist (Eusebius) Mandyczewski, told me a story of Brahms' strolling in the Vienna woods. After many hours of wandering he and his friends had come to an inn and asked for black coffee. The coffee was made with chicory (an economy exercised by many cooks) and Brahms did not like chicory in his coffee.

He called the proprietress to his table and said :

“ My dear old lady, have you some chicory ? ”

When she said she had, he continued in an even more gracious tone :

“ It's not possible ! May I see it ? ”

The old woman retreated to the kitchen and returned with 2 packages of chicory which she handed to Brahms.

He looked them over solemnly and inquired :

“ Is that all you have ? ”

When she said yes, he pocketed both boxes and said :

“ Well, now you can go back and make us some black coffee.” »

...

Brahms never enjoyed a meal in total solitude. He was fond of peasant gastronomy, especially of very seasoned meat dishes. Sometimes, he asked his music-publisher Fritz Simrock to send him, from Hamburg or Holland, delicious pieces of meat which the « chef » of the « Red Hedgehog » inn would prepare for supper. Finally, to end the evening on a high note, he enjoyed playing cards surrounded by his friends in the modest dining-room located on the second floor.

A Dutch professor sitting at the « Red Hedgehog » witnessed Brahms' repeated « loud demands » for fried whitebait (a favourite meal of the dock-workers at the port of Hamburg) , accompanied by a dish of potatoes and a salad. But this kind of fish was not always available in Vienna. The « chef » replaced it either with cat-fish, trout, pike or walleye.

The menu also proposed :

Hungarian goulash.

Pumpernickel bread.

Tokay wine.

Bavarian « Tort » .

And, of course, German Beer !

According to the autobiography of the English Operatic soprano and composer Liza Lehmann, when she met Brahms, she was left unimpressed by his bluff and coarse manners, particularly when he gobbled-up a whole tin can of sardines at breakfast, and then, drank the oil directly out of the can !

The restaurant staff had specially set aside for Brahms, in the cellar, a small barrel of « Tokaji » - a Hungarian wine.

Tokaji or Tokay is the name of the wines from the Tokaj wine region (also Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region or Tokaj-Hegyalja) in Hungary or the adjoining Tokaj wine region in Slovakia. This region is noted for its sweet wines made from grapes affected by noble rot, a style of wine which has a long history in this region. The « nectar » coming from the grapes of Tokaj is also mentioned in the national anthem of Hungary.

The Slovak wine region of Tokaj may use the Tokajský/-ák/-é label (« of Tokaj » , in Slovak) if they apply the Hungarian quality control regulation. This area used to be part of the greater Tokaj-Hegyalja region within the Kingdom of Hungary, but was divided between Hungary and Czechoslovakia after the Treaty of Trianon.

Today, a specialized store in the town of Winsen offers a bottle of wine called « The Johannes Brahms of the Red Hedgehog » .

...

Leaving the « Roten Igel » , Brahms walked-back to the « Ringstraße » , toward another table reserved for him at the « Café Heinrichhof » , opposite the Opera. There, he reclined in a chair by the window and often would doze-off after his mocha. Passers-by would pause to admire the Brahms monument which sat there behind the glass pane with closed eyes. It was a thrill to watch the statue come alive and tip the waiter.

« (...) on his way back from the “ Igel ” or the “ Kochschule ”, he would stop at the Casino in the “ Stadtpark ” for relaxation. There, I found him, with Doctor (Sigmund) Münz, seated at a little marble table on the high-terrace, sipping his coffee seasoned with a glass of cognac and eagerly reading the daily papers fixed on a stick, Viennese fashion. »

(The Polish composer and pianist Sigismond Stojowski, 1870-1946.)

The « Zum Roten Igel » no longer exists (it was a stronghold of the Democrats during the October Revolution of

1848) . In its heyday, the « Igel » hosted musical performances and was also favoured by Franz Schubert. Today, the Hotel « Amadeus » occupies the site of this famous tavern located at « Wildpretmarkt » Number 5, a 2 minute walk from St. Stephen's Cathedral.

Paradoxically, the building where Brahms lived for the last 26 years of his life was demolished unceremoniously exactly 10 years to the date after he died there (1897) . The structure now on that site is a wing of the city's Technical University.

### Doctor Ignaz Semmelweis

The Hungarian physician of ethnic-German ancestry Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis (Semmelweis Ignác Fülöp) was born on 1 July 1818 in Tabán, neighbourhood of Buda (today, part of Budapest) , Hungary ; and died on 13 August 1865.

He was the 5th child out of 10 of the prosperous grocer family of József Semmelweis and Teréz Müller.

His father was an ethnic German born in Kismarton, then part of Hungary, now Eisenstadt, Austria. He achieved permission to set-up a shop in Buda in 1806 and, in the same year, opened a wholesale business for spices and general consumer goods. The company was named « zum Weißen Elefanten » (at the White Elephant) in Meindl-Haus in Tabán (today's 1-3, Apród Street, Semmelweis Museum of Medical History) . By 1810, he was a wealthy man and married Teréz Müller, daughter of the coach (vehicle) builder Fülöp Müller.

Ignaz Semmelweis began studying law at the University of Vienna in the autumn of 1837, but, by the following year, for reasons that are no longer known, he had switched to medicine. He was awarded his doctorate degree in medicine in 1844. Later, after failing to obtain an appointment in a clinic for internal medicine, Semmelweis decided to specialize in obstetrics. His teachers included Carl von Rokitansky, Joseph Škoda and Ferdinand von Hebra.

Semmelweis was appointed assistant to Professor Johann Klein in the first Obstetrical Clinic of the Vienna General Hospital on July 1, 1846. His duties were to examine patients each morning in preparation for the professor's rounds, supervise difficult deliveries, teach students of obstetrics and be « clerk » of records.

Maternity institutions were set-up all over Europe to address problems of infanticide of illegitimate children. They were set-up as « gratis » institutions and offered to care for the infants, which made them attractive to under-privileged women, including prostitutes. In return for the free-services, the women would be subjects for the training of doctors and mid-wives. 2 maternity clinics were at the Viennese hospital. The First Clinic had an average maternal mortality rate of about 10 % due to puerperal fever. The 2nd Clinic's rate was considerably lower, averaging less than 4 % . This fact was known outside the hospital. The 2 clinics admitted on alternate days, but women begged to be admitted to the 2nd Clinic, due to the bad reputation of the First Clinic. Semmelweis described desperate women begging on their knees not to be admitted to the First Clinic. Some women even preferred to give birth in the streets, pretending to have given sudden birth « en route » to the hospital (a practice known as street-births) , which meant they would still qualify for the child-care benefits without having been admitted to the clinic.

Semmelweis was puzzled that puerperal fever was rare among women giving street-births :

« To me, it appeared logical that patients who experienced street-births would become ill at least as frequently as those who delivered in the clinic. (...) What protected those who delivered outside the clinic from these destructive unknown endemic influences ? »

Described as the « saviour of mothers » , Semmelweis discovered that the incidence of puerperal fever (also known as « child-bed fever ») could be drastically cut by the use of hand-disinfection in obstetrical clinics. Puerperal fever was common in mid-19th Century hospitals and often fatal. Semmelweis proposed the practice of washing hands with chlorinated lime solutions in 1847 while working in Vienna General Hospital's first Obstetrical Clinic, where doctors' wards had 3 times the mortality of mid-wives' wards. He published a book of his findings in « Etiology, Concept and Prophylaxis of Child-bed Fever » .

Despite various publications of results where hand-washing reduced mortality to below 1 % , Semmelweis's observations conflicted with the established scientific and medical opinions of the time and his ideas were rejected by the medical community. Semmelweis could offer no acceptable scientific explanation for his findings, and some doctors were offended at the suggestion that they should wash their hands. Semmelweis's practice earned widespread acceptance only years after his death, when Louis Pasteur confirmed the germ theory and Joseph Lister, acting on the French microbiologist's research, practiced and operated, using hygienic methods, with great success. In 1865, Semmelweis was committed to an asylum, where he died at age 47 of pyæmia, after being beaten by the guards, only 14 days after he was committed.

Semmelweis was severely troubled that his First Clinic had a much higher mortality rate due to puerperal fever than the 2nd Clinic :

« It made me so miserable that life seemed worthless. »

The 2 clinics used almost the same techniques, and Semmelweis started a meticulous process of eliminating all possible differences, including even religious practices. The only major difference was the individuals who worked there. The First Clinic was the teaching service for medical students, while the 2nd Clinic had been selected in 1841 for the instruction of mid-wives only.

He excluded « over-crowding » as a cause, since the 2nd Clinic was always more crowded, and yet, the mortality was lower. He eliminated climate as a cause because the climate was the same. The breakthrough occurred in 1847, following the death of his good friend Jakob Kolletschka, who had been accidentally poked with a student's scalpel while performing a post-mortem examination. Kolletschka's own autopsy showed a pathology similar to that of the women who were dying from puerperal fever. Semmelweis immediately proposed a connection between cadaveric contamination and puerperal fever.

He concluded that he and the medical students carried « cadaverous particles » on their hands from the autopsy-

room to the patients they examined in the first Obstetrical Clinic. This explained why the student mid-wives in the 2nd Clinic, who were not engaged in autopsies and had no contact with corpses, saw a much lower mortality rate.

The germ theory of disease had not yet been accepted in Vienna. Thus, Semmelweis concluded some unknown « cadaverous material » caused child-bed fever. He instituted a policy of using a solution of chlorinated lime (calcium hypochlorite) for washing hands between autopsy work and the examination of patients. He did this because he found that this chlorinated solution worked best to remove the putrid smell of infected autopsy tissue, and thus, perhaps destroyed the causal « poisonous » or contaminating « cadaveric » agent hypothetically being transmitted by this material.

The result was the mortality rate in the First Clinic dropped 90 % , and was then comparable to that in the 2nd Clinic. The mortality rate in April 1847 was 18.3 % . After hand-washing was instituted in mid-May, the rates in June were 2.2 % , July 1.2 % , August 1.9 % and, for the first time since the introduction of anatomical orientation, the death-rate was 0 in 2 months in the year following this discovery.

Semmelweis demonstrated that the incidence of puerperal fever (also known as child-bed fever) could be drastically reduced by appropriate hand-washing by medical care-givers. He made this discovery in 1847 while working in the Maternity Department of the Vienna Lying-in Hospital.

While employed as assistant to the professor of the maternity clinic at the Vienna General Hospital in Austria in 1847, Semmelweis introduced hand-washing with chlorinated lime solutions for interns who had performed autopsies. This immediately reduced the incidence of fatal puerperal fever from about 10 % (range : 5 to 30 %) to about 1 to 2 % . At the time, diseases were attributed to many different and unrelated causes. Each case was considered unique, just as a human person is unique. Semmelweis's hypothesis, that there was only one cause, that all that mattered was cleanliness, was extreme at the time, and was largely ignored, rejected, or ridiculed. He was dismissed from the hospital for political reasons and harassed by the medical community in Vienna, being eventually forced to move to Budapest.

Semmelweis was outraged by the indifference of the medical profession and began writing open and increasingly angry letters to prominent European obstetricians, at times denouncing them as irresponsible murderers. His contemporaries, including his wife, believed he was losing his mind, and, in 1865, nearly 20 years after his breakthrough, he was committed to the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Bründlfeld ») . He died there of septicæmia only 14 days later, possibly as the result of being severely beaten by guards. Semmelweis's practice earned widespread acceptance only years after his death, when Louis Pasteur developed the germ theory of disease, offering a theoretical explanation for Semmelweis's findings. He is considered a pioneer of antiseptic procedures.

Semmelweis's observations conflicted with the established scientific and medical opinions of the time. The theory of diseases was highly-influenced by ideas of an imbalance of the basic « 4 humours » in the body, a theory known as dyscrasia, for which the main-treatment was blood-lettings. Medical texts at the time emphasized that each case of disease was unique, the result of a personal imbalance, and the main-difficulty of the medical profession was to

establish precisely each patient's unique situation, case by case.

The findings from autopsies of deceased women also showed a confusing multitude of physical signs, which emphasized the belief that puerperal fever was not one, but many different, yet unidentified, diseases.

The rejection of Semmelweis's empirical observations is often traced to belief perseverance, the psychological tendency of clinging to discredited beliefs. Also, some historians of science argue that resistance to path-breaking contributions of obscure scientists is common and « constitutes the single most formidable block to scientific advances » .

As a result, his ideas were rejected by the medical community. Other, more subtle, factors may also have played a role. Some doctors, for instance, were offended at the suggestion that they should wash their hands, feeling that their social status as gentlemen was inconsistent with the idea that their hands could be unclean.

Semmelweis's results lacked scientific explanation at the time. That became possible only some decades later, when Louis Pasteur, Joseph Lister, and others developed the germ theory of disease.

During 1848, Semmelweis widened the scope of his washing protocol, to include all instruments coming in contact with patients in labour, and used mortality rates time series to document his success in virtually eliminating puerperal fever from the hospital ward.

*Streptococcus pyogenes* (red-stained spheres) is responsible for most cases of severe puerperal fever. It is commonly found in the throat and naso-pharynx of otherwise healthy carriers.

Toward the end of 1847, accounts of Semmelweis's work began to spread around Europe. Semmelweis and his students wrote letters to the directors of several prominent maternity clinics describing their recent observations. Ferdinand von Hebra, the editor of a leading Austrian medical journal, announced Semmelweis's discovery in the December 1847 and April 1848 issues of the medical journal. Hebra claimed that Semmelweis's work had a practical significance comparable to that of Edward Jenner's introduction of cow-pox inoculations to prevent small-pox.

In late-1848, one of Semmelweis's former students wrote a lecture explaining Semmelweis's work. The lecture was presented before the Royal Medical and Surgical Society in London and a review published in « The Lancet » , a prominent medical journal. A few months later, another of Semmelweis's former students published a similar essay in a French periodical.

As accounts of the dramatic reduction in mortality rates in Vienna were being circulated throughout Europe, Semmelweis had reason to expect that the chlorine washings would be widely adopted, saving tens of thousands of lives. Early responses to his work also gave clear signs of coming trouble, however. Some physicians had clearly misinterpreted his claims. James Young Simpson, for instance, saw no difference between Semmelweis's ground-breaking findings and the British idea suggested by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1843 that child-bed fever was contagious (i.e. that infected persons could pass the infection to others) . Indeed, initial responses to Semmelweis's findings were that he

had said nothing new.

In fact, Semmelweis was warning against all decaying organic matter, not just against a specific contagion that originated from victims of child-bed fever themselves. This misunderstanding, and others like it, occurred partly because Semmelweis's work was known only through second hand reports written by his colleagues and students. At this crucial stage, Semmelweis himself had published nothing. These and similar misinterpretations would continue to cloud discussions of his work throughout the Century.

Some accounts emphasize that Semmelweis refused to communicate his method officially to the learned circles of Vienna, nor was he eager to explain it on paper.

In 1848, a series of tumultuous revolutions swept across Europe. The resulting political turmoil would affect Semmelweis's career. In Vienna, on 13 March 1848, students demonstrated in favour of increased civil rights, including trial by jury and freedom of expression. The demonstrations were led by medical students and young faculty members and were joined by workers from the suburbs. 2 days later, in Hungary, demonstrations and uprisings led to the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 and a full-scale war against the ruling Habsburgs of the Austrian Empire. In Vienna, the March demonstration was followed by months of general unrest.

No evidence indicates Semmelweis was personally involved in the events of 1848. Some of his brothers were punished for active participation in the Hungarian independence movement, and the Hungarian-born Semmelweis likely was sympathetic to the cause. Semmelweis's superior, professor Johann Klein, was a conservative Austrian, likely uneasy with the independence movements and alarmed by the other revolutions of 1848 in the Habsburg areas. Klein probably mistrusted Semmelweis.

When Semmelweis's term was about to expire, Carl Braun also applied for the position of « assistant » in the First Clinic, possibly at Klein's own invitation. Semmelweis and Braun were the only 2 applicants for the post. Semmelweis's predecessor, Breit, had been granted a 2 year extension. Semmelweis's application for an extension was supported by Josef Škoda and Carl von Rokitansky and by most of the medical faculty, but Klein chose Braun for the position. Semmelweis was obliged to leave the obstetrical clinic when his term expired on March 20, 1849.

The day his term expired, Semmelweis petitioned the Viennese authorities to be made docent of obstetrics. A docent was a private lecturer who taught students and who had access to some university facilities. At first, because of Klein's opposition, Semmelweis's petition was denied. He reapplied, but had to wait until 10 October 1850 (more than 18 months) , before finally being appointed docent of « theoretical » obstetrics. The terms refused him access to cadavers and limited him to teaching students by using leather-fabricated mannequins only. A few days after being notified of his appointment, Semmelweis left Vienna abruptly and returned to Pest. He apparently left without so much as saying good-bye to his former friends and colleagues, a move that may have offended them. According to his own account, he left Vienna because he was « unable to endure further frustrations in dealing with the Viennese medical establishment » .

During the period 1848-1849, some 70,000 troops from the Habsburg-ruled Austrian Empire thwarted the Hungarian independence movement, executed or imprisoned its leaders and in the process destroyed parts of Pest. Semmelweis, upon arriving from the Habsburg Vienna in 1850, likely was not warmly welcomed in Pest.

On 20 May 1851, Semmelweis took the relatively insignificant, unpaid, honorary head-physician position of the obstetric ward of Pest's small Szent Rókus Hospital. He held that position for 6 years, until June 1857. Child-bed fever was rampant at the clinic ; at a visit in 1850, just after returning to Pest, Semmelweis found one fresh corpse, another patient in severe agony, and 4 others seriously ill with the disease. After taking-over in 1851, Semmelweis virtually eliminated the disease. During the period 1851-1855, only 8 patients died from child-bed fever out of 933 births (0.85 %) .

Despite the impressive results, Semmelweis's ideas were not accepted by the other obstetricians in Budapest. The professor of obstetrics at the University of Pest, Ede Flórián Birly, never adopted Semmelweis's methods. He continued to believe that puerperal fever was due to uncleanness of the bowel. Therefore, extensive purging was the preferred treatment.

After Birly died in 1854, Semmelweis applied for the position. So did Carl Braun (Semmelweis's nemesis and successor as Johann Klein's assistant in Vienna) and Braun received more votes from his Hungarian colleagues than Semmelweis did. Semmelweis was eventually appointed in 1855, but only because the Viennese authorities over-ruled the wishes of the Hungarians, as Braun did not speak Hungarian. As professor of obstetrics, Semmelweis instituted chlorine washings at the University of Pest maternity clinic. Once again, the results were impressive.

Semmelweis declined an offer in 1857 to become professor of obstetrics at the University of Zürich. The same year, Semmelweis married Maria Weidenhoffer (1837-1910) , 19 years his junior and the daughter of a successful merchant in Pest. They had 5 children : a son who died shortly after birth, a daughter who died at the age of 4 months, another son who committed suicide at age 23 (possibly due to gambling debts) , another daughter who would remain unmarried, and a third daughter who would have children of her own.

Semmelweis's views were much more favourably received in the United Kingdom than on the continent, but he was more often cited than understood. The British consistently regarded Semmelweis as having supported their theory of contagion. A typical example was W. Tyler Smith, who claimed that Semmelweis « made-out very conclusively » that « miasms derived from the dissecting-room will excite puerperal disease » . One of the first to respond to Semmelweis's 1848 communications was James Young Simpson, who wrote a stinging letter. Simpson surmised that the British obstetrical literature must be totally unknown in Vienna, or Semmelweis would have known that the British had long regarded child-bed fever as contagious and would have employed chlorine washing to protect against it.

In 1856, Semmelweis's assistant Josef Fleischer reported the successful results of hand-washing activities at St. Rochus and Pest maternity institutions in the Viennese Medical Weekly (« Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift ») . The editor remarked sarcastically that it was time people stopped being misled about the theory of chlorine washings. 2 years later, Semmelweis finally published his own account of his work in an essay entitled, « The Etiology of Child-bed Fever



» . 2 years later, he published a second essay, « The Difference in Opinion between Myself and the English Physicians regarding Child-bed Fever » . In 1861, Semmelweis finally published his main-work, « Die Ätiologie, der Begriff und die Prophylaxis des Kindbettfiebers » (The Etiology, Concept and Prophylaxis of Child-bed Fever) .

In his 1861 book, Semmelweis lamented the slow adoption of his ideas :

« Most medical lecture-halls continue to resound with lectures on epidemic child-bed fever and with discourses against my theories. (...) In published medical works, my teachings are either ignored or attacked. The medical faculty at Würzburg awarded a prize to a monograph written in 1859 in which my teachings were rejected. »

In a text-book, Carl Braun, Semmelweis's successor as assistant in the first Clinic, identified 30 causes of child-bed fever ; only the 28th of these was cadaverous infection. Other causes included conception and pregnancy, uremia, pressure exerted on adjacent organs by the shrinking uterus, emotional traumata, mistakes in diet, chilling, and atmospheric epidemic influences. The impact of Braun's views is clearly visible in the rising mortality rates in the 1850's.

At a conference of German physicians and natural scientists, most of the speakers rejected his doctrine, including the celebrated Rudolf Virchow, who was a scientist of the highest-authority of his time. Virchow's great authority in medical circles contributed potently to Semmelweis' lack of recognition. Ede Flórián Birly, Semmelweis's predecessor as Professor of Obstetrics at the University of Pest, never accepted Semmelweis's teachings ; he continued to believe that puerperal fever was due to uncleanliness of the bowel. August Breisky, an obstetrician in Prague, rejected Semmelweis's book as « naive » and he referred to it as « the Koran of puerperal theology » . Breisky objected that Semmelweis had not proved that puerperal fever and pyæmia are identical, and he insisted that other factors beyond decaying organic matter certainly had to be included in the etiology of the disease. Carl Edvard Marius Levy, head of the Copenhagen maternity hospital and an outspoken critic of Semmelweis's ideas, had reservations concerning the unspecific nature of cadaverous particles and that the supposed quantities were unreasonably small. In fact, Robert Koch later used precisely this fact to prove that various infecting materials contained living organisms which could reproduce in the human body ; that is, since the poison could be neither chemical nor physical in operation, it must be biological.

It has been contended that Semmelweis could have had an even greater impact if he had managed to communicate his findings more effectively and avoid antagonising the medical establishment, even given the opposition from entrenched view-points.

Beginning in 1861, Semmelweis suffered from various nervous complaints. He suffered from severe depression and became absentminded. Paintings from 1857 to 1864 show a progression of aging. He turned every conversation to the topic of child-bed fever.

After a number of unfavourable foreign reviews of his 1861 book, Semmelweis lashed-out against his critics in a series of Open Letters. They were addressed to various prominent European obstetricians, including Späth, Scanzoni, Siebold, and to « all obstetricians » . They were full of bitterness, desperation, and fury and were « highly polemical and superlatively offensive » , at times denouncing his critics as irresponsible murderers or ignoramuses. He also called

upon Siebold to arrange a meeting of German obstetricians somewhere in Germany to provide a forum for discussions on puerperal fever, where he would stay « until all have been converted to his theory » .

In mid-1865, his public behaviour became irritating and embarrassing to his associates. He also began to drink immoderately ; he spent progressively more time away from his family, sometimes in the company of a prostitute ; and his wife noticed changes in his sexual behaviour. On July 13, 1865, the Semmelweis family visited friends, and during the visit Semmelweis's behaviour seemed particularly inappropriate.

The exact nature of Semmelweis's affliction has been a subject of some debate. According to Kay Codell Carter, in his biography of Semmelweis, the exact nature of his affliction cannot be determined :

« It is impossible to appraise the nature of Semmelweis's disorder. ... It may have been Alzheimer's disease, a type of dementia, which is associated with rapid cognitive decline and mood changes. It may have been third stage syphilis, a then-common disease of obstetricians who examined thousands of women at “ gratis ” institutions, or it may have been emotional exhaustion from over-work and stress. »

In 1865, János Balassa wrote a document referring Semmelweis to a mental institution. On July 30, Ferdinand Ritter von Hebra lured him, under the pretense of visiting one of Hebra's « new Institutes » , to the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Bründlfeld ») located on « Lazarettgasse » (« Landes-Irren-Anstalt in der Lazarettgasse ») . Semmelweis surmised what was happening and tried to leave. He was severely beaten by several guards, secured in a strait-jacket, and confined to a darkened cell. Apart from the strait-jacket, treatments at the mental institution included dousing with cold water and administering castor oil, a laxative. He died after 2 weeks, on August 13, 1865, aged 47, from a gangrenous wound, possibly caused by the beating. The autopsy gave the cause of death as pyæmia - blood poisoning.

Semmelweis was buried in Vienna on August 15, 1865. Only a few people attended the service. Brief announcements of his death appeared in a few medical periodicals in Vienna and Budapest. Although the rules of the Hungarian Association of Physicians and Natural Scientists specified that a commemorative address be delivered in honour of a member who had died in the preceding year, there was no address for Semmelweis ; his death was never even mentioned.

János Diescher was appointed Semmelweis's successor at the Pest University maternity clinic. Immediately, mortality rates jumped sixfold to 6 % , but the physicians of Budapest said nothing ; there were no inquiries and no protests. Almost no one (either in Vienna or in Budapest) seems to have been willing to acknowledge Semmelweis's life and work.

His remains were transferred to Budapest in 1891. On 11 October 1964, they were transferred once more to the house in which he was born. The house is now a historical museum and library, honouring Ignaz Semmelweis.

Semmelweis' advice on chlorine washings was probably more influential than he realized. Many doctors, particularly in

Germany, appeared quite willing to experiment with the practical hand-washing measures that he proposed, but virtually everyone rejected his basic and ground-breaking theoretical innovation - that the disease had only one cause, lack of cleanliness. Professor Gustav Adolf Michaelis from a maternity institution in Kiel replied positively to Semmelweis' suggestions - eventually, he committed suicide, however, because he felt responsible for the death of his own cousin, whom he had examined after she gave birth.

Only belatedly did his observational evidence gain wide acceptance ; more than 20 years later, Louis Pasteur's work offered a theoretical explanation for Semmelweis' observations - the germ theory of disease. As such, the Semmelweis story is often used in university courses with epistemology content, e.g. : philosophy of science courses - demonstrating the virtues of empiricism or positivism and providing a historical account of which types of knowledge count as scientific (and thus, accepted) knowledge, and which do not. It has been seen as an irony that Semmelweis' critics considered themselves positivists, but even positivism suffers problems in the face of theories which seem magical or superstitious, such as the idea that « corpse particles » might turn a person into a corpse, with no causal mechanism being stipulated, after a simple contact. To his contemporaries, Semmelweis seemed to be reverting to the speculative theories of earlier decades that were so repugnant to his positivist contemporaries.

The so-called Semmelweis reflex (a metaphor for a certain type of human behaviour characterized by reflex-like rejection of new knowledge because it contradicts entrenched norms, beliefs, or paradigms) is named after Semmelweis, whose ideas were ridiculed and rejected by his contemporaries.

Other legacies of Semmelweis include :

Semmelweis is now recognized as a pioneer of antiseptic policy.

Semmelweis University, a university for medicine and health-related disciplines (located in Budapest) , is named after him.

The Semmelweis « Orvostörténeti Múzeum » (Medical History Museum) is located in the former home of Semmelweis.

The Semmelweis « Klinik » ; a hospital for women located in Vienna.

The Semmelweis Hospital in Miskolc, Hungary.

In 2008, Semmelweis was selected as the motif for an Austrian commemorative coin.

### Brahms' favourite dishes at the « Red Hedgehog »

Hungarian beef goulash (a peasant dish with « paprikás » and « pörkölt » , which became part of the bourgeois gastronomy during the 19th Century) with Viennese sour cream accompanied by a dish of bread or potato dumplings.

Otherwise, the Viennese version of the goulash : a mixture of beef (diced) , peppers, onions and spices.

Beef shoulder (« Kruspelstiz ») served with horseradish and potato pancakes (« Erdapfelschmarrn ») .

The « Apfelmeerrich » (boiled beef, dressed with southern spices, served with roasted potatoes) brought the composer into ecstasy after grueling hours of rehearsal with the Women's Choir.

The Viennese breaded cutlet with a potato salad.

Herring with fried potatoes accompanied by rings of shallots and salad.

The « Silsilat » : an Austrian herring salad.

The « Rindspilaw » : a kind of beef-pilaf always accompanied by coffee or cognac.

Stuffed tomatoes on bread sticks served with garlic butter, onion or herbs.

Bacon and beans.

Pears or apple strudel with whipped cream, served in a cup or bowl.

After the wine, the homemade pastries accompanied by a coffee-cream brought Brahms back on his feet.

### Brahms's sleeping disorder

By all accounts, he was a short, bad-tempered, bearded fat guy who frequently drank too much, and who, later in life, acquired the habit of falling asleep in Vienna pastry-shops at tea-time, much to the amazed glee of passing tourists.

This was Johannes Brahms ?

Too true, said researcher Mitchell Margolis. All of these well-documented Brahmsian traits, Margolis said, suggest that the composer of history's most famous lullaby suffered from obstructive sleep apnea - a sleeping disorder.

« The disorder was not known to medical science at the time, and he clearly went undiagnosed » , Margolis said.

« It had been described for decades or even Centuries, but it was not recognized as an adverse health disorder. »

But it is. Obstructive sleep apnea, Margolis said, occurs when someone's upper respiratory tract closes off during sleep, often because fatty tissue compresses the airway.

When it happens, most commonly with a supine sleeper, the victim will gurgle and snort, gulp, wake-up halfway and go back to sleep, usually snoring like a train, only to lurch again into semi-consciousness a few minutes later. This is not restful.

Margolis, a pulmonary physician at the University of Pennsylvania Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Philadelphia, is one of a significant group of scientists who, as a sidelight, study the illnesses of history's giants. In the case of Brahms, Margolis said, he sought a « further understanding of his life and music » .

Life, as Margolis pointed-out, could be fairly dreary after a night of apnea. It probably pushed Brahms toward chronic ill temper, general irritability, intermittent depression and a habit of nodding-off inconveniently during the day.

### Brahms records his own music

**End of 1889** : Few years ago, the Herzogenbergs had introduced Johannes Brahms to Thomas Edison's phonograph, and now, the Fellingiers had a wax cylinder machine at their home.

It was at a party, in those years, that Brahms heard a young American woman playing a ragtime tune on a banjo. To a friend, he recalled the evening wistfully, humming a few bars of what may have been, « Hello, Ma Baby » . He was fascinated by the effect of the instrument, and by the dancing syncopations of this new American Style. Instinctively, he saw its rhythm as a fresh resource, as gypsy music had been for his generation. But, now, he was too old to do anything about it.

« I have had the opportunity of hearing it often and quite pleasantly. » , Brahms wrote Clara Schumann.

« You must have read about this new miracle. It's like being in fairy-land again. »

In **November**, Brahms met Edison's associate and representant in Europe the American Adelbert Theodor (« Theo ») Edward Wangemann at the Fellingiers. Edison had dispatched Wangemann to record famous Europeans. Doctor Fellingier, who was the general-director of Siemens & Halske, in Austria, invited Wangemann to take the recording.

Brahms returned to the Fellingiers' residence a few days later (**Saturday, 2 December**) . He had prepared his « Rhapsody » in G minor, Opus 79/2, but as he became unpatient by the protracting preparations for the recording procedure, he played a shortened version for solo piano (measures 13-72 of the 1872 arrangement) of his 1st « Hungarian Dance » , WoO 1/1. The second piece he played was a paraphrase on the « Polka Mazur » « Die Libelle » (The Dragon-Fly) , Opus 204 by Joseph Strauß.

At first, Brahms sat paralyzed by nerves when confronted by the apparatus, then suddenly, he went to the « J. B. Streicher & Sohn » grand piano. « Herr » Wangemann scrambled to get the machine going.

The spoken text, at the start of the cylinder recording, has been wrongly attributed as belonging to Brahms. Numerous writers, scholars and amateurs alike, have presumed that Brahms introduces himself with the words :

« I am Doctor Brahms, Johannes Brahms. »

However, a number of factors raise serious doubts as to who is speaking. The only mention of the recording by someone who was present (in the published memoirs of Fellingner's son) states that Brahms was introduced. Considering the time between the announcement and the start of the music, it seems improbable that the same person could segue from speech to playing so quickly particularly given the technological limitations.

The denoised excerpts reveals enough of the speech to suggest that the speaker (probably, Theo Wangemann) introduces Brahms as follows :

« ... Dezember Achtzehnhundertachtundneunzig. Haus von Herrn Doktor Fellingner, bei mir ist Doktor Brahms, Johannes Brahms. »

(... December 1889. House of " Herr " Fellingner, with me is Doctor Brahms, Johannes Brahms.)

The recording is extremely noisy and the piano is barely audible. Brahms reveals a rhythmically free, bass-heavy kind of playing - playing dotted quarter and 8th rhythms as something more like triplet figures in the context of this piece.

Brahm's piano is a cross-strung, ebonized and 240 centimeter long grand has Viennese action and bears the inscription « J. B. Streicher & Sohn » . The piano with the serial number 8105 was sold, in 1880, to Doctor Richard and Maria Fellingner, who had their residence in the so called « Arenbergschlössl » in Vienna 3rd District, on « Apostelgasse Nummer 12 » . The Fellingners belonged to Brahms' closest friends in Vienna and he always enjoyed staying with them, especially when playing chamber music with Vienna's most talented musicians, e.g. , the clarinet player Richard Mühlfeld or cellist Robert Hausmann.

...

On **Saturday, 15 June 1889**, Adelbert Theodor Edward (« Theo ») Wangemann, Thomas Alva Edison's emissary for the introduction of the improved phonograph, started-out on a trip to Europe. (1) On **Friday, 25 October 1889**, after visiting Paris and Berlin, he arrived in Vienna, where he stayed at the Grand Hotel. The bearded Wangemann is seen standing behind Edison on an image taken in **mid-June 1888**.

In the forenoon, the phonograph was reserved for important artists and academics to make the instrument known and, of course, to make recordings, which Wangemann afterwards performed for free to notables and at public gatherings. 6 persons could always hear the phonograph, at the same time, through ear-phones. Demonstrations with mounted horn were also performed occasionally, but the sound was less true to the original, being much lower and metallic.

The visit of Johannes Brahms at the Vienna Grand Hotel, on **Wednesday, 30 October 1889**, was especially highlighted by the press. (2) Brahms heard, among other things, an aria sung by Lili Lehmann, a spoken telegram by Werner von

Siemens and a piano piece.

Filled with enthusiasm, he wrote to Clara Schumann :

« It's as though one were living a fairy-tale. » (3)

And presented Wangemann a dedicated picture of himself. 3 days later, the mezzo-soprano Rosa Papier(-Paumgartner) recorded Brahms' « Sapphische Ode », which was soon afterwards performed to the Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef I. A press report mentions the recording of some of Brahms' dances by the famous pianist Alfred Grünfeld with a newly-introduced funnel, on **Thursday, 14 November 1889**, which was mounted at the underside of the instrument. (4) On **Monday, 2 December 1889**, a few days after a private gathering at the house of industrialist Richard Albert Fellingner, the head of the Vienna branch of the firm of Siemens & Halske, Wangemann came-back to demonstrate some of his latest cylinders and to record Johannes Brahms, as arranged with him before.

Richard Fellingner, one of Doctor Fellingner's sons, described the order of events :

« At first, Brahms was so excited that he felt unable to perform. When he was ready, he couldn't wait and teased poor Wangemann and his assistant, the mechanic Devrient of Siemens & Halske in Berlin, to hurry. As with Grünfeld, the funnel was mounted at the underside of the piano. Wangemann spoke an introduction in German.

Suddenly, Brahms interrupted him calling-out :

“ Gespielt von ' Frau ' Doktor Fellingner ! ”, and began playing. » (5)

A close inspection of the announcement on the Brahms cylinder revealed a most interesting result which supports Richard Fellingner's testimony ! Wangemann firstly named the date : « Dezember 1889. » Shortly afterwards, the recording was interrupted and restarted after an unknown period of time. This time, it was clearly another, audibly excited and nervous voice which shouted :

« Im Haus von Herrn Doktor Fellingner, bei (by ?) Herrn Doktor Brahms, Johannes Brahms. »

This kind of announcement, for example naming the recorded person twice, is unparalleled in all-known recordings under the supervision of Wangemann. The Fellingners surely kept the remembrance of the adored Brahms recording in their music-room alive. Even if we must take into account that Richard Fellingner wrote down his memories more than 40 years later, I cannot imagine that he errs in the important detail of Brahms announcing his own recording.

The use of « by » instead of the German form « von », has already led to much speculation about the identity of the announcer in the past. In case it is really « by » and not a slip of the tongue (« bei »), I cannot provide a solution but a possible explanation. Brahms heard a larger number of cylinders before he himself recorded. Wangemann probably recorded hundreds of notables during his stay in Europe and only a small fraction of their recordings came

down to us. One of these could be important to solve the mystery, because « by » (« bei » ?) is also heard in Wangemann's announcement of the recording of the baritone Karl Mayer, accompanied by the pianist Franz Wüllner, in January 1890, in Cologne. I treat this and other recordings in my essay. Could it be that Brahms adopted Wangemann's diction in this detail ? I am, of course, open for further discussions on this matter.

The Brahms cylinder, presented by Wangemann to Doctor Fellingner on this evening, was long forgotten by the public when his son Richard Fellingner noted in his memoirs that it was extremely difficult to reproduce, because the sound was too weak and, despite of several attempts, a suitable method hadn't yet been found. (6) Obviously, the cylinder was played more than once on a phonograph the family had bought for that purpose. Early cylinders are comparatively soft, requiring a light-weight reproducer like the Edison « Standard » speaker, and are usually reproduced by ear-phones. The family members certainly had no clue about such technical refinement and stressed the groove with each play-back. Later, the phonograph was equipped with an electric reproducer, but the damage was already done.

### Notes

(1) I wrote an essay about Wangemann's travels in Europe, between June 1889 and February 1890, in both English and German. The essay comprises a dozen sound files taken from cylinders recorded during Wangemann's trip, including the only recordings of Prince Otto von Bismarck and Count Helmuth von Moltke.

(2) « Die Presse », Volume 42, No. 299, Vienna (30 October 1889) ; page 15.

(3) Richard Fellingner. « Klänge um Brahms, Erinnerungen », Berlin (1933) , cited in : « Günter Große, Von der Edisonwalze zur Stereoplatte », 2nd revised edition, Berlin (1989) ; page 19.

(4) « Die Presse, Local Anzeiger », Volume 42, Supplement to No. 315, Vienna (15 November 1889) ; page 14.

(5) Richard Fellingner. Opus citatum ; pages 20-21.

(6) Ibid. , page 21.

### Bruckner praises his copyist from Steyr

Even to one of his paid copyists, Leopold Hofmeyer, Anton Bruckner wrote a business letter containing his wish not to take liberties in regard to possible future requests.

**Sunday, 2 February 1890** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his dear copist Leopold Hofmeyer (Steyr) :

« Dear Friend !



You have written everything wonderfully. Sincere thanks, and I shall look highly upon your splendid copy, as a gift from heaven. I will later inconvenience you again, if I may enclosed, please find 5 “ Gulden ”.

To your gracious lady, my deepest respect !

To “ Polderl ”, my kiss !

Yours sincerely,

Anton Bruckner »

### Ignaz's meat poisoning

It appears that Ignaz Bruckner had stomach problems similar to those of Anton. Bruckner mentions that his sister, Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber, complained of having to pay the doctor so much money for their brother's treatment. Bruckner inquires as to whether or not Ignaz knows anything about this situation, for his inquiries have so far netted no information.

Nevertheless, he sent Ignaz a bit of money anyway. Bruckner always looked to the financial situation of his family members, supporting all of them at one point, as a young teacher giving music lessons in addition to his other duties.

Bruckner was bereft when his brother almost died in 1890. His message in the letter is one of joy at the recovery of Ignaz.

**Monday, 3 February 1890** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Dear Brother !

How very alarmed I am over your misfortune, you can only imagine. We thank God out of fullest heart that “ He ” has saved you so wonderfully. All the same, be really careful about what you eat, and inspect each bite you intend to eat. “ Frau Kathi ” and I congratulate you on your life's being saved ! Please, find 10 “ Florins ” enclosed. Be careful later about eating smoked meat, and I will be grateful. “ So, be really careful ! ” “ Sali ” complained that she had to give the doctor 45 “ Florins ”. Do you know anything of that ? “ I received no answer. ” Farewell !

Your Brother,

Anton

Talk has it, in Vienna, that there is a teacher whose name is Anton Bruckner ; and he pretends to be my brother.

Thank you very much ! »

### « Hôtel de France » : Apartment pictures

**1890** : Ludwig Grillich, Imperial Court photographer (« Hof-Photograph ») since 1888, takes pictures of Anton Bruckner at his flat on « Heßgasse » Number 7 : one sitting nobly in his chair in the living-room and one besides his Bösendorfer piano. The 4 room apartment is located on the 4th floor of the residential building (renamed « Hôtel de France ») which is owned by his beloved friend philosopher Anton Ölzelt junior.

Grillich was born on 2 December 1856 in Vienna ; and died on 21 May 1926 in Vienna. He was a professional portrait photographer during the heyday of the Vienna pre-War period of the 19th Century. He opened his first studio in Vienna in 1885 - then, one at Number 91 on « Währingerstraße » , in the 18th District ; and one at Number 12 on « Wiedner-Hauptstraße » , in the 4th District (now occupied by the Hotel « Das Triest ») . From 1886 to 1900, he also operated a studio at 150 kilometres west of Prague in the spa-town of Franzensbad (Františkovy Lázně) , in West Bohemia. He became the Court photographer of Greece in 1892. Some other notables who appeared before his lens were Johann Strauß junior, Johannes Brahms (at the composer's apartment in 1892) , mayor Karl Lueger, and Doctor Sigmund Freud. He was also responsible for a series of postcards depicting famous buildings in Vienna.

### « At Gause » : Bruckner's fist

**Monday, 10 March 1890** : Anton Bruckner affixed his signature and the date on the score of the revised version of the 8th Symphony with the mention « fully-completed » . Emperor Franz-Josef accepted the dedication.

Josef von Wöb (1863-1943) insists that this revision is entirely from the hand of the Master. He recalls in his Memoirs the firmness with which Bruckner refused to make any proposals for alterations on the part of his pupils and disciples.

« I have simply scored it this way, and if you rascals (“ Viechkerln ”) keep arguing with me ... »

Wöb denied that the revision of the 8th was compromised in this way and offered a reminiscence of Bruckner's steadfastness in the face of unwanted editorial advice :

« At a gathering at “ bei Gause Gasthaus ”, at the time of the revision of the 8th, Bruckner took-out a page, pointed-out to the students a passage for wind instruments and said :

At that moment, he angrily raised his clenched fist like Zeus hurling lightning bolts. »

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 1st District.

### Bruckner consults 2 physicians

**Sunday, 30 March to Saturday, 5 April 1890** : A diary entry by Anton Bruckner mentions that he had consulted Doctor Ottokar Chiari (laryngologist) concerning « chronic catarrh of the throat and larynx », and also Doctor Gustav Riehl senior (dermatologist and laryngologist) , complaining of « extreme nervous agitation » .

A clinical study on the common manifestation of lupus of the larynx was written by Doctors Ottokar von Chiari (professor of laryngology in Vienna) and Gustav Riehl senior (dermatologist, head of a laryngological clinic in Vienna) .

### Doctor Ottokar Chiari

The Austrian laryngologist Baron Ottokar von Chiari was born on 1 February 1853 in Prague (Czech Republic) and died on 12 May 1918 in Puchberg-am-Schneeberg (Lower-Austria) . He developed the most important operating methods in his field and succeeded in having the new laryngological clinic built in Vienna.

In Vienna, he was an assistant to Leopold von Schrötter (1837-1908) and, later, succeeded Karl Störk (1832-1899) as director of the laryngological clinic. He was the son of gynecologist Johann Baptist Chiari (1817-1854) , a younger brother to pathologist Hans Chiari (1851-1916) , and grandfather of Karl Chiari.

Ottokar Chiari was a specialist in the field of rhinolaryngology, and is credited for advancing new surgical procedures at the laryngological clinic, in Vienna. In 1912, he introduced the transethmoid trans-sphenoid operation.

### Doctor Gustav Riehl senior

The Austrian dermatologist Gustav Riehl senior was born on 10 February 1855, in « Wiener Neustadt » and died on 7 January 1943 in Vienna.

From 1872, he studied medicine at the University of Vienna, where he later worked as an assistant in the clinic of skin diseases and syphilis under Ferdinand Ritter von Hebra and Moritz Kaposi. In 1896, he became an associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») of dermatology and syphilology at the University of Leipzig, attaining a full-professorship in 1901. In 1902, he returned to the University of Vienna, where in 1921-1922, he served as academic rector.

He made contributions in his work involving skin tuberculosis, severe burn therapy, leishmaniasis, mycosis fungoides, radiation therapy, et al. In 1886, with Richard Paltauf, he described « tuberculosis verrucosa cutis » , and, in 1917, described a type of hyper-pigmentation known today as « Riehl melanosis » . At the Vienna General Hospital, he established a radiation treatment ward.

...

Gustav Riehl senior, recognized in his generation as one of the leaders of Viennese dermatology in particular, and German dermatology in general, was born in Vienna, completed his higher-education at the university, and received his

doctorate in Medicine in 1879. After a short internship in Bamberg, he trained in his specialty for 4 years, first under Hebra and later under Kaposi. In 1896, Riehl was called to Leipzig to direct the recently organized University clinic on skin and venereal diseases ; 6 years later, upon the retirement of Kaposi, he returned to Vienna. In bringing to the outstanding post in dermatology in central Europe the rich heritage of his academic forebears, Riehl added his varied interests which included bacteriology, mycology, histology, and a superlative capacity for diagnosis and treatment. His lectures to under-graduate and graduate students were in great demand ; his management of the sick exemplified the kindly physician who possessed skill.

### Functions

**1911-1912** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1912-1913** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1913-1914** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1914-1915** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1915-1916** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1916-1917** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1917-1918** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1918-1919** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1919-1920** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1920-1921** : Senator of the Faculty of Medicine.

**1921-1922** : Rector of the Faculty of Medicine.

### Honours

**1954** : Monument - Faculty of Medicine (Medicine, Dermatology, Syphilidology) in the arcaded court, University of Vienna.

### Berlioz's « Requiem » and Cosima

**Sunday, 9 March 1890** : Fourth « Gesellschaft » concert of the season. Hans Richter conducts Hector Berlioz' «

Requiem » . Cosima Wagner is « truly horrified » by the « monstrosity » of the work.

### **WAB 108 : Emperor Franz-Josef**

By **January 1888**, Anton Bruckner had come to agree with conductor Hermann Levi that the 8th Symphony (**WAB 108**) would benefit from further work. He began work on the revision in **March 1889** and completed the new version of the Symphony in **March 1890**. Once the revision was completed, the composer wrote to Emperor Franz-Josef for permission to dedicate the Symphony to him.

**Probably after Friday, 14 March 1890** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Emperor Franz-Josef (dated March 1890) :

Bruckner asks the Emperor if he would accept the dedication of the 8th Symphony.

Hans Richter accompanied Bruckner to an audience with the Emperor at which the composer presented him with a bound score of the new version of the 8th Symphony (**WAB 108**) . Richter recalled that Bruckner was asked by Franz-Josef if he had any requests and that the composer responded by a desire to be relieved of his duties as an organist at the Court Chapel and to receive financial support for his remaining years. The Emperor could not grant such a request officially but offered to dip into his private coffers, which Bruckner graciously refused. In later years, when the offer was renewed, Bruckner once again refused though he did ask for, and was granted, money to travel to hear his works performed elsewhere. Richter was very moved by this incident, for he had not expected the old man to use such well-chosen and touching words when speaking to his Emperor.

**Wednesday, 16 April 1890** : Letter from the Office of the Imperial and Royal Treasurer to Anton Bruckner :

Emperor Franz-Josef has accepted the dedication of the 8th Symphony.

**Sunday, 20 April 1890** :

« Das Vaterland » reports that Emperor Franz-Josef has accepted the dedication of the 8th Symphony. It would no longer be possible for Eduard Hanslick to prevent the performance of Bruckner's works.

**Wednesday, 23 April 1890** :

The « Welser Anzeiger » Number 16 writes on page 6 :

« Award. The Emperor has accepted the dedication of the 8th Symphony in C minor by Anton Bruckner. »

**Thursday, 24 April 1890** :

The « Steyrer Zeitung » Number 32 reports on page 3 about the dedication of the 8th Symphony by Emperor Franz-

Josef :

« An award for our compatriot Bruckner. His Majesty the Emperor has accepted the dedication of the 8th Symphony of the Imperial and Royal Court Organist Anton Bruckner. »

### Paying the month of May

**Wednesday, 16 April 1890** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« “ Frau Kathi ” (Katharina Kachelmayr) - payment of 7 Florins on April 16, for the month of May. »

### Wedding of Archduchess Marie Valérie

**Saturday, 21 June 1890** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Kapellmeister » friend Franz Bayer (Steyr) :

« Most Worthy Friend !

Monastery Organist “ Herr ” Gruber wrote me of late, the following : Choir Director “ Herr ” Bayer in Steyr will, by the earliest post (on a matter of importance) , make a joyous announcement to you. Also, a priest writes me from St. Florian’s Monastery touching on this. I ask most courteously for clarification, for I cannot understand what it is supposed to mean. At St. Florian’s, I am very embarrassed. In the future, please do not say anything about me. Has your daughter, the vocalist, married the Master-baker yet ? Many compliments to your gracious lady.

Yours,

Bruckner

On July 31, in (Bad) Ischl, I have to play the organ for the Holy-Wedding. Thus, the request comes “ from high ”. »

**WAB missing (before 31 July 1890)** : « Improvisationsskizze » (Ischl) , sketch of an improvisation in C minor for organ based on the final movement of the 1st Symphony.

**Thursday, 31 July 1890** : During the festivities in Ischl, Anton Bruckner had the honour of playing on the « Kaiser Jubiläums Orgel » at St. Nicholas parish church for the Imperial wedding of Archduchess Marie Valérie (aged 22) with her cousin, Archduke Franz Salvator of Habsburg-Tuscany (aged 24) , which she met in 1886.

Bruckner first improvised on the final movement of his Symphony No. 1, then on the « Emperor's Hymn » (« Kaiserhymne » or « Kaiserlied ») , and finally, on Georg Friedrich Händel's famous « Halleluja » chorus from « Messiah » . He will receive the sum of 100 ducats for his services.

The original organ, which probably dates from the Gothic period, was transferred in 1870 to St. Nicholas. A second instrument was built by Simon Anton Hötzel in 1825. The present organ, which dates from 1888, is the work of Matthäus Mauracher. It is considered one of the best instruments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Extension work on the registry was undertaken from 1908 to 1910. The electric traction instrument has a set of 60 registers on 3 keyboards and 1 pedal-board.

In 1960, a commemorative plaque by artist Francis S. Forster was unveiled outside the church, recalling Bruckner's visits to St. Nicholas during the period from 1863 to 1890.

The Imperial couple will settle at Wallsee Castle. While the marriage of Marie Valérie and Franz Salvator was harmonious at first, it became less so with time. Franz had many love-affairs, including one with a ballet dancer of the Vienna Opera, Stephanie Richter (1891-1972). To stifle the scandal, she hastily married in London a prince of Hohenloe who agreed to endorse this adulterous paternity and named the child Franz-Josef (born in 1914). Valérie faced these blows stoically, confiding only in her journal.

Stephanie Richter was later known as « Hitler's Spy Princess » for her espionage activities before and during World War II.

### The wedding banquet

The wedding banquet was held at « Hotel zur Post » just in front of St. Nicholas, at about 200 metres from the famous « Zauner » pastry-shop ; about 150 metres from the spa ; about 300 meters from the thermal station ; and about 300 meters from the « Kaiservilla » .

The greedy Bruckner was invited to take place at the table of honour ...

Emperor Franz-Josef was in excellent mood. He placed in front of his Court organist a succession of delights and delicacies, and warmly encouraged him to start serving himself.

Bruckner first resisted but finally admitted :

« It's now or never ! »

The Emperor had been waiting patiently for this moment.

Later, a tasty and perfectly roasted duck came to Bruckner.

Already with a full belly, Bruckner looked with envy at this dream dish.

The smiling Emperor took a deep breath, seized a knife and a fork, and took half of the bird, saying :

« I believe you can not take one more bite. »

Bruckner candidly replied :

« Your Majesty, your famous musician is like St. Stephen's cathedral ! »

Intrigued, the Emperor wondered :

« Isn't that a somewhat strange comparison ? »

Bruckner answered :

« At first glance, St. Stephen's cathedral may seem to be full but there is always room for more - like it is the case for the roasted duck ! »

(Bruckner's pupils at the Vienna Conservatory reported that he always interrupted the class to kneel at the sound of the « Angelus », coming from the nearby St. Stephen's cathedral.)

Max Graf :

This Viennese Catholicism is different from Spanish or Italian Catholicism. It was not sombre like that of Spain, nor was it theatrical or operatic like that of Italy. It was a friendly, comfortable Catholicism which gave free-play to the Viennese joy of living and its hilarious spirit of life. On the many Catholic holidays which the Viennese celebrated, the festival meal was the most important. On the feast-day of St. Martin, when one said the prayer : « You shall multiply the geese and also the cool wine » , the first geese were slaughtered. On this day, too, emissaries came from Preßburg, bringing geese to the Emperor. This was an old Austrian Court custom.

**Saturday, 2 August 1890** : Anton Bruckner gives a private organ recital at Ischl.

**Saturday, 9 August 1890** : The « Welser Anzeiger » Number 32 reports on page 4 :

« Imperial gift.

Professor Bruckner received from His Majesty the Emperor a gift of 100 Ducats for his organ playing before and after the wedding of Archduchess Marie Valérie with Archduke Franz Salvator. »

**August - September 1890** : Bruckner tells Betti Bauer, the notary of Linz, that he was stunned when he received the Imperial gift of 100 Ducats concerning his organ improvisation (« Improvisationsskizze ») based on the final movement of the 1st Symphony.



## Ischl : « Hôtel zur Post » (« Gasthof zur Post, Posthof »)

The former « Hôtel zur Post » in Bad Ischl, Upper-Austria (originally named : « Gasthof zur Post » , or « Posthof ») , was the oldest hotel in the Salzkammergut. The building is located in the city-centre between the parish church of St. Nicholas and the Lehar Theatre. The hotel was built in 1827-1828 by Franz and Magdalena Koch, which is reminded to us by a marble portal. Koch (who died in 1849) was previously post-Master in Ebensee and had operated in Ischl since 1826 - more precisely at the Inn « Zum Goldenen Hirschen » (today : « Sparkasse ») . The « Schenkrecht » and the post-office were transferred from the inn to the newly-built hotel. The Imperial-Royal Post-Office, which was operating there until 1895, also included stables in the North-wing for up to 120 horses, which were used by the postal service in Ebensee, Aussee and Salzburg. Since 1862, the « Postalm » (formerly called : « Till » and « Holzalm ») , the pasture area for the animals, stretched-up to the town of Strobl. In 1833, the son of the builders, Franz Koch junior (who died in 1871) , continued to operate the Hotel and Post-Office. The following owners were Ludwig Koch (who died in 1919) and Doctor Ludwig Koch (who died in 1939) . The hotel was expanded several times during the 19th Century : for example, in 1840-1841, it acquired the former « Pfründnerhaus » (Prebendary's House, built in 1787) and the « Wirerspital » (hospital built in 1828) . The dining-hall wing was added in 1864. The prestigious (now patrimonial) façade was added in 1895. In the former large dining-room, the original wall-coverings in « stucco lustro » and the ceiling with its framed patterns and medallions were preserved - each of them showing arabesques, fantastic animal figures and fruits. A lift was installed only after 1900. The rear-wing of the hotel (« Dependance Posthof ») on today's « Schulgasse » (School Alley) was demolished in 1964 to create a garden. The « Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Straße » , where the building is located, was named officially « Landstraße » before 1898 and « Poststraße » from 1898 to 1951.

...

Das ehemalige Hotel zur Post (ursprünglich Gasthof zur Post oder Posthof) in Bad Ischl, Oberösterreich, war das älteste Hotel des Salzkammergutes. Das Gebäude liegt im Stadtzentrum zwischen der Pfarrkirche St. Nikolaus und dem Lehartheater.

Das Hotel wurde 1827-1828 von Franz und Magdalena Koch errichtet, woran noch heute das datierte Marmorportal erinnert. Koch (gestorben 1849) war zuvor Postmeister in Ebensee und hatte seit 1826 in Ischl das Gasthaus Zum Goldenen Hirschen (heute Sparkasse) betrieben. Von hier wurden das Schenkrecht und das Postamt auf das neu errichtete Hotel übertragen. Zum kaiserlich-königlichen Postamt, das bis 1895 im Hause betrieben wurde, gehörten auch Stallungen für bis zu 120 Pferde (Nordtrakt) , die im Postdienst nach Ebensee, Aussee und Salzburg eingesetzt waren. Als Weidegebiet für die Tiere gehörte ab 1862 die sogenannte Postalm (früher Till- oder Holzalm) oberhalb von Strobl zum Haus. Ab 1833 führte Franz Koch junior (gestorben 1871) , ein Sohn der Erbauer, den Hotel- und Postbetrieb fort. Ihm folgten Ludwig Koch (gestorben 1919) und Doktor Ludwig Koch (gestorben 1939) in der Führung des Hauses nach. Das Hotelgebäude wurde im 19. Jahrhundert mehrmals erweitert, so auch 1840-1841 unter Einbeziehung des ehemaligen Pfründnerhauses (1787) beziehungsweise des Wirerspitals (1828) . 1864 wurde der Speisesaaltrakt angebaut, 1895 erhielt das Gebäude eine repräsentative (heute unter Denkmalschutz stehende) Fassade. Im ehemaligen großen Speisesaal erhielten sich die originalen Wandverkleidungen in stucco lustro sowie die Decke mit Kassettengliederung und

Medaillons, deren einzelne Felder Arabesken, phantastische Tiergebilde und Früchte zeigen. Erst nach 1900 wurde ein Lift eingebaut. Der rückwärtige Hotelflügel in der heutigen Schulgasse (Dependance Posthof) wurde 1964 zwecks Schaffung eines Gartens abgetragen. Die Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Straße, in welcher das Haus liegt, hieß vor 1898 Landstraße und von 1898 bis 1951 amtlich Poststraße.

## Gäste

Das Haus wurde von vielen bekannten Persönlichkeiten besucht,

Mitglieder des europäischen Hochadels :

Kaiser Ferdinand, Kaiser Franz-Josef, König Wilhelm I. von Preußen, König Otto I. von Griechenland, Königin Therese von Bayern, König Max Josef von Bayern, Großherzog Ludwig von Hessen, Großherzog Carl Alexander von Sachsen-Weimar, Prinz August von Württemberg, Erzherzog Johann, Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Bourbon, Fürst Lichnowsky.

Hochrangige Militärs :

Feldmarschall Haugwitz, Feldmarschall Moltke, Admiral Edward Hamilton.

Politiker : Eduard Graf Taaffe, Otto von Bismarck, Theodor Herzl.

Industrielle und Bankiers : Johann Anton Farina, Lionel Nathan Rothschild.

Wissenschaftler : Doktor Theodor Billroth.

Literaten : Nikolaus Lenau, Arthur Schnitzler, Felix Dahn.

Komponisten : Anton Bruckner, Carl Michael Ziehrer.

Schauspieler und Regisseure :

Alexander Girardi, Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich, Magda Schneider, Karlheinz Böhm, Romy Schneider, Rudolf Prack, Sonja Ziemann, Gustav Knuth, Josef Meinrad, Luchino Visconti, Franz Antel, Helmut Berger und vieles andere.

Maler : Josef Kriehuber, Friedensreich Hundertwasser.

Am 31. Juli 1890 fand im Hotel ein Dinér anlässlich der Hochzeit von Erzherzogin Marie Valérie mit Erzherzog Franz Salvator von Toskana statt.

Steyr : « Zeilberger's Gasthof Rother Krebs »

**August - September 1890** : Parish priest Johann Aichinger invites Anton Bruckner to stay at the presbytery during his summer vacation in Steyr. But due to his current illness (a stomach affliction) , Bruckner must resign himself (except during the holding of special events) to stay at « Zeilberger's Gasthof Rother Krebs » (Zeilberger's Red Crab Inn) located on the « Stadtplatz » at Number 44.

At a certain time, the inn was also named : « Rottner's Gasthof Rother Krebs » and « Lugmayr's Gasthof Rother Krebs » .

The owners of the house had been ship-masters and inn-keepers since the end of the 17th Century - and only inn-keepers since 1773. According to Krenn, the name « Roten Krebsen » (Red Crabs) is mentioned for the first time in 1809. According to Kastner, the exterior ornamented sign could dated from 1760. It shows a moulded red-painted crab surrounded by curved elements in a thin frame.

« Here is a fine example of Baroque iron-work. Why the crab has been chosen to represent the house is hard to explain. In any case, the figurative motif is particularly well-suited for ornamental representation in its decorative form. »

(Jörg Reitter, 1948)

### The Lang family

**Around Tuesday, 16 September 1890** : On his way back to Vienna, Anton Bruckner stops to visit the Lang family in Linz who lives at « Landstraße » Number 21. He recounts his recent stay in Ischl insisting on the fact that Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst did not understand the structure of his organ improvisation (« Improvisationsskizze ») until hearing the « Kaiserhymne » : « Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser » (God Save Emperor Josef) .

### Private audience with the Emperor

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 23 September around 11:15 am (after 11 o'clock) , an audience with His Majesty the Emperor. »

**Thursday, 23 September 1886** : For the first time in his life, Anton Bruckner was granted a private audience by the Emperor.

As a sign of acknowledgement of his work, Franz-Josef offered him an annual grant of 300 Florins, and (with an engaging smile ...) an Imperial snuff-box !

When the Emperor asked Bruckner what special favour he might show him, Bruckner replied :

« Would Your Majesty be kind enough to tell “ Herr ” Hanslick not to write such bad criticisms of my work ? »

Aside from the unrivalled « naïveté » of this request there is a tragic undercurrent, for these words came from a tortured heart. Hanslick was the Demon in Bruckner’s eyes. The composer felt persecuted and was convinced the critic exercised pernicious power over his career. Hanslick was the topic of all his complaints to friends, to pupils, and even to « Frau » Kathi, his house-keeper. He was actually afraid Hanslick might « annihilate » him.

Bruckner reported on the course of the audience to privy councillor Dlabac, and later to « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr.

Max Graf :

« When Bruckner’s Symphonies were finally performed, the public was so antagonistic and the criticisms so spiteful that Bruckner writes in a letter :

“ They scared me to death in Vienna. ” »

« It must have been a singular scene when the 62 year old Bruckner went for an audience with the old Emperor, to thank him for the kindness he had shown his Court organist. Bruckner had to put on his frock-coat which scarcely fitted his broad, short figure, when he went to the Imperial Palace. Franz-Josef held such audiences one day each week. In the great anteroom of the palace were assembled the high-ranking officers who had received honours, priests who had to introduce themselves to the Emperor, or to thank him for a donation, industrial magnates who had been raised to the peerage or who had received a Court title, and male and female peasants from the provinces, dressed in coloured national costumes, who had some favour to beg of the Emperor. (Baron Prileský, the Court official who arranged these audiences, told me that Franz-Josef was highly-irritated if too few people sought an audience.) In the Baroque hall stood the Emperor’s guards in red coats, embroidered with gold thread, flowing white plumes in their helmets, swords in hand.

Bruckner made a deep, clumsy bow before each one of these guards. Finally, the door opened to the room where Franz-Josef stood at his desk on which the papers lay with the names of the people who had come for an audience. The Emperor, with cordiality, came toward Bruckner, who stammered a few words of thanks.

The Emperor asked Bruckner if he had any further wish, and the composer replied :

“ Please, Your Majesty, can you not put in a little word with Councilor Hanslick so that he will criticize me better ? ”

Bruckner himself told us this story. But I do not know whether the Emperor was able to fulfill this wish. The critic was never so kindly disposed to Bruckner as was the Emperor.

What Franz-Josef did for music and musicians, and to that belongs the conferring of high-orders on Brahms and Bruckner - he did, not out of an active relationship with music but as a correct fulfilment of his regal duty which

was regulated by the Spanish Court Ceremonial, his Catholic piety, and by the documents on his writing desk. »

### The Emperor is a quick eater

30 kilograms of salami or how much does an Emperor eat ? How the Court was supplied with food.

It is well-known that Franz-Josef was a quick eater, who could down a meal in a few minutes ; but could he eat 30 kilograms of salami all by himself ?

30 kilograms of salami.

60 kilograms of streaky pork loin.

70 kilograms of smoked pork belly.

103 kilograms of ham.

40 kilograms of loin of Prague ham.

This was an order placed by the Court with Weishappel's the butchers in 1914. The salami alone would be enough to fill 460 rolls or sandwiches. The Court Kitchen was responsible for the procurement and preparation of meals. The Court « chef de cuisine » (« Hofküchenchef ») or personal « chef » (« Mundkoch ») drew-up the daily lists of the food required and the head-cook (« Oberstküchenmeister ») was responsible for making sure that all the goods needed were ordered in time. An exact record was kept of all purchases - both by the day and by the week. Finally, the Court Inspector (« Hofkontrollor ») checked all purchases and if necessary pointed-out where savings could be made. After all, a Court dinner with 50 to 100 guests was reckoned to cost between 2,000 and 3,000 Gulden, with imported specialities being particularly expensive. By way of comparison, in 1870, 1 kilogram of beef cost about 0.5 Gulden ; at this time, a female laundry worker earned about 3 Gulden per week, while a building worker's shirt cost 2.5 Gulden.

The Court kitchen was repeatedly told to be as economical as possible. Since the members of the Imperial family and people who were catered for by the Court were not prepared to make any savings themselves when it came to dining, attempts were made to keep the price of the food purchased as low as possible. It was planned to invite suppliers to undercut one another with their bids, so that the Court could make its purchases as cheaply as possible.

The plan failed because none of the suppliers was prepared to take-part in such an auction. A new strategy for the procurement of food stuffs was needed and so the so-called price discussions were introduced. This meant that would-be suppliers had to make monthly applications for contracts to a Court commission, with either their price offers being accepted or price reductions being demanded.

## The Emperor's dining habits

An account of the daily habits of the Emperor may be of interest to our readers. He is, like most other German sovereigns, an early riser, and always takes his first breakfast, winter and summer, at 5:00 am, the meal consisting of a cup of « café au lait » , a roll, and cold meat. The Emperor is very independent, and always shaves himself. For the next 7 hours, the Emperor takes no refreshment, his next meal being luncheon, which is served at 12 o'clock, and which consists of soup and a roast, with which beer is drunk.

When « His Majesty » is alone, he has dinner at from 3 o'clock to 3:30, when the dinner consists invariably of 6 courses : soup, fish, 2 successive roasts, a pudding and dessert, when beer, and later a little wine, is drunk by the sovereign. The Emperor's favourite beer is the dark Bavarian, which he has now drunk for a great number of years, and he always has an orthodox Bavaria « Seidel » out of which to drink it.

After dinner, the Emperor eats nothing more, not even when he goes to the theatre, and he finds this frugal diet suits him excellently. The Emperor, as a rule, retires to bed every night at 9 o'clock. By this simple life, he has obtained his Golden Jubilee.

...

In 1905, Henri de Weindel authored « The Real Franz-Joseph » based on the insights of a palace staffer who refused to be identified. The recollections show the life of an ageing Emperor saddened by the murder of his wife, Empress Elisabeth, and the suicide of his son and heir to the Habsburg throne, Crown Prince Rudolph.

Of Emperor Franz-Josef's dining habits, he revealed :

« Fond as he once was of ceremony, nowadays, he has made for himself a quiet, bourgeois life, like that of some old bachelor who takes delight in the mere fact of living. Many of his pleasures have been cut-off, but those of the table, which were always a weakness with him, afford him compensation. His day's menu is surprising. He goes to bed early and rises early - between 4:00 and 5:00 am. Immediately, an attendant, who is waiting for his Master's summons, brings him a first breakfast, of respectable dimensions. The Emperor then rises and goes to his study to work.

At 8 o'clock, he has a second breakfast, which consists regularly of soup, joint, vegetables, “ entre-mets ” (the great triumph of Viennese cookery) , and dessert. His private secretary now appears, and the morning's mail is opened. At noon, there is a third meal, similar to the second. Then follows either a short walk in the park at the “ Hofburg ” or at Schönbrunn, according as the Court is at one place or the other, or a drive ; for his favourite exercise of riding is now forbidden, or almost entirely so. Between 4:00 and 5:00 in the afternoon is the fourth meal. One guest, and one only, is present at that - either an “ aide de camp ” or some high Court dignitary.

This dinner consists of at least 6 courses - thick soup, beef (which always comes next to the soup) , fish, a roast (fowl or game) , “ entre-mets ”, and dessert. The Emperor has one abundant helping of each dish, and, generally, a second

also. At 8:00 in the evening, there is the fifth meal, of tea, bread and butter, and cold meat, and at 9:00 or 9:30, this well-fed monarch goes to bed to seek in sleep recuperation of the strength which he has not wasted.

If he eats a great deal, however, he drinks little, although the cellars of the “ Hofburg ” are among the finest in Europe. There may be met the best vintages of Lower-Austria and of Hungary (so rich in vineyards) , of Bordeaux, Burgundy, Champagne, Moselle, and the Rhine.

There is even to be found genuine Tokay, rarest of all wines, the vineyards of the Hegyala from which it comes having been totally ruined by phylloxera. So near such treasures of the grape, the Emperor is content to wash down his meals with “ Pilsner ” beer, only allowing himself at the end of his dinner a glass of excellent Bordeaux. His meals are served on very beautiful silver dishes. The famous golden table-service (of which the central epergne alone is worth £ 6,400) is hardly ever seen, because big dinner-parties are now very few at the “ Hofburg ”, and State banquets are no longer given.

In the huge dining-hall, where the footmen are more numerous than the guests, and where, since the Empress's death, no more flowers decorate the table, the Emperor is fond of describing to his only companion the gorgeous days of the grand State dinner-parties ; and it is not without emotion that the old man peoples the solitude with the imaginary crowds of old. He still seems to hear the 3 raps on the floor from the stick of the Grand Chamberlain, the Imperial master of ceremonies, to announce the entrance of “ Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress ”. »

#### « Tafelspitz » : The Emperor's favourite dish

Many of the famous Austrian delicacies such as the « Sachertorte » , the « Tafelspitz » or the « Sacherwürstel » achieved great popularity due to the Monarch's culinary tastes.

The « Tafelspitz » (boiled beef) in particular, which literally means the « end of the table » where the Emperor used to sit, was Franz-Josef's favourite.

It is written in an official cookery school text-book from 1912 :

« Nie fehlt an der Privattafel Seiner Majestät ein gutes Stück gesottenes Rindfleisch, das zu seinen Lieblingsgerichten zählt. »

(« His Majesty's private table is never without a fine piece of boiled beef. »)

Franz-Josef preferred his boiled beef accompanied with freshly grated horseradish, cabbage and stale bread for absorbing the remaining sauce. Except on days of fasting, boiled beef could be found on the Imperial family's menu every day. Not only the Emperor developed this distinct love for beef, but the dish was of great significance for the diet of all social classes.

« His Majesty's private table is never without a fine piece of boiled beef. »

The name « Tafelspitz » , literally meaning tip for the table, derives from the Austrian term for the meat cut. Usually from a young ox, the cut comes from the top hind end of the cattle, the « Musculus gluteoabiceps » . Pinzgauer Rind, Almenland Almochse, Ländle Kalb or Wienerwald Weiderind are some examples among cattle breeds which are popular for this cut.

The meat itself and the way it is prepared have hardly changed since the 19th Century. Still nowadays, boiled beef is classically served with extra-crispy fried potatoes, apple-horseradish and chive sauce. Very special is the tasty soup that results from boiling beef and vegetables. It can be served before the main course, garnished with dumplings, noodles or soup vegetables.

...

« Tafelspitz » was typically served with creamed spinach and roasted potatoes with various sauces in particular, horseradish and apple, and many in the Austro-Hungarian Empire adopted this meal as a sign of loyalty, along with the fashion for mutton chop whiskers.

The meal of boiled beef with the appropriate trimmings (« Tafelspitz ») , followed by cherry dumplings features repeatedly in Joseph Roth's novel « The Radetzky March » (1932) . The slow decline of the Habsburg Empire can be seen in the changing approach to « Tafelspitz » through 3 generations of the von Trotta family from the mid-19th Century to early-20th Century.

Extract of the novel :

« Jacques disappeared and returned after a time wearing white gloves, which seemed to utterly transform him. They reflected a further snowy sheen over his pale face, his already white muttonchop whiskers, his white hair. Of all the things that passed for bright in this world, they were certainly the brightest. With these gloves he held a dark tray. On it was a steaming tureen. He set it down, carefully, silently, swiftly in the middle of the table.

By custom, it was “ Fräulein ” Hirschwitz who served the soup. With amiably outstretched arms and a grateful smile in their eyes, they took the plates from her. She smiled back. A warm, golden gleam filled their bowls ; the soup. Noodle soup. Clear broth with fine, yellow coiled noodles. Herr von Trotta and Sipolje ate fast, sometimes furiously. It was as though he were destroying one course after another, with noiseless, rapid, aristocratic aggression, finishing them off like enemies.

“ Fräulein ” Hirschwitz ate tiny portions at table, and once the meal was finished enjoyed a complete second serving of everything up in her room. Carl Joseph hurriedly and timidly gulped down huge mouthfuls. That way, they all contrived to be finished at the same time. If “ Herr ” Trotta and Sipolje was silent, no one spoke.



The soup was followed by boiled beef with trimmings, since time immemorial the old man's preferred Sunday lunch. The admiring appraisal to which he subjected this dish took up more than half the meal.

The District Commissioner's eye first caressed the thin layer of fat that edged the enormous piece of meat, then the various little side-dishes on which the vegetables reposed, the violet luscious beets, the sober rich-green spinach, the bright, cheerful lettuce, the acrid white horseradish, the flawless ovals of new potatoes swimming in melted butter, somehow suggestive of little toys.

He had a curious way with food. It was as if he ate the most important things right away with his eyes. His æsthetic sense consumed the essence of the dishes, as it were, their soul ; what remained for jaws and mouth was heavy and irksome and had to be got down as quickly as possible. Certain dishes' " beautiful appearance " gave the old man as much pleasure as their simplicity. He insisted on so-called " solid middle-class fare " both from personal preference and from philosophical conviction, which he was pleased to call Spartan. By happy knack, he combined the satisfaction of his desires with the performance of his duty. He was a Spartan. But he was also an Austrian.

He set about carving the meat, as he did every Sunday. He shot his cuffs, raised both hands in the air, and applying knife and fork to the joint, he turned to " Fräulein " Hirschwitz and observed :

" You know my dear, it is not enough simply to ask a butcher for a tender piece. You need to see how it's cut. Whether it's cut along or across, I mean. Modern butchers no longer know their craft. They spoil the best meat by cutting it the wrong way. See here, my dear ! It's all I can do to rescue it. It's frayed at the edges, it's practically falling apart. As a whole it could probably be called ' tender ', but the individual pieces will be tough as you will see in a moment. As for the condiments, as you would Germans say, I would like my horseradish a little dryer next time. It musn't lose its edge in the milk. It must be produced afresh, not beforehand. This has been soaking a little too long.

A mistake ! " »

### 1890 : Along the « Ringstraße »

Along the « Ringstraße », Vienna's most festive thoroughfare, on a sunny day in 1890 : at this period, between 12:00 and 1:00 every day, Vienna's fashionable society took its promenade on the broad street between the City Park and the new Opera House. Everyone whom one might call « all Vienna » crowded on that small section of the « Ringstraße ». Here, everyone seemed to know everyone else, greeted, chattered and sauntered along ; with the bright laughter of the women as the upper-voice over the babble and flirting, over the malicious remarks and anecdotes of the metropolis. Here, one met politicians and industrialists, young and old aristocrats who spoke the nasal dialect of the castles, officers among whom the dragoons with golden helmets, and Hungarian hussars with braided coats and tightly fitted breeches were the most elegant ; well-known artists, women of whom Vienna spoke, the « wits » who were invited to all the parties and whose latest bits of gossip flew swiftly along the « Ring ». What was the subject of all this conversation ? The last theatre premiere, the latest excess of the young Archduke, the newest divorce, an

interesting guest, a new affair, sometimes politics (which were joked about) always love, which was likewise not taken seriously. One laughed over the greatest vicissitudes of life and was always just as witty, charming, frivolous and superficial as people of every old, over-cultivated society are bound to be.

### Begone, Satan !

**1890** : Accompanied by conductor Hans Richter and some other friends, Anton Bruckner went to a restaurant where the service is only done by enticing waitresses (and not waiters like it is usually the case) . These establishments do not always have a good reputation neither in Austria nor Germany. These joints combined the services of bar, restaurant, dance-hall ... and brothel.

Bruckner's friends gradually departed and he was finally left alone with the waitress. According to pre-arranged' agreement, she perched herself on his knee.

Horrified, Bruckner rose and shouted :

« Apage Satanas ! »

His fear of sin had been stronger than his sense of humour.

Richter was known for initiating silly jokes.

Max Graf :

There was still another famous musician one often met on the « Ringstraße » who looked like a professor. Going unhurriedly on his way to the Opera, he was big and broad-shouldered, and impressive. This was the famous Wagnerian conductor, Hans Richter, first conductor of the Vienna Opera. When Wagner made him his conductor, Richter was young and had a blond beard like the youthful Wotan. Now, his beard was already greying, but the eyes behind their spectacles still preserved their steel-blue glitter.

Brahms and Richter lifted their hats to a small man with heavy, bushy eyebrows, white goatee, and hook-nose which looked like the beak of an old hawk. This was the famous music critic and Wagner-slayer, Eduard Hanslick, who wrote witty and intellectual music-criticisms for fashionable « Ringstraße » society. Brahms, Richter and Hanslick, though, could not help smiling when, in the distance, they saw a little man approaching who looked strange indeed in these surroundings. He did not wear a smartly-cut town suit, but instead, a wide jacket of heavy material which he had had sent from Upper-Austria, where his home was. His trousers fell in countless wrinkles to his small feet, and their bagginess gave his legs an elephantine appearance. His face was that of an old peasant, weathered by air, sun and rain ; but it was a peasant face with Roman features and the profile of the Roman Emperor Claudius. The singular appearance of the man became more marked when he lifted the broad-brimmed artist's hat from his bald, round head, and, with a deep bow, bent almost to the ground. This strange man was Anton Bruckner, who, at that

time, was still ridiculed and mocked. Now, a great bust of him, delineating all the wrinkles of his old face, stands in Vienna's City Park. He is raising the thumb of his right-hand as if he wished to explain something, or as if he was just hearing a melody, and wanted to say to the twittering birds who perch on his shoulder :

« Be still ! »

### Kamilla Wiesmair

**Around the first half of August 1890** : Anton Bruckner visits his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck, where he meets « Fräulein » Kamilla Wiesmair.

He plays 4 hands piano pieces with his great-niece Laura Hueber.

### Louise and Lina Scherer

**Around the first half of August 1890** : Bruckner visits Doctor Alois Scherer in Vöcklabruck. Bruckner is really crazy about his 2 daughters : Louise and Lina. He plays for them excerpts from the 8th Symphony at the piano.

On **November 13, 1883**, Doctor Scherer, the mayor of Vöcklabruck, appointed Bruckner as an honorary member of the « Vöcklabrucker Liedertafel » , a choir founded by the composer himself. Scherer will be one of the first to recognize his artistic contribution. Lawyer by profession, Alois Scherer was the first magistrate of the town of Vöcklabruck for more than one mandate.

### Linz's perfumer

**August 1890** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Hudetz, “ Dreihufeisengasse ” Number 11 next to the “ Theater an der Wien ”. (/) “ Fräulein ” Wismar, Vöcklabruck. (/) “ Fräulein ” Hedwig Fürstner at (Karl) Sedlak (“ parfumeur ” G. L.) Schmidthorstraße (Number 2) Linz. (/) “ Fräulein ” Elisabeth Pracherstorfer (Ischl) in Vienna. »

### Bruckner writes to Bernhard Deubler

**Monday, 18 August 1890** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Bernhard Deubler (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Honourable Professor Deubler !

Please, permit me to send you my most heartfelt congratulations for your noble Name-Day. May God keep you always completely in good health, and may “ He ” bestow “ His ” blessings on you abundantly.

I just arrived in Steyr and will work constantly. (His Reverence, the Bishop, has not invited me, for the second time ; believe me that this horrible affair, for my part, is really becoming a burden.)

I thank you very much, “ Herr ” Professor, for the invitation ; because you are not yet at home, I could not make use of it.

About “ Herr ” Habert, and still another, I have heard of some very offensive business so that, gladly, I will not be together with him.

Once more, I wish you everything good, as also the same for your parents. I am, with deepest respect,

Most indebtedly yours,

Anton Bruckner »

### Robert Fuchs takes over

**September 1890** : Anton Bruckner becomes ill and Robert Fuchs, an ardent Brahmsian, takes-over his class at the Conservatory. This solution doesn't work too well for those who, like Franz Schmidt, had chosen to study with Bruckner.

### The mission of Hugo Wolf

**Tuesday, 14 October 1890** : Hugo Wolf succeeds in convincing his friends from Tübingen (a town 40 kilometres south of Stuttgart) as well as the composer Engelbert Humperdinck to support Anton Bruckner the man, as well as his works. In the evening, Wolf plays « Tristan » to a number of Emil Kauffmann's friends in his usual expressive way.

**Wednesday, 15 October 1890** : Hugo Wolf sings for his host Emil Kauffmann and Professor Schmid (Kauffmann's son-in-law, and Professor of Classical Philosophy at the University of Tübingen) some of the unprinted Spanish and Keller songs, and gave an astonishing performance on the piano of the Scherzo from Bruckner's 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) .

**Thursday, 23 October 1890** : Engelbert Humperdinck brings Doctor Ludwig Strecker of Schott publishers, Mainz, to meet Hugo Wolf for the first time. While working at Schott, Humperdinck became an admirer of Wolf and wins Strecker to the idea of publishing his work.

**Saturday, 8 November 1890** : Hugo Wolf writes to his friend Emil Kauffmann that his « Christnacht » (the hymn by Count von Platen which he had begun to set for soli, chorus, and orchestra on Christmas Eve of 1886, and finished in May 1889) is to be given in Mannheim, in **January 1891**, at a concert including also :

« Bruckner's 8th Symphony and a Symphonic work by a certain Richard Strauß. Perhaps, I can also smuggle my “

Prometheus ” (for orchestra) into the programme. »

### Mahler meets Brahms

**Tuesday, 16 December 1890** : Gustav Mahler conducts Mozart's « Don Giovanni » ; he is introduced to Johannes Brahms.

### Playing the organ in a medical clinic !

**Christmas 1890 (or 1891-1892 ?)** : As usual, Professor Anton von Eiselsberg (the author of « From the diary of a surgeon ») invites Anton Bruckner to play the organ at the Christmas party organized in the medical clinic of Doctor Theodor Billroth.

From Anton von Eiselsberg's Memoirs (« 1891 or 1892 ») .

### « At Gause » with the Stradals

**Monday, 29 December 1890** : Soon after the performance of one of his Symphonies, Anton Bruckner meets August Stradal and his wife, the writer and singer Hildegard Stradal (née Zweigelt) « at Gause's » Restaurant.

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 1st District.

### Hildegard Stradal

Hildegard Stradal (« née » Zweigelt) Schriftstellerin und Sängerin : geboren 5. Mai 1864 in Wien ; gestorben 7. August 1948 in Halle an der Saale, Deutschland (Sowjetische Besatzungszone - SBZ) . Tochter des Musikpädagogen Moritz Zweigelt, ab 1888 verheiratete mit August Stradal. Stradal erhielt und andere bei Karoline Pruckner Gesangsunterricht und war ab 1883 Mitglied des Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein, bei dessen Chorproduktionen sie mitwirkte. 1889 gab sie in Wien ihren I. Liederabend und begleitete in der F. ihren Mann auf europaweiten Konzerttourneen. Ab 1890 trat sie als Schriftstellerin mit Lyrik (und andere « Zur Dämmerzeit » , 1907, « Aus schweren Tagen » , 1909) sowie Dramen (etwa « Der Spielmann » , 1901) , aber auch mit Übersetzer aus dem Französisch (« Strahlen und Schatten » /« Les rayons et les ombres » von Victor Hugo, 1897, und « Alexander von Macedonien » von Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, 1914) hervor. Einige ihrer Gedenken wurden (vor allem von ihrem Mann) vertont, viele verfluchte sie zu Kompositionen von Franz Liszt, aber auch von Ludwig van Beethoven, Frédéric Chopin, Robert Schumann und Edvard Grieg. 1919 übersiedelte das Ehepaar auf Stradals Familiensitz in Schönlinde (Krásná Lípa) . Nach dem Tod ihres Mannes setzte Stradal ihm mit « August Stradals Lebensbild » (1934) , das auch autobiographische Züge aufweist, ein literarisches Denkmal. 1945 aus der Tschechoslowakei vertrieben, verbrachte Stradal ihre letzten Lebensjahre in Halle, wo sie verarmt im Pflegeheim starb.

## A picture from Hanslick !

**Wednesday, 31 December 1890** : Anton Bruckner receives a photograph of the fierce music-critic Eduard Hanslick. Josef Kluger, the Provost of Klosterneuberg Abbey, will advise Bruckner to burn the picture.

## Bruckner's stomach disorder

**1891** : Anton Bruckner had suffered, the first in a series of debilitating ailments which, with few respites, rendered the last years of his life a constant struggle. By **1894**, it was almost impossible for him to play the organ because of swelling in his feet ; in April that year, he was too ill to travel to Graz to hear the long-awaited first performance of the 5th Symphony conducted by his pupil Franz Schalk.

## Linz : Waterworks

**1891-1893** : Construction of the water-works Scharlinz and of a municipal water-system.

## Wels : Archduke Otto of Austria meets Bruckner

Archduke Otto (father of the last Austrian Emperor Charles) was an officer in the Dragoon Regiment Number 4 which was stationed in the town of Wels.

The beautiful Archduke, who had been idolized by women and snubbed by men, was very much taken by himself.

Once, Anton Bruckner was walking on the streets of Wels with the hat in his hand (faithful to his habit) , since he was constantly suffering from heat. Archduke Otto saw the musician, went in his direction and said in a condescending way :

« Please, please, sit down ! »

However, Bruckner, embarrassed, replied in his original but kind manner :

« Aber, kaiserliche Hoheit, wegen Ihna hab i den Huat ja gar net abnumma, mir war ja nur so hoäß ! »

« But, Imperial Highness, my “ Hüadal ” does not make me an honourable person ! »

(« Hüadal » : The little black broad-brimmed slouch-hat that Bruckner usually wore.)

Archduke Otto had a reputation as a loafer and was often involved in scandals. He was gradually alienated from the Imperial Court, and, eventually, even his wife distanced herself from him.

...

Otto Franz Joseph Karl Ludwig Maria, Prince Imperial and Archduke of Austria, Prince Royal of Hungary and Bohemia was born on 21 April 1865 and died on 1 November 1906.

He was the second son of Archduke Karl Ludwig of Austria (younger brother of Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria) and his second wife, Princess Maria Annunciata of Bourbon-Two Sicilies. He was the father of Charles I of Austria, the last Emperor of Austria.

Otto's mother died when he was 6 years old. Otto and his elder brother Franz Ferdinand were educated by Alfred Ludwig, Baron of Degenfeld. Otto was not interested in learning and often played pranks on his teachers. Nevertheless, his teachers liked the cheerful Otto better than his grumpy and irascible older brother. He was also his father's favourite, which led to a difficult relationship with his brother.

Under pressure from the Imperial Court, he married Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony, daughter of King George of Saxony on October 2, 1886. The Court in Vienna urgently needed such a wedding to repair their relationship with the Saxon royal family, after both Crown Prince Rudolf and Otto's brother Franz Ferdinand had snubbed the Saxons by rejecting Maria's elder sister Mathilde.

Around 1900, Otto contracted syphilis. This caused him agonizing pain for the last 2 years of his life. He withdrew from public life and spent a year in Egypt, where he found temporary reprieve. He returned to Austria, where he fell ill again. The last few months of his life, he lived in a villa in the Viennese suburb Währing. He was seriously ill, and was nursed by his last mistress, Louise Robinson, using the pseudonym Sister Martha, and by his step-mother Infanta Maria Theresa of Portugal (1855-1944). He died on 1 November 1906, in the presence of his spiritual adviser, Godfried Marschall, the auxiliary bishop of Vienna.

### Doctor Schrötter's new patient

**1891** : The Austrian internist and laryngologist Leopold (Anton Dismas) Schrötter von Kristelli becomes one of Anton Bruckner's personal physicians. Another of his famous patients will be Crown Prince Frederick.

### New Year greetings to Göllicher

August Göllicher junior received unexpected news from Bruckner who had triumphed even with the staunchest critic in Vienna :

**Thursday, 1 January 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to August Göllicher junior (Wels) :

« Most Highly-Honoured, Most Noble, Great Composer, Warmest Friend and Patron !

I greet and kiss you a thousand times ! And wish you everything good - simply ; as much as anyone can wish ! “ Cheers ” for the “ New Year ” !

I am still deeply moved by the acceptance of the audience at the Philharmonic concert, which hailed me back 12 times - and how !!! That was not all. You will have to be astounded : yesterday, Hanslick revered me with his photograph, the inscription on which reads “ to my esteemed friend ”. And in Munich - Paul Heyse ; of course, you know that already. “ Herr ” Puchstein is a wonderful friend to me !

I look forward to that moment when I will be able to see you again, God bless my noble patron and most highly-honoured friend !

At present, the new D minor Symphony has grown on my heart. Hugo Wolf threw himself around my neck, crying, following the concert, which also affected me and, yet, a third musician with us.

Therefore : the “ weeping Trio ”. I ask you to greet sincerely “ Herr ” Leopold Seiberl and every one else who would ask after me.

With touching respect,

Yours,

Anton Bruckner

I wish a speedy recovery to your dear old uncle who is deeply ill. To your sister, a hand-kiss. »

Bruckner, who had once feared music-critic Eduard Hanslick so greatly that he declined a proposed performance by the Vienna Philharmonic, had seen his 7th Symphony hailed by those present, who accorded him 12 calls-back. Even more significant, in the eyes of Bruckner, was that Hanslick had put to paper on the photograph that he was his esteemed friend.

It would have been unlike Bruckner to send the picture back with the inscription crossed-out, but there are those who would have done just that. The all-forgiving Bruckner was so pleased about his acceptance that Hanslick's attempt to mend the bridge between them arrived with status equal to his other triumphs. Perhaps, Bruckner possessed a little more sophistication on the inside than he displayed on the outside and for which he was never given credit. A more likely scenario would involve his simple happiness and true joy, his graciousness, and his kindness, as inspired by his devotion to his religious beliefs. With these qualities in mind, one can see why he would never think of retribution. The last sentence constitutes a pun in German : « der Wein » being the beverage, and « weinen » being the verb, to weep. Bruckner was intelligent, and even clever, but his poor self-esteem, along with his depression, suppressed evidence of the capacity of his intellect, except for his music.



## Hugo Wolf about the 8th Symphony

**Wednesday, 14 January 1891** : Hugo Wolf confides :

« Between us, Bruckner is enraged over the endless delay of his 8th, and, recently, I had great difficulty convincing him of (Felix) Weingartner's sincerity and honest enthusiasm for his Symphonies. He no longer believes in the performance in Mannheim. »

## Leaving the Conservatory

**Thursday, 15 January 1891** :

Letter from the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») to Anton Bruckner :

The directorate fulfilled Bruckner's wish to be removed from the Conservatory teaching staff for reasons of age and health. Thanks for the excellent services. Signatures of Leopold Alexander Zellner, Josef Hellmesberger senior and vice-president Baron Josef von Bezecny.

Letter from the Conservatory Pension Fund Association to Anton Bruckner :

Bruckner will receive a pension of 440 Florins. The first quarter amount will be paid on 1 April 1891. Signatures of Joseph Dachs and Adolf Koch Edler von Langentreu.

At the board-meeting of the Society of Friends of Music, it was decided to propose the appointment of Hans Richter and Anton Bruckner as honorary members.

The provisional organ teacher Josef Vockner is definitively confirmed as successor of Bruckner at the Conservatory.

## Bruckner writes to Felix Weingartner

**Tuesday, 27 January 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Felix Weingartner (Mannheim) :

« Highly-Esteemed “ Herr Kapellmeister ” !

Sunday was the second performance of the D minor Symphony, No. 3.

(...)

I am, unfortunately, not well. Pain in my stomach ; absolutely must go to the doctor again.

Please do not be angry, and write ...

From your admiring

Bruckner »

### Hermann Levi writes to Bruckner

**Saturday, 7 February 1891** : Letter from Hermann Levi (Munich) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Honoured Master !

I probably do not need to describe for you my great joy about the success of your D minor Symphony (No. 3) and that, now, success finally comes to you in Vienna. You know that I take in the most serious interest everything with which you are concerned ! I have not heard from Weingartner for a long time. (I immediately presented to him your instructions at that time.) I hear that he was in Halden for 5 weeks recovering from his shattered health but that, at the present time, he is better again. Whatever the copying costs come to is our matter to resolve here. I have written to Weingartner that, at this stage, he must finally schedule the date of the performance. Hopefully, I will be able to attend it. My health is improving, but I must still be careful. That you, too, are ill worries me very much. I sincerely wish you good improvement !

Should Weingartner have sent you the bill (in the face of my injunction) , I request that you send it “ to me ”.

With respect and true loyalty,

Yours,

Hermann Levi »

### A toast with May wine !

**Wednesday, 18 February 1891** : Anton Bruckner returns to the composition of his 9th Symphony. But, as of October, he will (again) interrupt this work in favour of the revision of the 2nd Symphony which is to be printed by its publisher.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Theodor Helm (Vienna) :

« Honourable “ Herr ” Doctor !

Sincere thanks for each and every kindness ; already, these are so numerous as to be impossible to count. The letter, next.

Noble people live in Wamsdorf.

In “ secret ”, Richter told me that he will perform the D minor Symphony in the third or fourth London concert. Genuine “ secrets ”, today. “ Herr ” Doctor ! The second secret : the “ Beserl ”, that I have been restoring since March of 1890 is, at last, ready. This is the not previously-performed 1st Symphony (in C minor) . Secret No. 3 : the 9th Symphony is begun.

At present, the secrets are ended.

Baron Wolzogen implored me to tell them of the “ situation ” at the reception ceremony, through the Master’s voice, since he wants to publish a book and include that information.

In spring, I will toast to it with May wine from a distance !

With replete thanks and respect, I am

Sincerely,

Anton Bruckner

To the ladies - a hand-kiss. »

### Bruckner struggles with meat

As ever, Anton Bruckner was gracious and did not refuse further gifts of meat altogether, but only until the new cattle were slaughtered for fresh meat in the autumn.

Bruckner again requested that no meat be sent to him until fall ; but, this time, the letter was to his brother and openly stated that Bruckner was not well.

**Thursday, 19 February 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Dear Brother !

Thank you for the delicious meat. Here is 10 “ Gulden ”. But please, do not send me any more because I have a stomach disorder ; send me meat again, only at harvest time.

“ Frau Kathi ” greets you.

Your brother,

Anton »

The stomach disorder, along with a throat disorder, were mentioned in 2 more letters, dated **March 17** and **March 27, 1891**.

At this point, he must have received some restorative power merely from being, again at St. Florian Monastery, and relatively close to his native Ansfelden.

**Tuesday, 17 March 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to Felix Weingartner (Mannheim) :

« Highly-Honoured “ Herr Kapellmeister ” !

Because I have been suffering from throat and stomach disorders for a long time, it was advised that I go to the country-side for a certain time ; and, thus, at the present time, I find myself at St. Florian Monastery in Upper-Austria - one and one-half hours from my birthplace of Ansfelden (1824) . I did my serious studies with Professor Sechter in Vienna, from 1865 to 1861 ; then, composing until 1863.

Please, just let me know what your Orchestra needs ; however, I ask that the full-score not be changed. Also, it is one of my fondest prayers that, at the printing, the Orchestra parts remain “ unaltered ”.

If Schott would accept the printing, the goal would be achieved ; and I would have great joy. That he has gone to great lengths to further recognition of me and my work is for me a great consolation, namely through your ingenuity.

By all means, accept the abridgment in the Finale because, otherwise, it would be too long, and that would be detrimental.

With sincerest request for perseverance and patience (for my 7th Symphony, there were 15 rehearsals in Mannheim) , I am filled with admiration.

Most gratefully,

Anton Bruckner

Hans Richter will conduct the 3rd (D minor) Symphony, in London. He would have liked to conduct the 8th. »

**Friday, 27 March 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to August Göllerich junior (Wels) :  
« Highly-Honoured “ Herr ” Director !

I do not know from where the nice letter of my noble patron and defender came. All the same, Wels will shortly have a joyous time.

On Easter Sunday, I am playing the organ in Linz for the Bishop's Pontifical Mass ; then, I am returning to St. Florian where I will stay through Saturday, in order to take a rest, particularly since I am continually suffering from throat and stomach problems.

I wish you a good holiday and a good rest !

Yours,

Bruckner

Many heartfelt thanks.

April 2, in Mannheim : the 8th Symphony ; Hans Richter, in London, for the 3rd Symphony. »

Since Bruckner was so humble, this may have been an attempt at humour.

At the « goldenen Kanone » on Sunday

**Friday, 27 March 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to Karl Waldeck (Linz) :

« Dear Friend !

In advance, I thank you very much for your trouble. By this time, I am at St. Florian ; and, on Sunday, will come to the “ Kanone ”, in good time for the High-Mass.

Can you, perhaps, let the most reverent Bishop know through the valet ; that, I beg of you.

I believe that I should introduce myself right after the High-Mass. Please, do not be angry over the many inconveniences on my behalf. Until I joyfully see you again, I remain

Yours,

Bruckner »

The « Gasthaus Zur goldenen Kanone » was a restaurant and inn (situated on « Landstraße 18-20, Linz » frequented by Bruckner and his friends.

On Easter Sunday, Bruckner was to play at High-Mass, in Linz.

The cholera « morbus anti-semiticus »

In the campaign for the **March 1891** elections, the Liberal Party itself capitulated and did not condemn anti-Semitism, as it had in the past. Dismaying trends in Viennese politics led many Liberals to do some soul-searching. In **June 1891**, members of the city's « Bildungsbürgertum » formed the « Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus » (Society to Combat Anti-Semitism) ; by **1895**, the group had 4,520 members. One founder was the Austrian writer Peter Rosegger, whose books both Johannes Brahms and Doctor Theodor Billroth admired but whom the anti-Semites claimed as one of their own because of ambiguous remarks that he had made in the mid-1880's and continued to make in the 1890's. Other founding members included the geology professor and Liberal politician Eduard Sueß and the surgeons Hermann Nothnagel and Theodor Billroth, all 3 of whom had signed the open-letter protesting University of Vienna's Rector Friedrich Maaßen's advocacy of a Czech elementary school in 1883. Some members of the new group also belonged to another organization with related political aims, the « Österreichische Friedensgesellschaft » (Austrian Pacifist Society) , among them Rosegger and Brahms's friend Johann Strauß, the « Waltz King » , whose third wife, Adele, was Jewish. Another prominent friend of Brahms, Viktor Miller zu Aichholz (to whom, along with Aichholz's wife, Max Kalbeck would dedicate his biography of the composer) , joined the « Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus » in 1897.

Brahms does not appear to have become a member and was capable of referring crudely to Karl Goldmark's Jewishness as late, apparently, as 1893. But several sources record his vehement rejection of the new anti-Semitism that had become so powerful a feature of the contemporary political scene. About this, there can be no question.

Thus, in his diary, Richard Heuberger quoted Brahms in 1890 on the Jew-baiting that was, by then, rampant in Vienna :

« I can scarcely speak of it, it seems so deplorable to me. If the endless reinforcements of Galician Jews in Vienna were hindered, I would be in favour of it, but the rest is vileness. »

(Many Liberal Jews in Vienna shared the composer's prejudice against the Galician Jews, who tended to resist the outward signs of assimilation and were seen as mired in « Bildungshass » (anti-intellectualism) and « orthodox obscurantism » .)

Brahms's stubborn nationalism and his unambiguous stance regarding political anti-Semitism sum-up the uncomfortable position that many Liberals found themselves in. Unable to relinquish their feelings that German culture surpassed all others, they also could not accept the twisted version of their prejudices promoted by radicals, who were gaining a majority. Viennese anti-Semitism had paradoxically become linked with both a politicized variety of Austrian Catholicism, whose leaders sometimes played the German-nationalist card, and an extreme German nationalism that, shortly after Brahms's death in 1897, would include militant Protestantism as part of its program.

In an early stage of planning, Rosegger apparently went so far as to propose that the new group call itself the Society to Combat Nationalism.

Although Nothnagel opposed Rosegger's suggestion as unrealistic, he vehemently acknowledged the dangers of nationalism :

« We'll stick with anti-Semitism ! This is a disease that can still be healed. The nationalistic malady is incurable and whoever succumbs to it is lost. The danger of this malady also lies in the fact that it is quite contagious. I hold nationalism to be the most dangerous sickness of humanity. »

Nothnagel had cured himself of this disease, just as Billroth had finally cured himself of anti-Semitism.

(Already in 1889, Hans von Bülow had likewise declared himself cured (through the ministrations of the extreme anti-Semites in Germany) of « the cholera “ morbus anti-semiticus ” » .)

At the organization's second general meeting, Nothnagel gave a passionate speech about the history of anti-Semitism that culminated in a peroration against various types of discrimination.

In his words :

« There should be no room among us for racial differences as such : first a human being, then white, yellow, red, black ; first a human being, then German, Slav, Semite, Romanic ; first a human being, then Jew, Christian, and Muslim ! »

### Hugo Wolf's sore throat

**1891** : Hugo Wolf was suffering from recurrent sore throats, which have been interpreted as the signs of secondary syphilis. Certainly, not all these sore throats were caused by syphilis, since they continued to occur even after admission to the psychiatric hospital.

### Neufelden : Josefine Lang and Karoline Weilnböck

Wondering what had become of the pretty Josefine Lang (1844-1930) , the recognized poetess, with whom he had fallen in love 25 years before, Anton Bruckner decided to look her up.

**Monday, 15 September 1890** : In Linz, Bruckner asked Anton Lang to accompany him to the town of Neufelden on Tuesday (tomorrow) , to pay a visit to his sister Josefine. (Finally, it was Karl Waldeck who made the trip with the Master.)

**Tuesday, 16 September 1890** : Josefine welcomed Bruckner and Waldeck.

Bruckner was surprised and delighted to meet her 14 year old daughter, Karoline Weilnböck : the living replica of her mother !

Kissing the girl, he called her :

« lieber Ersatz. »

(« My darling substitute. »)

Karoline stayed by his side all day !

In her company, all reckoning of time past or present was lost for him and his heart beat once more as swiftly as the vacation moments flew by.

Bruckner took the opportunity to go to the parish church on the « Marktplatz » to improvise at the organ on the same themes as in Ischl on **Thursday, 31 July 1890** (« Improvisationsskizze » , sketch of an improvisation in C minor for organ based on the final movement of the 1st Symphony ; the « Kaiserlied » ; and Händel's famous « Halleluja » chorus from « Messiah ») .

Karoline's brother, Josef, helped with the registrations.

**1720-1730** : Organ built by Johann Ignaz Egedacher (6 registrations, no pedal-board) .

**1850-1870** : Renovation by organ-builder Joseph Breinbauer.

After the performance, an inscription was made inside the instrument's cabinet door by the school principal and organist, Franz Praitschopf :

« On September 16, 1890, Imperial and Royal Court organist in Vienna, “ Herr ” Anton Bruckner, Master of the organ, played here. »

**Tuesday, 21 April 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Karoline Weilnböck (Neufelden) :

« Highly-Esteemed “ Fräulein ” !

Finally, I come to settle my prolonged debt. Why so late - once by word of mouth. How often I contemplate the beautiful picture of “ my dear replacement ”. How often I think of the wonderful hours which you sacrificed all day for me !

Thanks again for them !

Most cordial greetings to your brother and sister ; likewise to your aunt and those who know me and know about me.

To be able to see you again would mean happiness ; in the meantime, your friend kisses your little hand, very



sincerely.

Yours,

Anton Bruckner »

The original letter is in the « Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz » .

**February 1958** : Article written by Anton Lang junior (the grand nephew of Josefine Lang) on Bruckner and Karoline Grubbauer (born Weilnböck) .

**Friday, 12 to Sunday, 14 September 1958** : « Brückner-Gedenktage » celebrations in Neufelden.

**Friday, 12 September 1958** : Publication of the book entitled « Leben und Werk Anton Bruckners » (Life and Work of Anton Bruckner) by Ewald Schwarzgruber.

**Saturday, 13 September 1958** : Max Wipplinger conducted the Mühlviertel Haßlach Choir in Bruckner's Motets « Locus iste » (**WAB 23**) , 7 part « Ave Maria » and « Os justi » (**WAB 30**) . The Adagio of the String Quintet (**WAB 112**) was performed by Eduard Arzt, Walter Pötzlberger, Franz Lehner, Franz Wall and August Kaltenböck.

**Sunday, 14 September 1958** : During Sunday's High-Mass, Leopold Hager conducted the « Windhaager Messe » (**WAB 25**) with the Linz Bruckner Choir and Linz « Domorganist » Ludwig Daxsperger.

Official ceremony in the afternoon on the « Marktplatz » honouring Anton Bruckner, jointly chaired by representatives of the Austrian Federal Government and the town of Neufelden. Interpretation of the « Trösterin Musik » (**WAB 88**) and the 7 part « Ave Maria » .

The 87 year old Karoline Grubbauer unveiled the commemorative plaque donated by the local Bruckner Association (« Brucknerbund ») . The marble piece was produced by Linz sculptor Fritz Kastner and the bronze relief was produced by Franz Sales Forster. It adorns the « Schloß Velden » (« Hotel Scherrer » , formerly « Gasthof Weilnböck ») .

Josefine's husband, Josef Weilnböck, was the son of the wealthy Commissioner of the District of Neufelden, Karl Weilnböck. A music teacher and concert singer, Karl's excellent bass-voice was highlighted in Bruckner's choral works. The « Festkantate » (**WAB 16**) was probably written with his voice in mind.

According to the report of the « Linz Musikverein » published in 1871, Karl Weilnböck succeeded Engelbert Lanz as choir Master of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » to commemorate its 50th birthday.

Inscription :

« In freundschaftlicher Verbundenheit mit den Familien Weilnböck und Lang besuchte Anton Bruckner am 16. Sept. 1890 dieses Haus und gab ein Orgelkonzert in der Kirche. »

(« Anton Bruckner, a close friend of the Lang and Weilnböck families, resided in this house on September 16, 1890. He occupied one of the rooms for a few days, in addition to giving an organ concert at the parish church. »)

The unveiling ceremony was followed by the annual general assembly of the local Bruckner Association. Other performance of the String Quintet Adagio (WAB 112) .

Hans Reisinger produced a short-film entitled « Non Confundar ! Brückner-Gedenktage » (duration : 5 min. 34 sec.) .

**Wednesday, 17 September 1890** : Back in Linz, Bruckner told to Anton Lang about his great enthusiasm for his niece, Karoline. Bruckner invited Anton and his father to St. Florian for organ playing ... and a bottle of wine !

**Thursday, 18 September 1958** : Article by Anton Lang junior (the grand nephew of Josefine Lang) and Fritz Rauch.

### The tragic ending of Pauline Theiler Silberstein

It happened on **Thursday, 14 May 1891**, at the « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement) located on « Maria Theresienstraße » Number 8, right next to the « Hôtel de France » where Anton Bruckner lived on the 4th floor. He probably read about this morbid event in the Vienna newspapers.

...

Eduard Silberstein, an intimate friend of Sigmund Freud's when he was an adolescent and young adult, was born on December 27, 1856, in Iasi, then the capital of Romania, and died in Braila, Romania, in 1925. Freud's 80 extant letters to Silberstein, part of their steady correspondence from 1871 to 1881, have been preserved and published.

His father, Osias Silberstein, was a prosperous merchant, Orthodox Jew, and father of 4. He sent Eduard and his brother Adolf to a local heder, but they soon rebelled against the narrowly religious education. Eduard then pursued his studies in Vienna, where he was one of Freud's class-mates in the « Gymnasium » . They were friends by 1870.

Silberstein's first marriage, with Pauline Theiler, ended sadly. According to his grand-daughter Rosita Braunstein Vieyra, this young woman « became mentally ill, was treated unsuccessfully by his friend Sigmund Freud, and threw herself from a window in Freud's apartment building » . By other accounts, published at the time of the incident in 1891, she did not actually see Freud before committing suicide. Silberstein subsequently re-married and had a daughter, Theodora.

A socialist, Silberstein, together with fellow-student Heinrich Braun, initiated Freud into Social-Democratic politics. Throughout his life, Silberstein was politically active and played an important role in the Jewish community, fighting for

the right of Jews to become Romanian citizens and for their right to vote. He was president of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the « Alliance Israélite universelle », and B'nai Brith.

3 years after Silberstein's death, Freud recalled him a final time in a letter to the president of B'nai Brith in Braila :

« I was deeply touched to learn of the honour your Lodge has bestowed on my late childhood friend, Doctor Eduard Silberstein. I spent many years of my boyhood and young manhood in intimate friendship, indeed in fraternal fellowship, with him. (...) Later, life and physical distance separated us, but early friendship can never be forgotten. »

...

Sigmund Freud's adolescent companion, Eduard Silberstein, with whom he spent all his free time, taking « secret walks » and playing games in which they spoke in a private language based on Cervantes' « Don Quixote » .

Freud wrote to Silberstein from the University of Vienna in 1875 :

« I really believe that we shall never be rid of each other ; though we became friends from free choice, we are as attached to one another as if nature had put us on this earth as blood relations. »

When Silberstein began to be drawn to women, Freud's jealousy was savage. He wrote philosophical denunciations of women's character to try and warn Silberstein off females.

He declared in one letter :

« A thinking man is his own legislator, confessor, absolver. But a woman, let alone a girl, has no inherent ethical standard. »

When Silberstein married 6 years later, in 1881, Freud was incensed. He derided the woman Silberstein had fallen in love with as unintelligent, rich, and spoiled. Either Freud himself broke-off their correspondence, or Silberstein was so appalled by Freud's reaction that he ended it himself.

One of the most disturbing incidents in Freud's life story occurred 10 years later.

Pauline, Silberstein's wife, became depressive. Silberstein and Freud must have resumed contact because Silberstein eventually sent Pauline to Freud for treatment in Vienna. Not only was Freud unable to cure her, Pauline committed suicide in Freud's apartment building by throwing herself down the stairwell. Given Freud's blistering resentment of Pauline, it's possible that he told her something about Eduard's desire and her own inability to fulfill this passion that proved the final blow to her self-image.

...

On **Thursday, 14 May 1891**, the 19 year old Pauline Theiler Silberstein, killed herself by jumping from the third floor (American 4th floor) at « Maria Theresienstraße » Number 8, in Vienna, where Sigmund Freud had his office and residence. She was the wife of Freud's closest friend of adolescence, Eduard Silberstein, who had referred her to Freud for treatment when she became severely depressed shortly after they were married, requiring her to travel with a maid from her home in Braila, Rumania, to Vienna.

This event marks a literal and unusual gap from 2 May to 17 August 1891 in Freud's correspondence with his most intimate confidant at the time, Wilhelm Fließ. He forgoes numerous opportunities to mention Pauline Silberstein - including a long digression about loss in a letter regarding Fließ's decision to name his daughter Pauline and the dreams Freud had associated with it. There is also nothing in his correspondence with Josef Breuer about Pauline Silberstein, even though he was working closely with him at the time on hysteria.

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to infer that there was some exchange between Freud and Eduard Silberstein beyond simple notification of his wife's death, as he must have come to Vienna to identify and claim her body, arrange for a funeral (as she is buried in a Viennese cemetery) , and consult with Freud about what had happened.

Pauline appears only incidentally, attached to her husband's memory, in a 1928 letter to B'nai B'rith. The reason for that letter, however, is to honour Eduard Silberstein, who was already dead by this time :

« I spent many years of my boyhood and manhood in intimate friendship, indeed in fraternal friendship, with him (...) and once had occasion to attend to his first wife. »

While Freud writes about his experiences with suicides, which were so proximate to him both personally and professionally, out of his story, his full-length case studies are more complex in their evasions. They also, importantly, never include a completed suicide. With the exception of only one, all of his case histories include at least one reference to suicidal ideation.

The exact nature of the relationship between Pauline Silberstein and Freud is uncertain. It is not known how long she had been his patient, what her diagnosis was, what therapeutic approach he may have taken with her, and whether or not she had any contact with him, on May 14. Walter Böhlich, who edited the correspondence between Freud and Eduard Silberstein, claims that she ended her life « without having seen Freud » that day. Kurt Eißler misquotes Walter Böhlich, as having said « that Freud never had met Pauline Silberstein, and I think he is right » .

...

The editor of the Silberstein correspondence tells it this way :

« When she arrived, she told her maid to wait downstairs, and instead of going to the consulting rooms, threw herself to her death from the third floor (American 4th floor) without having seen Freud. »

Walter Bœhlich presents the tragic event as though the woman had just arrived, and before seeing Freud, killed herself. According to Silberstein's grand-daughter, however, this was not the case. In a brief essay included in the Harvard edition, « Biographical Notes On Dr. Eduard Silberstein » , Silberstein's grand-daughter, Rosita B. Vieyra, specifically states that Freud had « unsuccessfully treated » Silberstein's wife, whose name, interestingly, was Pauline « C. » , the same name as Freud's half-sister in England :

« He (Silberstein) fell deeply in love with Paula (or Pauline) Theiler, a young girl from Jassy. Sadly, their marriage was a short one. She soon became mentally ill, was treated unsuccessfully by his friend Sigmund Freud, and threw herself from a window in Freud's apartment building. This tragedy was corroborated by Anna Freud, who invited me to visit her in 1982, a few months before her death. »

Pauline died on **Thursday, 14 May 1891** ; Ernst Fleischl von Marxow's death was admittedly « hastened » by Freud in 1891 ; and 6 months previous to the death of Pauline, Freud had killed Mathilde with « inappropriate » injections of a sexual hypnotic, as an experimental cure for Graves's disease C - a pet theory of his at the time. During this period (i.e. , 1890-1891) , Freud was advertising his mistaken, if not insane, conviction that neurosis was the result of sexual secretions and that hysteria, ironically, was not curable by therapy.

In view of all this, we may understand Bœhlich's wanting Freud not to have even seen Pauline before she jumped or was thrown out the window. The question then remains, for how long did Freud treat her before she allegedly committed suicide ? And of further interest is the question, why has no other biographer of Freud's ever mentioned this highly-pertinent point C, why was it suppressed ?

### **WAB 45 : Berlin**

Disappointed that his works were not often played in Austria, Anton Bruckner found the time to go to Germany to hear them - especially in Berlin.

**Sunday, 31 May 1891** (8:00 pm) : Concert (that will last more than 3 hours !) marking the 28th Annual Meeting of Musicians performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in the Great Hall of the « Alte Philharmonie » .

Programme :

(Court « Kapellmeister » Felix Weingartner conducts the first half.)

1) Johann Sebastian Bach : Prelude in C minor for organ. Soloist : Doctor Heinrich Reimann.

2) Max Bruch : « Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei » , Opus 35. Sopranos : Marie Berg (from Nuremberg) and Emilie Herzog.

3) Antonín Dvořák : Violin Concerto in A minor, Opus 53. Soloist : Carl Halir (Eugène d'Albert, on June 1) .

4) Peter Cornelius : Songs. Soloists : Paul Kaloisch, tenor ; Felix Weingartner, piano.

5) Edward Alexander MacDowell : Piano Concerto No. 2 in D minor, Opus 23. Soloist : Teresa Carreno. The grand-piano is a Carl Bechstein (from Berlin) .

6) Felix Draeseke : Serenade in D major for small orchestra, Opus 49.

### *Intermission*

(« Kapellmeister » Siegfried Ochs conducts the second half.)

7) Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » in C major for mixed-choir (SATB) , soloists, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) with the Philharmonic Choir and soloists Marie Berg, Emilie Herzog, Cæcilie Kloppenburg (from Frankfurt-am-Main) , Joseph Møedlinger. At the organ : Doctor Heinrich Reimann.

After this powerful performance by Ochs, Bruckner received a laurel wreath (and Hans von Bülow changed his mind about the composer) .

While in Berlin, Bruckner will also attend the 28th Annual Meeting of Musicians.

### Berlin : « Hotel Der Kaiserhof »

The « Hotel Der Kaiserhof » was a luxury hotel located at « Wilhelmplatz » Number 3-5 (« Friedrich-Engels-Straße » Number 1A) in Berlin. It opened in October 1875. It was located next to the « Reich » Chancellery in what was at the time the City's « government quarter » .

Berlin's first « grand hotel » was the creation of the « Berlin Hotel AG » company, founded in 1872 and, subsequently, renamed « Berliner Hotelgesellschaft » . The commission for the building went to the architects Hude & Henicke. A few days after the opening ceremony (in October 1875) , the building was destroyed by fire. It re-opened in 1876.

The « Hotel Der Kaiserhof » offered more than 260 rooms which were fitted-out in a modern and luxurious manner that was appreciated by a « clientèle » accustomed to European palaces. It was the first establishment at the end of the 19th Century in which every room had an electricity supply, its own bathroom and its own telephone. The hotel also featured steam-heating, pneumatic elevators-lifts. The kitchens used gas cookers. Electric power came from Berlin's second power-station, recently built on « Mauerstraße » by Siemens & Halske.

Doctor Ludwig Roselius had a luxury suite in the Hotel and Barbara Gøette cared for him for many months until he died there on 15 May 1943.

On 22 November 1943, the hotel was badly damaged by British bombers during an air-raid on Berlin. The ruins ended up in East-Berlin after the division of the city and were later completely torn down.

### Berlin : Bruckner's swimming trunks

(Max von Oberleithner wrote memoirs about Anton Bruckner.)

**Berlin, 1891** : Bruckner's general psychological condition was preempted by his pupil doctor Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) , who went so far as to suggest that a tension between his « powerful masculine urges » and the discipline of composition was the root cause of his nervous break-down. This conflict occasionally drew startlingly frank admissions from Bruckner himself :

« At this point, I should mention a peculiar experience during our time in Berlin. I had to help Bruckner pack so that we could get to the train-station on time. Amongst his effects was a huge pair of swimming trunks. In answer to my enquiring glance, he explained :

“ You see, I suffer from wet-dreams, and I put these on at night so that no-one will find anything on the bed-linen. ”

And this was a man of 67 year old ! »

Von Oberleithner consequently identified the classifying rituals as symptoms of an inability to reconcile libido and the self-imposed routines of work. In this way, he comes very close to relating the sexual and habitual facets of Bruckner's personality within the diagnosis of an obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) . And this returns us to the Freudian view of the roots of obsession as a response to childhood sexual repression : the dichotomy between libido and discipline implies a formative, causal event, as a result of which the coexistence of sexual desire and work became problematic.

### Ida Buhz

While Anton Bruckner was staying in Berlin, in 1891, the chamber-maid at the « Hotel Der Kaiserhof » had given him a little love-letter telling him she wanted to marry him. At least, that was his version of the affair. One is tempted to assume some overtures on his part. Anyway, he took a great liking to her and had himself introduced to her parents. Bruckner's biographer Crawford Howie's ascription of the failure of Bruckner's reputed engagement to the Berlin parlour-maid Ida Buhz to « the fact that she was a Protestant and not prepared to convert to Catholicism » isolates a point.

...

Bruckner stayed at Berlin's « Hotel Der Kaiserhof » on Friedrich-Engels Straße (Number 1A) for a performance of the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) on **Sunday, 31 May 1891**. The chamber-maid pressed a note into his hand on his departure for Vienna, in which she expressed great concern for the bodily welfare of her « dear “ Herr ” Bruckner » . Naturally,

he responded at once, but insisted (this was a matter of principle with him) upon being introduced to the girl's parents. With them, an understanding was quickly arrived at and a lively correspondence entered upon, until Bruckner, despite the admonition of his horrified friends, had made-up his mind to marry the girl. He insisted, however, that she be converted to Catholicism and this proved in the end the only stumbling block to one of the most curious matches on record. Fortunately, the girl would not sacrifice her faith even for the privilege of nursing her beloved « " Herr " Bruckner » . He was 71 years old when this adventure with Ida Buhz, the solicitous maid, came to an end.

...

**Sunday, 31 May 1891** : Anton Bruckner went to Berlin to assist to the 23rd General Assembly of Musicians and the premiere of his « Te Deum » (WAB 45) . He met the chamber-maid Ida Buhz while staying at the « Imperial Hotel » (« Hotel Der Kaiserhof ») . Before leaving, she put in the palm of his hand a note mentioning a marriage proposal. When Bruckner paid a visit to her parents, he ask for the hand of Ida. According to St. Florian Abbey's church organist Josef Gruber, he allowed them a full-year to think it over, before giving their final answer. The composer was engaged in an epistolary relationship with Ida Buhz until his second trip to Berlin, in **January 1894**. He saw her again, during a concert performance of the 7th Symphony, on **January 6**. She was sitting next to him in a lodge. The following day, Bruckner and Hugo Wolf appeared together at an afternoon concert featuring the Berlin Philharmonic Choir. In the evening, the subject of engagement with Ida Buhz took place in the family's circle. The following day, the couple assisted, in the same lodge, to another concert by the Philharmonic Choir.

**After Monday, 4 July 1892** : Letter from Ida Buhz (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner :

They both talk of plans to marry.

**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.

**Thursday, 17 November 1892** : Letter from Ida Buhz (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Ida talks about performances of the « Psalm 150 » and the 8th Symphony. Bruckner is supposed to come to Berlin to relax.

**Wednesday, 15 March 1893** : Letter from Ida Buhz to Anton Bruckner :

Ida is concerned about Bruckner's health. Perhaps, she could once again admire his works in his company.

**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.



**January 1894** : Bruckner's engagement to Ida Buhz was actually celebrated in the Buhz home. He was 70 years old and he 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 » .

**Tuesday, 13 February 1894** : Letter from Ida Buhz (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Ida hopes that her photography would please Bruckner and regrets not having accompanied him to the train-station (around 16 January 1894) . She thanks her mother for letting her spend a beautiful evening with Bruckner. The concert of the Berlin Philharmonic (« Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) on January 8th, 1894) will remain unforgettable for Ida. Greetings to house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr , who his taking good care of Bruckner.

**Saturday, 21 July 1894** : Last received letter from Ida Buhz to Anton Bruckner :

Ida rejoices that Bruckner finds such beautiful recreational possibilities in Steyr, and wishes to be able to take care of him and chat with him.

**Thursday, 20 September 1894** : Karl Muck's wife Anita hasn't heard from Ida Buhz for a long time. She fears that she will not convert to Catholicism.

Letter from Anita Muck (Wiesbaden) to Karl Muck :

« I waited for Ida during the whole season of spring. She did not show-up and I heard nothing from her. I suspect some strong opposition coming from the circle to persuade her not to convert to Catholicism. »

Perhaps, we had better say his faith in the Catholic Church saved him from disappointment. Later, in his bitterness, Bruckner referred to Ida as « the Prussian girl » .

**March 1895** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entries :

Anton Meißner's hand-writing : « Marta Schmitt, the Bohemian Aicha (/) “ Gonzagagasse ” Number 9, Vienna, 1st District. »

Anton Bruckner's hand-writing :

« Ida Buhz, Berlin Christ Hospice, “ Königgrätzerstraße ” Number 5 ; or : Frankfurter-Allee Number 56. (/) N.B. : I have no full-part of “ Helgoland ” » (**WAB 71**)

After Bruckner's death, Ida Buhz became a deaconess (female diaconate) .

**Berlin : The Prater Beer Garden**

The « Prater » (restaurant, theatre and beer-garden) is a fixture of the city of Berlin. People began drinking here in 1837, back when the city-limits were down at Rosenthaler Platz and the « Prater » was a day trip into the countryside, a place of escape and refuge from the city. Berlin would break-out over the next 70 years, swallowing the beer-garden and surrounding it with streets and buildings, but it would remain not only a place of leisure and Sundays free from cares and worries but also, reflecting its position in the heart of the new working-class districts providing the labour for Berlin's rapid industrialisation, a place of political gatherings and agitation as well.

In the 1860's, the founding of the first German labour party, the German Worker's Association, was celebrated in the « Prater » , and after Bismarck unified Germany and then, in the 1890's, banned political gatherings in order to solidify his control, the beer-gardens such as « Prater » became good cover for meetings and gatherings. By the beginning of the 20th Century, the « Prater » had become the centre-point for May Day celebrations in the neighbourhood, which would survive through to the inter-war years.

The Nazis clamped down hard on political gatherings that were not to their taste, and war brought closure to the beer-garden just after it celebrated its 100th anniversary.

The bombs that fell on Berlin over the next 6 years would somehow spare the « Prater » . The Soviet military administration ordered the opening of a cultural establishment in « Prater » , and the first hungry dancers and clowns appeared as early as the summer of 1945.

Berlin's « Volksbühne » moved to « Prater » in 1946.

### The early boom years

The first recorded political gathering was a party celebrating the foundation of the General German Workers' Association. Set-up by Ferdinand Lasalle in 1863, it was Germany's first labour party. It marked its 8th birthday with a mixture of agitation, beer and dance-music.

There was also Doctor von Schweitzer's play « Goose - A Dramatic Conversation on the Extension of the Female Job Market » (« Eine Gans - Dramatisches Gespräch über die Erweiterung des weiblichen Arbeitsmarktes ») . In 1878, Bismarck's social legislation banned all gatherings and celebrations that had an overtly political character.

But the politically active proletariat started singing, sport and other cover associations ; using « Prater » to continue their celebrations and agitations. After 1891, the local on « Kastanien-Allee » became a central venue for the annual May Day festivities.

It was non-political amusement that had pride of place in « Prater » , however. Paul Kalbo II put on special performances daily during the summer. These included musical comedies, burlesque shows, Operettas, pantomimes, and puppet-shows.

Most of the theatrical offerings tended towards patriotism - marching music to honour the Battle of Leipzig, or pieces like « Les Dragons de Villars ». In winter, the ball season commenced. It attracted a mixed « clientèle » that included merchants, civil servants, maids, respectable families, workers and soldiers.

### WAB 107 : Max von Oberleithner and Ferdinand Löwe

**Monday, 1 June 1891** : Letter from Max von Oberleithner to Ferdinand Löwe :

Oberleithner informed Löwe of the magnificent success of the 7th Symphony (WAB 107) in Berlin on **January 6**, one of Anton Bruckner's « most joyful experiences » :

« His work as well as his personality won him all hearts, he was received with great applause. »

### The illiterate « Frau Kathi »

**Saturday, 27 June 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Emil Breslaur (Berlin) , editor of the « Musikpädagogischen Zeitschrift » :

Bruckner apologizes for the misunderstanding about mail delivery. Because house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr cannot read, she decided to return the music journal.

Bruckner thanks his patrons in Berlin.

« Kapellmeister » Siegfried Ochs wants absolutely to meet him (to discuss the music-reviews on the Berlin premiere of the « Te Deum » ?) .

### Cäcilie Kloppenburg

**Wednesday, 1 July 1891** :

Anton Bruckner sends an autographed photograph to Cäcilie Kloppenburg from Frankfurt.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 1 July, “ Frau Kathi ” (Katharina Kachelmayr) - 14 Florins for August and September. »

### Always great beer at the « Zur goldenen Kugel »

**Monday, 6 July 1891** :

Max von Oberleithner and (probably) Anton Bruckner spend the whole evening at the Viennese restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel » located at « Am Hof Platz » Number 11.

**Tuesday, 7 July 1891 :**

Letter from Max von Oberleithner to Ferdinand Löwe :

For this evening's meeting, Anton Bruckner has (again) chosen the « Zur goldenen Kugel » .Yesterday, the beer was « excellent » .

At the « Kugel » , Bruckner always enjoys his « Pilsner » and his favourite dish, rich in protein : the roast pork with cabbage.

### The « Referendarius »

**Sunday, 12 July 1891 :** Anton Bruckner spends the afternoon and the evening at the « Prater » in company of Josef Schalk and a « Referendarius » (apprentice-teacher during the period of training) .

**Tuesday, 14 July 1891 :** Letter from Josef Schalk to Max von Oberleithner :

The excursion to Dornbach (probably made last Saturday, July 11) saw Anton Bruckner in a very good mood. On Sunday, he went with Josef Schalk and the apprentice-teacher to the « Prater » . This evening, Schalk will meet Bruckner at the « Zur goldenen Kugel » and transmit greetings from Oberleithner. Bruckner will bring the scores to Bayreuth and will arrive only on the evening of the 18th. Oberleithner could possibly meet Bruckner at the hotel, the hall of the « Gesellschaft Frohsinn » or at « Café Sammet » . Robert Lienau has not yet written. Expecting to receive something later at Bayreuth's Post Office.

### 1891 : Bruckner goes to Bayreuth

**Mid-July 1891 :** Anton Bruckner attends performances of « Parsifal » , « Tannhäuser » and, certainly also, « Tristan und Isolde » at the Bayreuth Festival.

Singers for « Parsifal » : Theodor Reichmann (Amfortas) , Amalie Materna (Kundry) , Ernest van Dyck (Parsifal) and Pauline de Ahna, wife of Richard Strauß (a Flower Maiden) .

Other guests at the Festival : Hermann Levi, Heinrich Porges, Felix Mottl, Hans Paumgartner, Josef Schalk, Franz Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Max Morold, and Max von Oberleithner.

Bruckner meets C. A. Barryn from the « Musical Times » , in Bayreuth and thanks him for introducing the 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) in London (June 29, 1891) .

August Göllerich junior and Richard Strauß play the first movement of the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) in the version for 2 pianos, 4 hands.

Hugo Wolf stays in Bayreuth from **Saturday (18 July)** to **Thursday (23 July)** - on « Brandenburgerstraße » Number 3 - and meets Engelbert Humperdinck.

### Altheim : Meeting the Reischls

Anton Bruckner's letters to young women are always a source of interest. In his later years, Bruckner wrote many more letters to young women. He asked friends for addresses and more details about the girls - about their families and their financial circumstances, which seemed to be very important to him.

Biographer August Göllerich junior reports that Ida Buhz will not be the last « flame » in Bruckner's life, yet, he remained celibate to the end of his life. During his visit to Berlin, the elderly man will also meet the young and pretty Minna Reischl with roguish eyes (she is only 18 years old) , who works as a cleaning lady at the residence of Ida Buhz. Daughter of a merchant of Altheim, in Upper-Austria, she is notably endowed with a good musicality. She, of course, must have been merely amusing herself at Bruckner's expense because she went as far as to bring the composer home to her parents.

...

Bruckner started a relation (by no means serious) with the beautiful 18 year old singer Minna Reischl (born in Altheim, Upper-Austria) who was staying with relatives in Steyr. Based on a letter written by Bruckner on **Saturday, 5 September 1891**, the parents soon invited him to Altheim.

The sojourn lasted 2 full-days (**from Saturday 5th to Monday 7th**) during which Bruckner solicited the hand of the young and beautiful singer.

**Saturday** : Pouring rain.

**Saturday evening** : Bruckner and the Reischls go to Peyrer's summer cellar.

**Sunday morning** : Altheim parish church - performance during High-Mass of the Sunday-Mass No. 2 in B by Franz Schöpf. Bruckner plays a long « Postludium » but has to stop before the end of the piece due to trembling all over his body.

**Sunday afternoon** : Worshipping by Bruckner along with the assistant-organist. He talks about the dedication of the « Te Deum » . Minna Reischl is absent.

Occurrence of counting mania and self-control problems (church tower window, lightning rod) .

**Sunday evening** : Bruckner and the Reischls go to Mairinger's summer cellar.

Once again, his wishes to marry are not fulfilled.

**Monday** : Departure for Linz.

When Bruckner arrives in Linz, his acquaintances guessing the truth, tease him, saying :

« Aha ! So you have been out marrying again ! »

The Reischls, sensible people of the world, awakened Bruckner out of his dream.

**Wednesday, 16 September 1891** : Letter from Minna Reischl (Altheim) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Dear Right Honourable “ Herr ” Professor !

I very much regret not being able to accept your flattering proposal, and may you allot this to my youth alone. Likewise, I ask you to hold no hope for the future.

Yours respectfully, and most of all,

Devotedly,

Minna Reischl »

**Friday, 23 October 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Minna Reischl :

Bruckner thanks Minna (with delay !) for her photograph. He will now send one of himself. Emperor Franz-Josef had confirmed his appointment as honorary doctor. Greetings to the parents.

**Saturday, 7 November 1891** : Letter from Minna Reischl to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Minna thanks Bruckner for the sent photograph. She also asks for the promised « Tanto ergo » .

**Tuesday, 6 December 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Minna Reischl :

Congratulations on the hopefully complete recovery of Minna. Bruckner himself was not healthy. He went-out because he had much-to-do with the premiere on the 18th of the 8th Symphony dedicated to Emperor Franz-Josef.

In 1893, Minna's friendship with Bruckner ceased.

**Before Thursday, 12 October 1893** : Letter Minna Reischl (Altheim) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« My Dearest “ Herr Doktor ” !

Certainly, this little letter still does not bring a decisive “ Yes ”, yet, I hope, at the current time, to obtain consent from my parents.

(Announcements about local events follow. She is going to sing Franz Schubert’s “ Wanderer ” in a concert. She has also learned the “ Tantum Ergo ”, and it sounds very good.)

Be delighted once again, my dear “ Herr Doktor ”, through these few lines.

Yours devotedly and highly-respectfully,

Minna Reischl »

**1895-1896** : Anton Bruckner welcomed Minna Reischl and her mother in Vienna, at the « Kustodenstöckl » on the Upper-Belvedere. The composer remained very friendly until the end.

5 years after Bruckner’s death, Minna was now married to a wealthy manufacturer but unhappy in life. If we believe reports from this period, each party was looking for a deeper relation.

### The « Amen » from the Emperor

**Saturday, 4 July 1891** : Faculty Dean, Doctor Wilhelm Dlahuy (brother-in-law of Heinrich Köchert) , proposes a motion during a meeting of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna to award to Professor Anton Bruckner an honorary Doctorate. The Board approves the motion.

Doctor Baron Paul Gautsch von Frankenthurn, Minister for Culture and Education (5 November 1885 - 11 November 1893) says : « Yes »

The Emperor Franz-Josef says : « Amen »

Once again, the Israelite conductor Hermann Levi gives his unwavering support to the project. His letter of recommendation is unequivocal :

« Bruckner is, in my opinion, by far the most important Symphonist of the post-Beethoven period. That he has not yet been generally recognized as such lies in the fact that our time has deviated quite far from the great tradition of our Classics and that the so-called “ Romantic ” trend represented by Mendelssohn and Schumann (and Brahms) has almost exclusively dominated concert programmes and repressed the taste for the big monumental style. »

(The « generic » Doctoral degree in Philosophy is the basic title which every Austrian intellectual must earned ; it is part of his civil status - so to speak. It requires only a relatively brief dissertation. But Bruckner never had the opportunity or the possibility to write one.)

### Neuwaldegg : « Rohrer-Hütten » Inn

**Autumn 1891** : One evening, Anton Bruckner sat comfortably with half a dozen faithful University colleagues, also members from the Vienna academic Wagner Society, at a table of the « Rohrer-Hütten » Inn (owned by Karl Rohrer, 1850-1902) at Neuwaldegg, in the 17th District, which was a picturesque excursion destination in the Vienna Woods. Then, Faculty Dean, surgeon Wilhelm Dlauhy, brought the good news, that Emperor Franz-Josef had confirmed the honorary Doctorate to Bruckner. The composer stood-up, threw his hat high into the air and pushed-out a loud-sounding hurra. Like a true Upper-Austrian, he welcomed the new academic dignity in the ancestral expression of supreme joy.

### Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy

The physician and surgeon Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy was born on 1 March 1866 in Vienna and died in 1898 in Vienna.

He was the brother-in-law of Heinrich Köchert, co-owner of the firm A. E. Köchert, Imperial Court Jeweller.

He was also a member of the Vienna academic Wagner Society.

Letter from Hugo Wolf to Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy in Vienna, brother-in-law of his friend and benefactor Heinrich Köchert.

In part (translated) :

« I can hardly grasp the emotion I feel when collating your copies. I keep thinking of the pious monks of old, copying the Holy Books in the sweat of their brow (...) If anything might serve me as proof that you believe in my art, it is the truly touching care and anxiousness of your work. Nothing, nothing at all, has escaped your fine instinct, and how many errors of negligence have I not had opportunity to correct in the originals, following your pointers ! I am urged to repeat my thanks for your selfless and assiduous courtesy. »

Wolf was supported by a large circle of friends. In Vienna, his principal benefactors were the Lang, Köchert, and Werner families.

...

The General Assembly of the « Wagner-Verein » took place on January 31. After re-imbusement of the annual report, the Assembly approved the elected Board of Directors for the year 1907, which had the following result :



Chairman : Theodor Köchert.

Vice-Chairmen : Doctor Wolfgang Rigler, Walter Bokmayer.

Artistic Director : Professor Ferdinand Foll.

Secretaries : Doctor Rudolf Billek, Felix Groß, Doctor Heinrich Werner.

Treasurer : Karl Juritsch.

Archivist : Emil Halauska.

Advisory Board : Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy, Albert Ernst, Professor Doctor Alois Höfler, Paul Petričević, Franz Schaumann, Doctor Max Vancsa.

Doctors August Nüchtern and Anton Dietz were re-elected as accounting auditors and Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy, as in previous years, was entrusted as administrator of the « Verein » Choir.

On the occasion of the resignation of Committee members Professor Doctor Karl Pichler and Ernst Korschan, the Assembly expressed their warmest thanks for their many years of loyal service. For their part, Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy, Doctor Josef Frühwald, Doctor Klemens Kreihig, Doctor August Nüchtern and Doctor Robert Steinhauser were masterly portrayed on canvas in honour of their 25 years of membership to the Society.

Finally, our faithful friend, Professor Moritz Frauscher, was honoured under the unanimous (and loud) approval of the Society's honorary members for organizing our private evening concerts and Thursday concerts.

### Bruckner, the « professional » Symphonist

**Monday, 19 October 1891** : Anton Bruckner sends a letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna (1890-1891) , Doctor Leo Simon Reinisch, about the official text that will be pronounced during the award ceremony of his honorary Doctorate. It is about his ascension in the Austrian capital :

« On his arrival in Vienna, Anton Bruckner took an important step in his “ career as a professional Symphonist ”. »

Reinisch will become Rector of the University in 1896-1897.

### Invitation to Hôtel Sacher

Despite Eduard Hanslick's negative campaign, the 67 year old Anton Bruckner became the first musician to receive an honorary Doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Vienna. The composer strongly urged the Rector not to forget

to mention on the certificate the qualifier « as a Symphonist » , because it was in this musical genre that he accomplished himself.

**Saturday, 7 November 1891** : In the Senate meeting-room of the University of Vienna, Rector Doctor Adolf Exner showed to Anton Bruckner the doctoral degree, with the date : « 29 September 1891 » .

Professor Exner and Professor Josef Stefan (the physicist, mathematician, and poet who proposed to give Bruckner an honorary Doctorate) made a speech to which Bruckner answered in a touchingly awkward way.

Were present in the room for the occasion :

Friends of the Steyr circle : Count and Countess Lamberg (the donors of the doctoral ring) , Karl Almeroth and Karl Reder ; and also Karl Lorenz from the « Wiener Akademische Gesangverein » .

After the meeting, Almeroth and Bruckner went to the studio of sculptor Viktor Tilgner, where the initial posing-session took place for the making of another honorific bust. (The first one stands on the « Bruckner-Platz » in the town of Steyr.)

Then, Almeroth brought Bruckner « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») , located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District.

Finally, Almeroth took the composer home at his « Heßgasse » apartment.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 7 November . Promotion as an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Vienna. »

Planning the notice about the honorary Doctorate in the Vienna « Neue Freie Presse » .

The same evening, Bruckner is invited by the « Steyr consortium » (the Lambergs, Rede and Almeroth) at the luxurious « Hôtel Sacher » in the 1st District, « vis-à-vis » to the « Hofoper » .

Bruckner most certainly ordered the specialty of the house : the « Sacher-Torte » - a chocolate cake with apricot filling topped with whipped cream.

It was 1832 when Prince von Metternich instructed the 16 year old apprentice Franz Sacher to create a cake for his discerning guests. The sweet Masterpiece was to be made with chocolate, apricot jam, and whipped cream. Today, the « Original Sacher-Torte » stands as one of Vienna's best-known symbols.

To quote the German daily « Süddeutsche Zeitung » :

« The “ Sacher-Torte ” is widely accepted as a currency of inter-personal relationships around the world. »

## Hôtel Sacher

The hotel was founded in 1876 as a « maison meublée » at the site of the demolished « Theater am Kärntner » by the « restaurateur » and Imperial-Royal purveyor to the Court, Eduard Sacher (1843-1892) . His father, the confectioner Franz Sacher (1816-1907) had become famous for his « Sachertorte » , which he allegedly created for a reception given by Austrian State Chancellor Klemens von Metternich in 1832. Eduard Sacher did an apprenticeship at the « pâtisserie » Demel and, in 1873, opened his first restaurant on « Kärntner-Straße » .

In 1880, he married Anna Sacher « née » Fuchs (1859-1930) , who became managing director after his death. She quickly earned a reputation for both her commercial skills and her eccentricity, never been seen without her French Bulldogs and a cigar. Under her management, Hôtel Sacher became one of the finest hotels in the world, where the aristocracy and diplomats would meet.

## Dates

**Monday, 16 December 1816** : Franz Sacher is born as the son of a Viennese citizen. He works as a kitchen apprentice in various houses (including at the court of Prince Metternich, later Esterhazy) . At the court of Metternich, he invented a chocolate cake, later known as « Sacher-Torte » . He died on 11 March 1907.

**Tuesday, 6 October 1840** : Franz Sacher marries Rosa Wieninger. He works in Bratislava (« chef » at Adeligen Casino in Preßburg, Slovakia) , operates the kitchens of the Danube Steamship Company (« Donau Dampschiffahrtsgesellschaft ») and, later, runs his first own restaurant, the « Casino » in Budapest.

**Wednesday, 8 February 1843** : Birth of Eduard Sacher.

**1849** : Franz Sacher returns to Vienna and opens a « Trätieur-Shop » (delicatessen) , at the corner of « Weihburggasse » and « Rauhensteingasse » in the inner-city. According to some sources, it was there where he invented the « Sacher-Torte » . Other sources say it was already at the court of Prince Metternich.

Eduard Sacher works in London at the Royal Hotel ; in Paris at the « Grand Hôtel » ; and also in Berlin and in Hamburg.

**1866** : Eduard Sacher opens a small restaurant at the Palais Todesco on « Kärntner-Straße » , opposite to the « Hofoper » .

**1867** : Eduard Sacher operates the Dreher « Bierhalle » at the Paris Exhibiton and earns himself a great reputation as an exquisite « restaurateur » . An interesting foot-note in this respect : at the 1873 exhibition in Vienna, Swiss Cesar Ritz works as a waiter.

**1876** : Eduard Sacher opens an exclusive luxury hotel in the heart of Vienna under the name « Hôtel de l'Opéra » .

**1880** : Eduard Sacher marries Anna Maria Fuchs, a butcher's daughter, who quickly turns the Hôtel Sacher into Vienna's most sought-after hotel and a favourite meeting-place of celebrities and high-society.

**1892** : Eduard Sacher dies, leaving the establishment to his wife Anna, who officially takes over responsibility for the destiny of the hotel. Her management style is strict but fair.

This « grande dame » becomes known for her cigars, which she allegedly always had in her mouth, as well as her hobby of breeding French bulldogs. Anna Sacher becomes the synonym for the Hôtel Sacher in Vienna. She meets the trustee of the Rothschild estates, « Herr » Schuster, her true and great love. After Schuster's death after World War I, the desperate Anna Sacher takes to horse-betting, and within no time, she is deep in debts.

**1914** : World War I puts a stop to tourism in Vienna.

**1918** : The end of the Monarchy is also a turning-point for the select meeting-place of figures from the worlds of politics, business, and art. In the years to come, Anna Sacher gradually relinquishes control over the hotel's operations.

**Saturday, 16 March 1929** : Anna Sacher is placed under disability.

**1930** : Anna Sacher dies in her hotel room. Tens of thousands of Viennese pay her their respects on her funeral procession to the Augustinian Church.

**1934** : Hans Gürtler and his wife Poldi, along with the Siller family, take over the traditional Viennese institution and renovate the venerable building. The Sacher is restored to the first-class hotel of earlier days.

**1938** : World War II puts a stop to tourism in Vienna.

**1945** : After World War II, the Sacher falls first into Russian hands, then into British ones. The Gürtler and Siller families only regain control over the hotel 6 years later. The Hôtel Sacher is renovated for the second time.

**1949** : Co-owner Josef Siller dies, leaving his share of the Hôtel Sacher to his wife Anna.

### Bruckner thanks the Committee

**Wednesday, 25 November 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to the Concert Committee of the Philharmonic Society (Vienna) :

« Highly-Laudable Concert Committee of the Philharmonic Society !

I am deeply touched and honoured by the kind interest in my academic honour from the University, on the part of such a highly-artistic student society. Permit me, herewith, to express my most sincere and warmest thanks to the laudable Committee of the Philharmonic, as well as to all the members of the Court Opera Orchestra.

With the expression of fullest admiration,

Anton Bruckner »

Fellow faculty members at the Vienna Conservatory were often rude and cruel to Bruckner. Some ignored him altogether ; but, generally, the students loved him and his music.

### Ceremony at the « Sofiensaal »

**Wednesday, 9 December 1891** : Letter from Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Highly-Honoured Professor !

I cannot allow myself to pass-over the day of your Testimonial Banquet without saluting you on my part, as well, and congratulating you for the recognition you have received from the University of Vienna. I sincerely regret not being able to be in Vienna on these days, to attend the performances of your works, particularly the “ Te Deum ”. I want the enclosed book to act on my behalf ; it is a compilation of various lectures given in Vienna, wherein I also then interwove notes (through your kindness) about your connection to Wagner. You will find this passage on pages 28 through 29, and I have certainly put to the test my rule of never including Wagner’s sayings that I, myself, have not been present to hear. I believe, however, that in such a memorial booklet, leaving-out your name would be sinful. With deepest respect, I remain

Yours very devotedly,

Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen »

**Around December 1891** : Letter from Hermann Levi (Vienna) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Honoured Friend !

Unfortunately, I cannot see you at this point (in the evening, I am at the Theatre and, tomorrow, I travel) but you will be hearing from me soon !

1st Symphony, “ wonderful ” ! It must be published and performed (but please, please, change little if anything) it is entirely good as it is. The instrumentation, too !

Please, please, do not retouch much !

Löwe performed it magnificently.

In haste, these few lines. Please, continue to think well of me.

In sincere friendship and respectfully yours,

Levi »

**Around December 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Otto Kitzler (Brünn) :

« “ Calling-Card ”

Professor Anton Bruckner  
Honorary Doctor of Philosophy  
of the Imperial Royal University of Vienna  
Knight of the Franz-Josef Order  
Imperial Royal Court Organist

thanks his highly-honoured teacher for his sincere congratulations.

Doctor Anton Bruckner »

**11, 13 December 1891** : Special evenings honouring Anton Bruckner are held in Vienna. This will move the composer to tears.

The « Sofiensaal » is situated on the « Marxergasse », in the 3rd District (« Landstraße ») . The building was completed in 1826. It was named after Princess Sophie of Bavaria, the mother of Emperor Franz-Josef I. It was originally used as a steam bath and known as the « Sofienbad » . Between 1845 and 1849, it was converted by the architects August Sicard von Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll into a dance-hall and renamed the « Sofiensaal » . Johann Strauß I performed there regularly and conducted at the opening ball of the house in 1848. Many of the Strauß family's waltzes were first performed there.

The building's large, vaulted ceiling, and the pool beneath the floor, gives the hall excellent acoustic properties. For this reason, « Decca Records » adopted the building as its principal European recording venue for monophonic recording from 1950, and for stereophonic recording from 1955 to the mid-1980's.

**Friday, 11 December 1891** : Ceremony in honour of Anton Bruckner before an audience of 3,000 people at the « Sofiensaal » .

Presence of the noisy « Bruckner-Commers » : the student fraternities entirely devoted to the composer.

The celebration of the « Akademischer Gesangverein » was intended as a mass-demonstration of a nationalist kind. How far Bruckner was aware of this is unknown. The explosive nature of the event could have been considerably defused had the earlier chairman of the « Verein » , Franz Schaumann, read the ceremonial address instead of the well-known German Nationalist militant August Göllerich junior.

The Rector « magnificus » , Doctor Adolf Exner, holds the red tube with a gold ribbon containing the parchment marked with the seal of the University of Vienna.

« ARTIS SYMPHONICÆ PERITISSIMUM REGIUM MELOPOEUM ATQUE PRÆCLARIS EIUSMODI OPERIBUS COMPOSITIS MAGNAM APUD HOMINES ELEGANTIORIS SENSUS FAMAM CONSEUTUM HONORIS CAUSA PHILOSOPHIÆ DOCTORIS NOMEN IURA ET PRIVILEGIA CONTULIMUS »

He concludes his address with these words :

« Wo die Wissenschaft Halt macht, wo ihr unübersteigliche Schranken gesetzt sind, da beginnt das “ Reich ” der Kunst, welche das auszudrücken vermag, was allem Wissen verschloßen bleibt. Ich (scilicet der “ Rector magnificus ” der Universität) beuge mich vor dem ehemaligen Unterlehrer von Windhaag. »

« Where science must come to a halt, where its progress is barred by unsurmountable barriers, there begins the realm of art which knows how to express that which will ever remain a closed book to scientific knowledge. I, “ Rector magnificus ” of the University of Vienna, bow before the former assistant teacher of Windhaag. »

Choked with emotion, the « Candidatus Philosophiæ » replies :

« I cannot thank you as I would like. But if there was an organ here, I would have already answered you. »  
It is the greatest reward that Bruckner could ever hope to receive ; not to be named Doctor of music but Doctor of philosophy.

Never in the history of this prestigious institution such an honour had been bestowed upon a musician.

Bruckner is then carried in triumph by the « Commers » all around the hall.

Once in the car that drives him back home, he bursts into tears, repeating :

« It's too much, too much ! »

He will express his deepest gratitude to the University by dedicating the recently revised version of the 1st Symphony (March 1890 - April 1891) .

Bruckner felt highly-honoured by this title and wanted everybody to show it a like respect. Even his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr was to use it in speaking to him about everyday matters.

As for his enemies, they will remain indifferent.

12 years before, Brahms had ridiculed Bruckner about his insane obsession : begging for diplomas and certificates of all kinds.

Richard Heuberger recalls the sarcastic mood of Brahms, following this award :

« Ob man jemanden als Künstler überschätzt, das ist eine Sache für sich. Aber daß man einen total ungebildeten Menschen zum Doktor macht, das ist eigentlich ziemlich stark. Schon vor Jahren war es geplant, da widerriet Hanslick. Nun wurde es aber doch durchgesetzt. Ich war das Versuchskaninchen für den Musikdoktor und jetzt wird das so allgemein ! Hegar, Reinicke, Jadassohn, Munzinger, etc. - lauter Doktoren ! »

« To over-estimate someone as an artist is one thing. But to make an uneducated man a doctor is quite surprising ; even a sad reality. A few years ago, I was targeted as a candidate but Hanslick put a stop to it. Today, receiving this title has become a banality ! Hegar, Reinicke, Jadassohn, Munzinger, etc. , will they all become doctors ? »

This weakness for the « glitter » (a rule that is incompatible with true greatness) always brought Bruckner closer to his first years spent at St. Florian, a place where titles and decorations were considered the highest marks of honour.

### Göllerich's censored speech

When Anton Bruckner received an honorary Doctorate from the University of Vienna, August Göllerich junior had been his official biographer for some time. As such, he was an obvious choice to speak at a celebratory gathering of students (« Commers ») on **December 11, 1891**. Because Göllerich's outspoken anti-Semitism made him too controversial, the University eventually asked him to withdraw.

Göllerich published the first part of his censored speech in the Sunday morning edition (**13 December 1891** - 3rd Advent Sunday) of the « Deutsches Volksblatt » Number 1056, pages 1 to 4 , under the title :

« Anton Bruckner. The formal address by August Göllerich not given at the Bruckner celebration. »

Beginning with its paean to the German spirit, Göllerich's speech was a tribute that a Wagnerian fundamentalist might be expected to conjure-up for such an occasion. Peppering his presentation with unattributed quotations from « the Master » (for instance, « only the purposeless is beautiful ») and with such Wagnerian key-words as « educatedness » (« Gebildetheit ») , « guilelessness » (« Harmlosigkeit ») , and « necessity » (« Nothwendigkeit ») , he exposed the topics in a straightforward discursive manner. But when he began to discuss the historical significance of Bruckner's Symphonies, he suddenly started to make a Wagnerian montage, splicing together excerpts from at least 6 different



essays with little connecting material between them.

« Anton Bruckner.

(Die beim Bruckner-Commerz nicht gehaltene Festrede von August Göllerich.)

Verehrte, liebe Festgenossen !

Zu allen Zeiten haben in hervorragender Zahl Deutsche der Ostmark tapfer mitgeholfen an der Gewinnung jenes geistigen Alldeutschland, das durch keine politischen Grenzen beengt, das echtste Schaffen unseres Volkstums auf allen Gebieten der Kunst und des Lebens bergend, ein ideale Macht geworden, der sich heute die ganze Culturmenschheit beugt.

In Kampf und Streit, in Lust und Leid waren es oft und oft der Ostmark deutsche Söhne, die den eingeborenen deutschen Geist hoch und rein erhielten im Ansturme fremder Art, die in rechtem Überzeugungsmuthe mit ihm fochten, bis er, in Reine treu bewahrt, siegend und von Fesseln frei, sein beseeligendes Licht auf's Neue ergießen konnte. Einem solchen Kämpfer, einem solchen deutschen Helden gilt unsere heutige Feier. Auf dem Felde deutscher Bethätigung, im Reiche der Musik, hat er gerungen und erreicht, daß das Edle, Schöne nicht um des Ruhmes und Vortheiles wegen in die Welt tritt, daß es deutsch sei, eine Sache, die man treibt um ihrer selbst willen und aus Freude an ihr zu treiben. Dieser Glaube hat unseren Meister Anton Bruckner zeitlebens durchglüht, gestählt und erhalten ! - Unbeachtet, aber auch unstörbar brachte er seine Originalität zur herrlichsten Entwicklung. Abseits vom Geräusche des Lebens, lauschte er einzig den Harmonien seines Inneren und sprach, ein zäher Oberösterreicher, zu einer Welt, die ihm Nichts zu sagen hatte, nur aus seiner Tiefe, ganz bei sich, ganz in sich.

(... ausführliche und ausgeschmückte Angaben zur Biographie (teilweise mit falschen Jahreszahlen) : Seite 1 bis Windhaag ; Seite 2 Kronstorf bis Linz 1864, Reise zur " Tristan " -Aufführung ; Seite 3 1865 Wagner, Linz bis Wien 1868, Nancy, London, 1875 Lektor ; Seite 4 ab 1885 Siegeszug, seit 1890 Unterstützung durch Freundeskreis, ... über das phänomenale Orgelspiel und die Improvisationskunst und -phantasie ...) wer ihn schauen konnte, wie er, ein König der Töne, über alle Welt erhaben und Alles ihr Angehörnde weit unter sich, ganz seinen Verzückungen sich hingab, der weiß wohl , was Bruckner ist, der hat ihn kennen gelernt.

(Schluß folgt.) »

Part 2 of the speech was published in the Tuesday edition of the « Deutsches Volksblatt » (15 December) Number 1058, pages 1 to 4 :

« Anton Bruckner.

(Die beim Bruckner-Commerz nicht gehaltene Festrede von August Göllerich.)

(Schluß.)

Lange hatte sich Bruckner's Genius nur auf der Orgel entfaltet, da trat das Leben, Erleben, diese ganze Summe von Hoffnungen, Enttäuschungen, Erfahrungen an ihn heran und trieb ihn, sein Inneres in symphonischen Gebilden auszusprechen, uns in ihnen das Sein nach seiner eigentlichen Wesenheit schildernd. (... wie Johann Sebastian Bach fand Bruckner in seiner Umgebung nichtssagende ästhetische Masken-Musik vor, dennoch wurde er kein Umstürzler. Gegen den Zwang der Konvention setzte er die " ungehemmte Entfaltung seines inneren Genius ", mußte aber wie ein Architekt einen Bauplan erhalten. Ohne Zugeständnisse an " mundus vult schundus " (Ausspruch Liszts) . Daher Unverständnis bei den Kollegen und Kritikern. ... Seite 2 : ... Bruckner ist nicht einzuordnen, hat wahre Bildung, aber keine künstliche Verbildetheit, keine Unbildung. " So blieb Bruckner in seiner Un-Verbildetheit immer ganz eigen, immer ganz frei ! " ... wahrhaftige Harmlosigkeit, " göttliche Naivetät ", Grundsatz der Ästhetik " nur das Zwecklose ist schön ! " ... auch Mozart und Beethoven stießen auf Unverständnis ; mit der Verurteilung, er komponiere " Nichts als Hochverrath und Tyrannenmord ", befinde sich Bruckner in bester Gesellschaft. ... Seite 3 : ... die Frömmigkeit helfe Bruckner über die Widrigkeiten hinweg ... neben Liszt der einzige ernst zu nehmende Kirchenkomponist ... der echtteste Wagnerianer, weil er dessen " Errungenschaften schaffend erfüllte " ... über Bruckners eigene Merkmale, seinen persönlichen Stil ... Bruckners Qualitäten als Lehrer ; die Liebe zur Jugend ...) Dem Lehrer Bruckner kann gar nicht genug gedankt werden. Er kleidet die zu behandelnden Aufgaben in ein so köstliches und anziehendes Gewand humoristischer Weltanschauung, daß alle sonstige Trockenheit derselben in Genuß aufgeht. In diesen Vorlesungen kann denn auch Jedermann den über Alles liebenswerthen und bescheidenen Menschen Bruckner kennen und lieben lernen, der jede kleinste Gelegenheit benützt, seinen Zuhöreren Achtung aller großen Meister der verschiedenen Zeiten und Stile an's Herz zu legen, der Jugend gesundes Blut, offenen Sinn und die Losung einzuimpfen : " Selbst zusehen und selbst urtheilen. " (... Seite 4 : ... über den spät eintretenden Ruhm ; Bruckner (wie Friedrich der Große) im Alleingang an vorderster Front, hat mit Hilfe weniger Begeisterter den Weg zum Sieg sich gebahnt ... " unwahrhaftige Musik " führe zum Erlöschen ...) So hat das ganze deutsche Volk Bruckner, diesen Titanen im Kampfe mit den Götter (sic) , zu ehren, zu lieben und zu preisen !

So wollen auch wir denn nimmermehr müde werden, den Ruhm des Tapferen, der Alles aus sich, Alles durch sich geworden, zu verkünden, für die Aufführungen seiner Werke zu wirken und vor Allem uns zusammenthun, eine würdige Gesamtausgabe aller seiner Werke, als dauerndstes Denkmal seines hehren Waltens zu errichten. Vieles und Höchstes seiner Schöpfungen kennt unser Volk noch gar nicht. Der Ruf, die Kenntnis all' dies Große (sic) vermitteln zu helfen, dringe in alle Gaue ! Pflicht der deutschen Jugend der Ostmark ist es, zu sorgen, daß dem heimatlichen Meister echtst-deutscher Tonkunst sein Volk damit lohne, die Pflege seines Schaffens als Ehrenpflicht zu ersehen. Der Meister aber schenke unserem ehrlichen Wollen seine Liebe auch fürderhin. Immer fühle er sich umgeben von der Liebe seiner Gaudeamus, die aus voller Brust begeistert einstimmen in die Worte des Bruckner-Liedes, welches vor sechs Jahren sein Heimatland ihm zugesungen :

Wie ist des Meisters Herz so mild,  
Sein Sinn so rein, so schlicht !  
Doch steht er als ein Fels im Meer,  
D'ran Feindes Brandung bricht !

Seh'n wir den edlen Barden steh'n,  
So kühn, so unentwegt,  
Da tönt die Bitt' wohl hell und laut,  
Daß sie zum Himmel schlägt :

O Gott, nimm ihn in Deinen Schutz  
Sei seiner Werke Hort,  
Sein Ruhm, sein Name und sein Werk  
Erblih' und grüne fort !

Unserem herrlichen, geliebten Dr. Anton Bruckner  
Heil ! Heil ! Heil ! »

...

In 1884, Göllerich had made a elaborate exegesis on the vulnerable key-issue of Bruckner's Symphonies, this time, he chose to create a distracting barrage of Wagneriana :

(Phrases taken verbatim from Wagner's essays are in bold.)

« It would have been a rational process if he had consciously overthrown the received architectural forms of music ; we find, however, not a trace of that in his works. His rebellion against every constraint of convention lay in nothing but the unfolding of his inner-genius (exuberantly free, not to be restrained by anything, even those forms) which allowed us to approach a completely new world in almost completely identical, merely amplified forms. For the same reason that an architect cannot move the pillars of his building at his discretion, nor indeed use the horizontal parts as vertical, Bruckner, too, changed nothing in the structure of the Beethovenian Symphony ; in that, he simply installed expanded and sundry themes and counter-themes on that legitimate foundation, out of which he built increasingly majestic buildings. At the same time, he took these apart into their smallest components, to which he gave now predominantly rhythmic, now harmonic significance, allowed them to grow here like a stream in ever new patterns, to disperse there in a whirlpool - always, however, so enthralling through their vivid movement, that the hearer can at no moment avoid its effect, but rather, strained with the most intense interest, must recognize a melodic significance in every harmonic tone, indeed every rhythmic pause. Wagner says that, often, the real essence of art today is only industry ; its moral purpose, the acquisition of money, its æsthetic pretext, the entertainment of the bored. And many of today's composers follow quite intentionally the maxim, « the world wants to be deceived » , which Liszt once delightfully rendered as « the world wants trash » , and which we see observed sometimes by even the truly thoughtful with the aim of achieving the desired popularity. Since, moreover, nowadays, there is a great deal of traveling, many of the most estimable current Symphonists bring back unpliant melodies that have made no impression on others. And we are on our fine way toward having our painting and art exhibitions or our newspaper articles set flatly in music, and downright peculiar instrumental effects and surprising harmonizations based on such a foundation, so that stolen melodies are made unrecognizable and played to the astonished world as Classical-vivid

music. »

...

August Göllerich's conversion to Bruckner's cause almost coincided with the death of Richard Wagner. « Enthusiastically absorbed » in Wagner's writings from an early age, Göllerich rivaled Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen in his devotion to « the Master's » world-view. He had known about Bruckner as well since childhood, but the performance by the Vienna Philharmonic of the middle-movements of the 6th Symphony, on 11 February 1883 (2 days before Wagner's death) , gave him « the occasion (...) to be more intensively engaged with Bruckner » . In 1884, he began to attend the composer's university lectures, and then, became his official biographer.

Göllerich described his article in the « Deutsche Worte » as a tribute « to the 71st birthday of Richard Wagner » . A daring reinterpretation of Wagner's reception of Beethoven began with a quotation from the 1870 Centennial essay : « Beethoven never fundamentally changed any of the established forms of instrumental music ; the same structure is to be detected unequivocally in his last works as in his first (...) Here emerges again the peculiarity of the German nature, which is so intrinsically deep and richly talented that it can imprint its essence on every form, transforming from within, and therefore, spared the necessity of external revolution. »

Göllerich immediately applied Wagner's words to Bruckner, likewise « so intrinsically deep and richly talented, so German, and therefore, so specifically a musician, that it is completely natural that he is satisfied by the outward form of the Symphony » .

Turning to that most problematic essay, « Über die Anwendung der Musik auf das Drama » (1879) , Göllerich cited both Wagner's claim that Beethoven had changed nothing in the form as found in Haydn and his comparison of the Symphony's formal constraints to structural « pillars » . Göllerich asserted that « Bruckner, too, has not changed the pillars of the Symphonic structure, but rather has shown for the first time (and that is his place in music history) the expansion and enrichment still possible in the Symphonic form with the new resources after Wagner and Liszt, what splendours can be created in it (...) without its having to become a Lisztian “ Symphonic-poem ” . »

Göllerich finally quoted Wagner from the same essay on the historical absence of « the right Beethoven » who would have known how to proceed in the earlier, Classical Symphonic style using recent harmonic and thematic innovations. He then identified Bruckner as « that second Beethoven longed for by Wagner » , an astonishing claim since Wagner already knew of Bruckner and his Symphonies in 1879.

Despite the cavernous hole in his argument, Göllerich seems to have been proud of this article, as he reprinted it in his biography of Bruckner and used it again in a review of a performance of the 7th Symphony in 1889. The immediate aim of this exegesis was to justify Bruckner's cultivation of the Symphony rather than the Symphonic-poem ; its ultimate objective was to claim, using the full-weight of Wagner's authority, a truly exalted place in music history for the Symphonist. Göllerich wrote in 1891 that, while Bruckner had been found to lack that « splendid “ educatedness ” » prized in Liberal-Jewish circles, he in truth possessed a « genuine culture not only in the domain of

learning but also in that of the heart. (...) Modest and simple all his life, he had sought only true culture, and avoided an artificial, “ deforming educatedness ” ( “ künstliche Verbildetheit ” ) » .

### **WAB 101 : Vienna version**

Hans Richter premieres the new version of Bruckner's 1st Symphony - dedicated to the University of Vienna. The concert receives a huge critical success !

**Sunday, 13 December 1891** (3rd Advent Sunday) : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer Saal » . Third Subscription Concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Hans Richter conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

Ludwig van Beethoven : « Namensfeier » (Feastday or Name-day) , Symphonic Overture in C major, Opus 115.

Louis (Ludwig) Spohr : Concerto No. 8 in A minor for violin and orchestra, « in the style of an Operatic Aria » (« Gesangsszene ») , Opus 47. Soloist : Johannes Wolff.

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

Attending the concert :

Adolf Exner, (Heinrich Rietsch ?) , Hugo Wolf, Gustav Schönaich. The music-critics Josef Königstein, Theodor Helm, Hans Paumgartner, Max Kalbeck, Robert Hirschfeld, Max Dietz, Richard Heuberger, Hans Puchstein, and Ludwig Speidel.

The Wagner Society handed over a laurel wreath to Bruckner with the inscription :

« Dr. Anton Bruckner of the Vienna academic Wagner Society,, on the first performance of the 1st Symphony in Vienna, December 13, 1891. »

(« Dr. Anton Bruckner der Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein zur I. Aufführung der I. Symphonie in Wien, 13. Dezember 1891 »)

After the concert, a reception is held at the Hotel « Elisabeth » . Speeches are made by Doctor Viktor Boller, the president of the Vienna academic Wagner Society, and by Max von Oberleithner who represents the student body of the University of Vienna.

The young Hugo Wolf still could not seize the Symphonic art of his Master, as evidenced by a letter written to a friend in which he said :

« Last Sunday, the (Vienna) Philharmonic Orchestra played Bruckner's 1st Symphony (in its revised version) with the exception of the Scherzo and parts of the first movement. I did not understand much. »

That same year, Bruckner wrote to his friend and biographer August Göllerich junior :

« The new Symphony in D minor (the revised version of the 1st) is now dear to my heart. Hugo Wolf kissed me after the concert, while weeping abundantly. It was the third musician to behave in such a way. »

Initially, the Philharmonic was not very enthusiastic about this dedication, because of the costs incurred for copying the parts. Bruckner himself offered to pay. An invoice in the amount of 59 « Gulden » and 22 « Kreuzer » will be sent to him. Informed about this, Richter became furious, telling the Orchestra Committee that this kind of behaviour had never been seen before (« Unerhört ») and that it would be too much of a burden for Bruckner to pay for it (« Es wäre zu viel das Bruckner Diess zahlen soll. ») . Richter will propose to settle the note personally.

A commemorative plaque located in the arcaded court-yard of the main pavilion of the University of Vienna reminds us that Bruckner has lectured there and received, in 1891, an honorary Doctorate :

« Anton Bruckner - Doctor Honoris Causa from the University of Vienna (1824-1896) - Non confundar in æternum - Academic Choral Society of Vienna. »

...

In search of possibly overlooked music by Bruckner, Hans Richter called upon the latter at his lodgings in Vienna. Bruckner obligingly pulled from its place upon a shelf his First Symphony and handed it to the conductor for examination.

Richter turned the pages of the score with increasing wonder and surprise and finally exclaimed :

« Professor, you must have been madly in love when you wrote this Symphony ! »

« Yes, I was always madly in love in those days. » , said Bruckner.

Deciding that he had found the very thing he was looking for, Richter tucked the music under his arm and was making-off with it when Bruckner restrained him, saying :

« But “ Herr Kapellmeister ”, “ das kecke Beserl ” must first be polished ! »

This term, by which the Symphony has since been known, is an Austrian expression for which an English equivalent is not easily found.

The composer's biographer, Gabriel Engel, has translated it :

« The fresh young girlie. »

Some commentators believe that Bruckner had facetiously bestowed upon his Symphony a name given by Viennese students to snappy young girls of the town. It was Engel's belief that the elderly composer was reminiscing when he spoke the words and that he had in mind the 17 year old Josefina Lang, who was his current « crush » in 1865, when the Symphony was begun.

### Bruckner and caviar

Anton Bruckner was not comfortable in society or with the Vienna Conservatory's governing board, or even its faculty as Brahms was. In addition, Brahms was a favoured presence in the leading high-culture salons of Vienna. Bruckner was ill, at ease, in such situations. He embarrassed himself at one formal dinner-party attended by nobility, leading business people and artists when he exclaimed his horror in his usual colourful Linz dialect after having been served caviar, which he simply calls ... « raw fish eggs » .

### Bruckner and Waldeck on marriage

**November 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his friend Karl Waldeck (Linz) :

(The invigorated composer mentions that the young contenders lined-up for him.)

« Just yesterday, a letter from a young 18 year old from Berlin who wants me at all costs ! No kidding ! In Vienna, 6 other candidates. I remain confident ! »

It's hard to believe ! The Bruckner of the recent wedding proposals is now old and sick - a bit sad too. The acknowledged celebrity, his involvement with great conductors of the time and with the Viennese high-society, his honorary Doctorate from the University of Vienna - all this seems to fall in place.

But the intoxication brought about by success and gratitude (which inevitably attracts these young ladies ...) will not erase the image of the humble peasant. Bruckner's vanity seems to be gaining momentum here.

**Wednesday, 11 November 1891** : Karl Waldeck was supposed to be acting as a go-between but, as an old friend, he had doubts about Bruckner's plans for marriage :

« As an old acquaintance and friend, I have sympathy and high-esteem for you as a noble and famous man ; but I cannot break a lance for you because of the age difference - in a case such as this, the decisive factor is the affection of the bride, which should eliminate all other considerations. »

**Sunday, 20 December 1891** : Anton Bruckner replies to Karl Waldeck :

« The question has to be asked : do you want to agree, or don't you ? (i.e. , to marry Bruckner) Yesterday, I got another letter from a girl in Berlin (18 years of age) . She wants to have me at any price ... »

## Hugo Wolf on Bruckner

Hugo Wolf frequently discusses Anton Bruckner's works in his correspondence with his friend Emil Kauffmann (see the letters of **Tuesday, 15 December 1891 ; Friday, 23 December 1892 ; and Friday, 10 March 1893**) .

Though Hugo Wolf passionately admired Anton Bruckner and knew him personally, he kept an open mind towards his music, and criticized it with a good deal of coolness and detachment :

« It is a deficiency on the intellectual side, notwithstanding all their originality, greatness, imagination and inventiveness, that makes the Bruckner Symphonies so hard to understand. Everywhere a will, a colossal purpose, but no satisfaction, no artistic solution. »

On the whole, however, Wolf thought Bruckner the greatest figure that had appeared in the Symphony since Beethoven an opinion in which he became more and more confirmed as time went on.

## Vienna : Restaurant « Zum Weingartl »

**After Tuesday, 1 March 1892 (Lent)** : At the request of his private secretary Anton Meißner, Anton Bruckner plays the organ at the Augustinian Church in Vienna during a « Men's preaching » celebration under the Jesuit priest Father Heinrich Josef Maria Abel. He improvised on different themes including one from Richard Wagner's « Parsifal » . Afterwards, Bruckner and Meißner, along with Max von Oberleithner and Michael Hofbauer, go to the Restaurant « Zum Weingartl » located at « Getreidemarkt » Number 5, in the 6 District. According to Meißner, Bruckner is said to have participated in these fasting preachings on a period of 2 years, presumably in 1891 and 1892 and not in 1893, as Bruckner was then ill.

The Restaurant « Zum Weingartl » was founded in 1797 (supposedly, the oldest « Pilsner » beer-hall in Vienna) . It became the official hang-out of local artists of the nearby « Theater an der Wien » .

Among them :

Ludwig Anzengruber, Alexander Girardi, Ludwig Martinelli, Carl Millöcker, Johann Strauß und Franz von Suppé, as well as Anton Dominik von Fernkorn, Johann Nepomuk Vogl and Johannes Gabriel Seidl.

On the first floor, the « Fledermaus » Theatre-Club had its own table. The Restaurant also hosted the meetings of the « Grüne Insel » (Green Island) , a comic-chevalresque Society formed in Vienna in 1855. The language used at their meetings was a parody on the knightly style as it was supposed to have been ; its object was merely amusement though it rendered good service to literature and art. The Society reckoned many actors and literary men of note among its members. Whence it took its name is not clear, but it appears to have been a revival of the Order of Knights founded in 1771.



The secret Societies of Vienna are worthy of special mention. One of these was called « Ludlamshöhle » (Ludlam's Cave) , after a not very successful drama of Adam Gottlob Öhlenschläger. It had many distinguished men in its membership. The members were called « Bodies » , the candidates « Shadows » . Though mirth was the only object, the police thought it best to suppress the Society in 1826. Another Society, the « Allshlaraffia » , was founded in Prague in the 1850's, which, in 1885, had 85 affiliated societies in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and other countries. A congress of the leagued Societies met in Leipzig in 1876, and another in Prague in 1883. The president of each « Schlaraffenreich » (or Society) was called « Uhu » , but, on festive occasions, was « Aha » , and, in condemning offenses against the « Allshlaraffia » , « Oho » .

...

Getreidemarkt (1, 6) , benannt (10. Oktober 1866) zur Erinnerung an den bis 1864 hier abgehaltenen Markt für Getreide und das bis 1900 in der Nähe befindliche städtische Getreidemagazin (6. Bezirk, Rahlgasse Nummer 3 ; « Zum goldenen Metzen ») , das neben der späteren Getreidemarktkaserne lag.

...

**Nummer 1** (Ecke Linke Wienzeile) : 1869-1875 wohnte hier während ihrer Direktionszeit am Theater an der Wien Marie Geistinger. Siehe auch « Café Dobner » .

**Nummer 3** : Hier wurde am 30. September 1833 der Dichter Ferdinand von Saar geboren (Gedenktafel) . Die kleinen Vorgärten bei den Häusern Nummer 1 bis 5 sind ein Rest des alten Erscheinungsbilds der Vorstadt Laimgrube.

**Nummer 6** : Rückseite der Akademie der bildenden Künste (Eingang : Schillerplatz) .

**Nummer 9** : Der alte Jesuitenhof wurde nach Aufhebung des Ordens (1773) zu einer Kaserne umgestaltet ; 1862-1865 wurde ein Gebäude errichtet, in das 1868 das Technische und administrative Militärkomitee, ein wissenschaftliches Hilfsorgan für das Reichskriegsministerium einzog, die Kaiserlich und Königlich Geniedirektion ; nach 1918 Institutskomplex der Technischen Hochschule Wien (Chemiehochhaus) . An der Mauer des Jesuitenhofs wurden von der französischen Besatzungstruppe am 24. Juni 1809 der Anführer der Wiener Bürgermiliz (der Tischler Peter Teil) beziehungsweise am 26. Juni der Bürger Jakob Eschenbacher erschossen.

**Nummer 10** : Wohnung des Komponisten Alfred Grünfeld (Gedenktafel) .

**Nummer 11-17** : Die Häuserzeile im sechsten Bezirk, fünfgeschoßige Miethäuser zwischen Gumpendorfer Straße und Mariahilfer Straße, entstand im Stil der Gründerzeit.

...

Der Getreidemarkt bildet zwischen Mariahilfer Straße im Norden und Linker Wienzeile im Süden die Grenze zwischen

dem 1. und dem 6. Bezirk. Im 16. Jahrhundert gehörte das Gebiet zum Glacis. Am Getreidemarkt befand sich seinerzeit auch ein militärischer Richtplatz (letzte Justifizierung am 28. Jänner 1747) . Bereits 1759 wird die Verkehrsfläche als « Getraidt Markt » bezeichnet, 1780-1783 wurde an der äußeren Grenze des Glacis die Fahrstraße Am Glacis angelegt, die vom Wienfluß in Richtung Kothgasse (Gumpendorfer Straße) verlief, sich dort bis in die heutige Rahlgasse verbreiterte, um sodann die Laimgrubengasse (Mariahilfer Straße) zu erreichen.

In der Nähe des Wienflusses stand im 14. Jahrhundert ein Frauenhaus, in der Gegend der heutigen Rahlstiege das Spital « Zum heiligen Martin » . Dort befanden sich bis 1900 das bereits erwähnte städtische Getreidemagazin beziehungsweise seit Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts die Getreidemarktkaserne (1903 abgebrochen) . 1850 wurde die Gegend um den Getreidemarkt im Zuge der Eingemeindung der Vorstädte in die Stadt Wien einbezogen.

Der Getreidemarkt ist seit der Anlage der Ringstraßenzone ein Teil der inoffiziell als Lastenstraße beziehungsweise später als Zweierlinie bezeichneten « Äußeren Ringstraße » . Die heute als Richtungsfahrbahnen definierten Verkehrsflächen zu beiden Seiten der Secessions tragen den Namen Getreidemarkt.

### The anti-Semite Heinrich Josef Maria Abel

The Catholic priest and Jesuit, Father Heinrich Josef Maria Abel was born on 15 December 1843 in Passau and died on 23 November 1926 in Vienna. He was buried in the chapel of the Augustinian Church, where Abel founded the « Marian congregation “ Mater Admirabilis ” for merchants » .

Abel was the son of a customs officer in Passau. He grew-up there. He entered the Jesuit Order at the age of 20 and, until 1891, worked as an educator and teacher (mainly in History) at the Kalksburg Jesuite College near Vienna (also known as College of the Immaculate Virgin) .

In 1891, Father Abel worked as a successful preacher and founder of congregations (he was the co-founder of the Catholic students' fraternity « Austria ») . He began his legendary men's sermons mainly in Vienna. That is why he was called the « Men's Apostle of Vienna » (« Männerapostel von Wien ») . Then, he began annual pilgrimages to Mariazell (starting in 1893) and Klosterneuburg (starting in 1904) .

**Saturday, 17 to Monday, 19 July 1897** : The 5th Viennese Men's pilgrimage to Mariazell took place.

Father Abel prompted Karl May's song « Ave Maria » to be sung in the evening of **July 17** by 2,000 pilgrims in Mariazell.

(The composition was published in **June 1897** in the « Deutsche Hausschatz » . It is set for male-choir and is in E-flat major. The editor mentions that a new version of the « Ave Maria » by Karl May will soon be published. In **August 1897**, a setting of the « Ave Maria » by Joseph Schildknecht was released.)

Abel gave a speech which announced the song with the words : « My dear men ! Follow the poet ! »

Es will das Licht des Tages scheiden ;  
Nun bricht die stille Nacht herein.  
Ach, könnte doch des Herzens Leiden  
So, wie der Tag vergangen sein !  
Ich leg' mein Flehen dir zu Füßen ;  
O, trag's empor zu Gottes Thron,  
Und laß, Madonna, laß dich grüßen  
Mit des Gebetes frommem Ton :  
Ave, ave Maria !

Es will das Licht des Glaubens scheiden ;  
Nun bricht des Zweifels Nacht herein.  
Das Gottvertrau'n der Jugendzeiten,  
Es soll mir abgestohlen sein.  
Erhalt', Madonna, mir im Alter  
Der Kindheit frohe Zuversicht ;  
Schütz' meine Harfe, meinen Psalter ;  
Du bist mein Heil, du bist mein Licht !  
Ave, ave Maria !

Es will das Licht des Lebens scheiden ;  
Nun bricht des Todes Nacht herein.  
Die Seele will die Schwingen breiten ;  
Es muß, es muß gestorben sein.  
Madonna, ach, in deine Hände  
Leg' ich mein letztes, heißes Fleh'n :  
Erbitte mir ein gläubig Ende  
Und dann ein selig Aufersteh'n !  
Ave, ave Maria !

Abel's closeness to the Christian-Social movement is initially visible in his orientation towards the small bourgeoisie. Thus, the merchants' congregation played the most important role within all Abelian foundations, for example as the bearer of the pilgrimages to Mariazell. Furthermore, Abel's sermons are characterized by a social rhetoric, which makes the proximity to the Christian-Socialists clear. And finally, it connects him to the anti-Semitism of Karl Lueger and his Party.

Abel was instrumental in the breakthrough of the Christian-Social Party under Karl Lueger.

Christian-Social journalist Friedrich Funder wrote :

« Lueger leadership in this popular movement was supplemented by Prince Alois Liechtenstein and Father Heinrich Abel. The success of none of the three is conceivable without the success of the group. »

A monument was erected in his honour in Mariazell in 1932.

...

Heinrich Josef Maria Abel SJ, katholischer Priester und Jesuit : geboren 15. Dezember 1843 in Passau ; gestorben 23. November 1926 in Wien.

Vater : Josef Abel, Oberzollinspektor, Freimaurer, dann katholisch ; Mutter : Karolina Benker, evangelisch ; Ov. : Carl von Abel.

Ab den 1890er-Jahren wirkte er vor allem in Wien als erfolgreicher Prediger und Gründer von Kongregationen. Da er sich hauptsächlich an Männer wandte, erhielt er den Beinamen « Männerapostel von Wien » . Sein Wirken war von einem Antisemitismus christlichsozialer Prägung gekennzeichnet.

Abel wurde als Sohn eines Zollbeamten in Passau geboren und wuchs in der Stadt auf. Er trat mit 20 Jahren in den Jesuitenorden ein und wirkte bis 1891 als Erzieher und Lehrer, hauptsächlich für Geschichte, im Jesuitenkolleg Kalksburg bei Wien.

Im Jahr 1876 war er maßgeblich an der Gründung der K.Ö.St.V. Austria Wien beteiligt und wurde später auch Ehrenmitglied der K.Ö.St.V. Rudolfina Wien, beide im ÖCV. 1890 rief er die « Marianische Kongregation Mater Admirabilis für Kaufleute » ins Leben, die seine bedeutendste Gründung war. Im Laufe der Jahre kamen noch zahlreiche weitere Kongregationsgründungen hinzu, etwa für Mittelschüler, Arbeiter oder für Frauen von Kaufleuten.

Im Jahr 1891 begann Abel mit seinen legendären Männerpredigten in Wien, schließlich regte er jährliche Männerwallfahrten nach Mariazell ab dem Jahr 1893 sowie nach Klosterneuburg ab dem Jahr 1904 an.

Nach seinem Tod am 23. November 1926 wurde Pater Abel in der Loretokapelle der Wiener Augustinerkirche bestattet, dem Versammlungsort der von ihm gegründeten « Marianischen Kongregation Mater Admirabilis für Kaufleute » .

Abel war berühmt für seine volkstümlichen, außerordentlich gut besuchten Predigten, die er hauptsächlich in Wien (St. Augustin) hielt, aber auch bei « Volksmissionen » im gesamten Gebiet der Monarchie, insbesondere in den sogenannten Sudetenländern.

Abel war maßgeblich am Durchbruch der christlichsozialen Partei unter Karl Lueger beteiligt. Der christlichsoziale Publizist Friedrich Funder schrieb :

« Luegers Führung ergänzten in dieser Volksbewegung Prinz Alois Liechtenstein und Pater Heinrich Abel. Der Erfolg

keiner der dreien ist ohne den Erfolg der anderen denkbar. »

Brigitte Hamann nennt Abel « Luegers erfolgreichsten Helfer » . Gleichzeitig unterhielt Abel gute Kontakte zum kaiserlichen Hof, der den Christlichsozialen eigentlich feindlich gegenüberstand, ein Umstand, der auf Abels diplomatisches Geschick hinweist. Am engsten war Abels Verhältnis zur Kaisertochter Marie Valérie. Ebenso bestätigt ein Zitat des deutschen Gesandten Eulenburg aus dem Jahr 1897 Abels Präsenz am Hof. Eulenburg bezeichnet Abel in einem Bericht nach Berlin als « sehr genial » , jedoch seine, den « Klerikalismus » fördernde Präsenz am Hof auch als « sehr gefährlich » .

Abels Nähe zur christlichsozialen Bewegung wird zunächst sichtbar an seiner Orientierung am Kleinbürgertum. So spielte die Kaufleutenkongregation die wichtigste Rolle innerhalb aller Abelschen Gründungen, etwa als Trägerin der Wallfahrten nach Mariazell. Weiters sind Abels Predigten von einer sozialen Rhetorik geprägt, die die Nähe zu den Christlichsozialen deutlich macht. Und schließlich verbindet ihn mit Lueger und den Christlichsozialen der Antisemitismus.

Friedrich Heer, Erika Weinzierl, Brigitte Hamann, Peter Pulzer und andere charakterisieren Abels Wirken als antisemitisch. Bemerkungen gegen das Judentum gehörten ohne Zweifel zum Standardrepertoire der Abelschen Predigten.

Im Jahr 1899 rief Abel seine Zuhörer in der Wiener Augustinerkirche dazu auf, an der Osterprozession teilzunehmen und begründet diesen Aufruf mit :

« Möge das der Protest sein, den wir christliche Männer gegen die Juden und diejenigen erheben, von denen Christus der Herr gesagt hat : Wehe Euch, Ihr Juden und Pharisäer, und Ihr, die Ihr überall Proselyten macht, die noch vielmal schlechter sind als ihr selbst ! »

Abels Vater schlug einmal einen Juden mit einem Stock, der erst an eine Baronin Tschovanelli versteigert wurde. Die gab ihn später an Abel, der sich wiederum rühmte, diesen Stock dem hochrangigen, christlichsozialen Politiker « Doktor Psenner als wackerem Antisemiten zum Geschenk » gemacht zu haben.

Schließlich existiert eine Quelle (ein Brief des Privatgelehrten Arthur Kaufmann an seinen Freund, den Schriftsteller Arthur Schnitzler) wonach Abel im Jahr 1918 in Mariazell auch zur Ausrottung der Juden aufrief.

Nach seinem Tod wurde Abel im Jahr 1928 in Mariazell ein Denkmal errichtet. Im Jahr 1937 wurde auf dem heutigen Ignaz-Seipel-Platz in Wien-Innere Stadt ein Abel-Denkmal eingeweiht, das aber im Krieg zerstört und nicht wieder aufgebaut wurde. An Abels Geburtshaus in Passau, Domplatz 5, hängt eine Erinnerungstafel, ebenso in der Stiftskirche von Klosterneuburg und an der Außenmauer von St. Augustin, Wien. Der heutige Friedrich-Engels-Platz in Wien hieß von 1934 bis 1946 Pater-Abel-Platz, es gibt in Klosterneuburg eine Pater-Abel-Straße und in Mariazell einen Pater-Heinrich-Abel-Platz.

In der Einfahrt zum Gebäude der Confraternität, 1080 Wien, Skodagasse 32, Abels Wohn- und Sterbehäus (er verbrachte hier die Jahre von 1895 bis zu seinem Tod 1926) , erinnert eine unkommentierte Gedenktafel an ihn.

Am 2. Dezember 2008 wurde beim Abel-Gedenkstein in der Wiener Augustinerkirche eine kommentierende Zusatztafel durch die « Provinz der österreichischen Jesuiten » errichtet. Darauf wird auf Abels Antisemitismus hingewiesen, es werden Gott und die Juden um Vergebung ersucht und dem Wunsch nach einer aufrichtigen und respektvollen Beziehung zum Volk des Ersten Bundes Ausdruck verliehen. Am 28. Mai 2009 wurde auch am Denkmal in Mariazell eine Zusatztafel mit einem gleichlautenden Text angebracht.

...

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Vom 17. bis 19. Juli 1897 fand die Fünfte Wiener Männerwallfahrt nach Mariazell statt. Heinrich Abel veranlaßte, daß Karl Mays Lied Ave Maria am Abend des 17. Juli von 2.000 Pilgern in Mariazell gesungen wurde und hielt eine Ansprache dazu, die das Lied mit den Worten ankündigte :

« Meine lieben Männer ! Folget dem Dichter ! »

### Benennungen

Klosterneuburg : « Pater-Abel-Straße » .

Mariazell : « Pater-Heinrich-Abel-Platz » .

Wien : Der heutige Friedrich-Engels-Platz hieß von 1934 bis 1946 « Pater-Abel-Platz » .

### Hugo Wolf : First recital in Berlin

**Thursday, 3 March 1892** : The first Hugo Wolf's recital in Berlin, with the local tenor Grahl (replacing the indisposed Jäger) and the mezzo-soprano Friedrike Mayer, was enthusiastically received, though it was not a financial success. Wolf made many new friends including his patron Baron Franz von Lipperheide, the chorus Master Siegfried Ochs, the critic Richard Sternfeld (who wrote his laudatory article « Tin neuer Liedesfraling' » on 12 March) , the Opera singer Emilie Herzog-Welti (who gave a successful Wolf recital on 12 April) and the librettist Richard Genée. As a suitable Opera text for Wolf, he recommended Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's « El niño de la bola » , translated into German as « Manuel Venegas » . This project preoccupied Wolf to the last.

On his return from Berlin, Wolf again fell victim to the feverish throat inflammation (no doubt a symptom of secondary syphilis) to which he had been prone since 1891.

...

A project was now set on foot to give a series of Hugo Wolf recitals in various towns. It was resolved to begin with Berlin. Doctor Ludwig Strecker, of Schotts, interested himself in the scheme, and negotiations were opened with the Berlin concert agent Hermann Wolff, who obtained from Hugo, not without a few grimaces, the necessary biographical details for the preliminary advertising. The Berlin concert was arranged for the 15th March 1892 (the date was afterwards altered to 24th February) , the singers to be the ever-faithful Ferdinand Jäger and « Fräulein » Friederike Mayer, of Salzburg. On the 13th (Wolf's birthday) , the « Elfenlied » was to be given at the « Gesellschaft » concert. It was thought advisable that Wolf should pay a short visit to Berlin, some weeks before the concert, in order to make acquaintances and generally ingratiate himself to spy-out the land, as he put it in a letter to Emil Kauffmann of the 30th December. He accordingly went to Berlin towards the end of February, taking his mission half seriously, half humorously, and wearing a noticeably new and well-fitting frock-coat ; if the songs did not impress the Berliners, he said, the coat certainly would. Armed with letters of introduction from Kauffmann, Oskar Grohe's wife, Volbach, and others, he first sought-out some of the Austrian colony resident in Berlin, and was particularly befriended by the veteran Opera composer Richard Genée. Among old acquaintances whom he met was Felix Weingartner (who had recently become second conductor at the Berlin Opera) and, among the new ones he made, were the Baron Franz Lipperheide (a wealthy amateur, who later on showed the composer many kindnesses) , Siegfried Ochs, the conductor of the Philharmonic chorus, Heinrich Welti, the writer on musical subjects, and his wife Emilie Herzog-Welti, a singer at the Berlin Opera. Wolf was in one of his unfortunate moods when he called on Welti, and everything went wrong until « Frau » Herzog, struck with the beauty of the « Elfenlied » (not the choral work that was to be given in Berlin, but the song, the 16th, in the Mörike volume) sang it at first sight without a single error. This drew Wolf out of his cloud, and the 3 spent a happy evening over the Mörike songs.

Shortly before the date arranged for the recital, Jäger fell ill and telegraphed that he could not come to Berlin, then, « Fräulein » Mayer became too hoarse to sing. Wolf was in despair, but there was nothing to do but postpone the concert, which was accordingly fixed for the 5th March. Meanwhile, in order to prepare the way for a better understanding of Wolf's songs, the Berlin « Wagner-Verein » , through Doctor Richard Sternfeld, arranged a semi-private recital of them by Wolf himself. An afternoon was chosen instead of an evening, so that the hard-worked musical critics might be able to attend. Of the 100 persons invited, only a dozen appeared and, among them, not a single

critic. In the audience, however, was a certain Paul Müller, a teacher at one of the Berlin colleges. The songs made a profound impression on him ; he, henceforth, laboured incessantly with pen and voice in Wolf's behalf, and to him was due the foundation, at the end of 1895, of the first « Hugo Wolf-Verein » , which did so much for the spreading of the composer's fame. Paul Müller has given, in the issue of « Die Musik » for March 1903, his impression of the evening. In the early days of 1892, he had read in a newspaper an announcement that a certain « Herr » Hugo Wolf, from Vienna, would shortly give a recital, in the Berlin « Sing-Akademie » , of songs of his own, composed to poems by Gœthe, Eichendorff, Mörike, Keller, and others from the « Spanisches Liederbuch » of Heyse and Geibel. Müller dimly remembered having heard Wolf's name mentioned once, with the casual remark that, « his accompaniments were very difficult » ; but he knew nothing of the songs. What particularly struck him now was the excellence of the poets whom the composer had chosen to set. He immediately went-off to a music-shop and bought a number of the songs ; on his return home, he found a card from Sternfeld, inviting him to the recital by Wolf, at 5 o'clock that same afternoon.

He went, and was introduced to Wolf, whom he was fortunate enough to please, at once, by a remark that he was glad to make the acquaintance of a musician who only set good poets to music ; there was no surer way into Wolf's affection than to approach his own music through the poems. Müller describes him in these terms :

« A small, almost delicate figure, rather stooping, and with the shoulders bent forward. The face pale, with clear traces of heavy spiritual troubles ; the hair ash-coloured, erect, and not very abundant ; slight moustache and pointed beard ; a pair of wonderful deep brown eyes, full of grief and a thirst for beauty. »

He was in a good humour that day, and seemed quietly confident of the impression his songs would make. The tenor engaged instead of Jäger was not at home in the music, and did rather badly in the few songs he sang. He had to leave soon however and, after his departure, Wolf himself rendered the songs. Before touching the piano, he would read the words, and call the attention of the audience to the beauty of them. Then, he would sing the song in a small, uncultivated voice, but with the most penetrating expression, while he played the piano part in a way that brought everything into the proper focus, the themes standing-out with extraordinary clearness, and even the very harmonies taking on peculiar meanings. He sang « Der Musikant » , « Der Schreckenberger » , and « Der Glücksritter » , from the Eichendorff set ; « Der Tambour » , « Auf ein altes Bilde » , and « Der Feuerreiter » from the Mörike set ; and « Anacreons Grab » from the Gœthe set. Only twice in the afternoon did he show any annoyance when a disturbing noise was heard in the hall, and when a certain bass-singer asked him to write something for him, a request that met with a curt refusal.

(Max Friedländer, whom Wolf had met in Mainz a year before, was among the audience ; and, from a remark of Doctor Ernst Décsey, it seems probable that it is he who is referred to in Müller's story, which, however, Doctor Décsey does not print in his own volume.)

The concert took place on the 5th March and was a great success, in spite of the inefficiency of the tenor and the bad singing of « Fräulein » Mayer. The lady happening to take some liberties with one of the songs, or to offend him in some other way, he spoke angrily to her while he was still accompanying ; and although the audience wanted to



encore the song, he refused to repeat it. In the artists' room, he walked up and down excitedly with his hands in his pockets and would not speak to her. She left the town immediately after the concert, and they never met again. The critics were friendly and patronizing but, for the most part, showed no signs of having plumbed the depths of the music. Wolf, said one of them in all seriousness, resembled Adolf Jensen more than Johannes Brahms ; another found fault with his rhythms, and gravely advised him to go on a little further with his studies in this direction. Only 1 or 2 of the writers scented the real significance of the music they had heard. Still, the concert had decidedly advanced his prospects in Berlin, and arrangements were made for another in November, at which « Frau » Herzog was to sing. On the material side, the evening was a failure, the receipts being about £ 11 and the expenses, £ 25.

### An invitation from Gisela

**Wednesday, 16 March 1892** : Letter from Gisela Thomas (« née » Thöhrenbacher) to Anton Bruckner :

Gisela asks Bruckner to visit her at home on « Ungargasse » Number 63.

### Bruckner's 3 new physicians

**Tuesday, 3 May 1892** : Beginning of a new treatment period for Anton Bruckner. The attending physicians are Doctor Guido von Török, Doctor Friedrich Kraus and Doctor Otto Kahler.

### Doctor Guido von Török

Doctor Guido von Török was a well-known Austrian military surgeon who was Theodor Billroth's assistant from 1877 to 1880.

### Doctor Friedrich Kraus

The Austrian internist Friedrich Kraus was born on 31 May 1858 in Bodenbach, Bohemia, and died on 1 March 1936 in Berlin. He is remembered for his achievements in the field of electro-cardiography and his work in colloid chemistry.

He studied medicine at the « Gymnasium » in Prague and, after, at their Universities. From that time until March of 1885, he was assistant in the Physiological-Chemical Institute of Prague and, in November of the same year, he took a similar position at the Prague Pathological-Anatomical Institute. He obtained his M.D. Degree in 1882, in Vienna. He subsequently worked as an assistant at Otto Kahler's (1849-1893) medical clinic. In 1888, he was appointed « Privat-docent » in internal pathology at the University of Prague, a position which he held until 1890, when he became assistant to Kohler at the clinic of the « Allgemeines Krankenhaus » , in Vienna. In 1890, he obtained his habilitation and, not long afterwards, was appointed director of the « Rudolph-Spital » , in Vienna. Kraus was made assistant professor in the University of Vienna, in 1893. In 1894, he relocated to the University of Graz as a full-professor of medical pathology and therapeutics of the indoor clinic.

After the first professorship in Graz (foundation of the constitution research) , Kraus was appointed in 1902, in replacement of Carl Gerhardt (1833-1902) , director of the 2nd Medical Clinic of the « Charité » Hospital in Berlin, where he worked-up to his discharge from the active service, in 1927. At Berlin, his assistants included Theodor Brugsch (1878-1963) and Rahel Hirsch (1870-1953) .

Kraus is credited for introducing electro-cardiography and functional diagnostics into German medicine. He made important contributions in the field of electro-cardiology.

From 1906, he dealt with electro-cardiological problems, mainly together with his assistant Georg Friedrich Nicolai (born : Lewinstein) (1874-1955) . In 1910, the first monography, « Das Elektrokardiogramm des gesunden und kranken Menschen » (The Electro-cardiogram of the Healthy and Ill Individual) , was published. After World War I, Kraus dealt with the « Special Pathology and Therapy of Internal Diseases » and the « General and Special Pathology of the Person » . In the theory of the depth person, being ahead of the time, psychosomatic connections were explained.

Kraus researched the relationship of the nervous system's functional nature with mechanistic concepts. He demonstrated that living matter contained colloids and mineral salts, that when dissolved in a solution are electrolytes. He postulated that a type of bio-electrical system is present within the body that acted like a relay mechanism storing electrical charge (energy) and recharge (action) . He explained this proposition in his book « Allgemeine und spezielle Pathologie der Person » (General and Special Pathology of the Individual) . Kraus' theory on bio-electrics is considered to be a forerunner to psychologist Wilhelm Reich's work with bio-physics and body psychotherapy (vegeto-therapy) .

Kraus, who has made a specialty of the study of alkalis and the oxidation of sugar in the blood, is the author of :

« Über Ermüdung als Mass der Constitution und über Säure Autointoxication »

« Krankheiten der Mundhöhle und Speiseröhre »

« Krankheiten der Sogenannten Blutdrüsen »

He is the author also of a number of articles on similar subjects in specialist magazines.

The 50th anniversary of the death of Friedrich Kraus (31 May 1858 to 1 March 1936) was the occasion to remind of the merits of this internist for the development of the functional diagnostics and the spreading of the electro-cardiography in Germany.

### Doctor Otto Kahler

The Austrian physician and pathologist Doctor Otto Kahler was born on 8 January 1849 in Prague and died on 24 January 1893 in Vienna.

In 1871, Kahler obtained his medical doctorate in Prague, and following an educational trip to Paris, returned to his hometown as an assistant to Joseph Halla (1814-1887) at the internal clinic. In 1882, he became an associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») at the « Karl-Ferdinands-Universität », and, a few years later (1886), was a full-professor of pathology and therapy. In 1889, he relocated to the University of Vienna, succeeding Heinrich von Bamberger (1822-1888) as professor of special pathology. After a year in Vienna, he developed tongue cancer and his assistant, Friedrich Kraus (1858-1936), subsequently, took-over his lectures.

He is best-known for describing multiple myeloma, a hematological malignancy, which is called « Kahler's disease » in his honour in several countries. Additionally, he made various important discoveries in the field of neurology, such as describing syringomyelia, and the arrangement of the posterior columns in the spinal cord (the Kahler-Pick law, with Arnold Pick) .

...

Multiple Myeloma has been recognized since Ancient Times. The first well-documented case was reported in 1844 by Samuel Solly. The most commonly recognized case is that of Thomas Alexander McBean, a highly-respectable tradesman from London in 1850. Mister McBean excreted a large amount of protein that was described by Henry Bence Jones in the middle of the 19th Century. Jones was a well-known physician and made many contributions to medicine. One of the best-known cases of multiple myeloma was that of Doctor Loos that was reported by Doctor Otto Kahler. The recognition of plasma cells and subsequently their product, a monoclonal protein has been described in detail. The authors have reviewed the treatment of multiple myeloma including the novel agents, thalidomide, bortezomib and lenalidomide.

...

Otto Kahler was the son of a well-known physician in Prague. After receiving his M.D. degree from the University of Prague in 1871, Kahler studied in Paris, where he met the French neurologists Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) and Guillaume-Benjamin-Amand Duchenne (1806-1875) . Kahler became interested in neurology, particularly in neuroanatomy. He contributed to the understanding of the pathological anatomy of tabes dorsalis, localization of parietal central oculomotor paralysis, and the symptoms of gradual compression of the spinal cord. He, then, returned to Prague where he became head of the 2nd medical clinic at the German University of Prague. In 1889, Kahler succeeded the Austrian internist Heinrich von Bamberger (1822-1888), as Professor at the University of Vienna. Kahler finished his inaugural address in Vienna on May 13th, 1889, with a statement, « Ars longa vita brevis » (The art (of medicine) is long ; life is short) , words that proved prophetic in 1889, when he developed a malignant tumor of the tongue. Despite an attempted excision, carcinoma of the tongue recurred the following year, and Kahler died on January 24th, 1893. Kahler was known for being extremely kind to his patients and an excellent teacher. Incidentally, his obituaries and eulogies made no mention of his famous case report of Doctor Loos ; the contributions of both Henry Bence Jones and Otto Kahler to multiple myeloma were not recognized during their lifetimes.

...

Otto Kahler, the son of a physician, studied in his native city of Prague and obtained his doctorate in 1871. Following an educational journey to Paris, Kahler became assistant at the internal clinic of Joseph Halla (1814-1887) in Prague, and was habilitated as « Dozent » for internal medicine at the German university in Prague, becoming « ausserordentlicher » professor in 1882, « ordinarius » of special pathology and therapy and head of the 2nd medical clinic at the German university in 1886.

Kahler preached the gospel of Jean-Martin Charcot's (1825-1893) approach to clinical medicine and neurology to Middle-Europe. When, in 1889, he moved to Vienna to succeed Heinrich von Bamberger (1822-1888) as « ordinarius » of special pathology and head of the medical clinic, he took Friedrich Kraus (1858-) with him as assistant.

After a year in Vienna, Kahler developed cancer of the tongue. Kraus took-over his lectures and established himself as a brilliant teacher, laying the foundation for his appointment to Berlin.

Despite his short life-span, by his literary activity Kahler obtained a reputation as one of the important clinicians in his time.

The Czechoslovakian neurologist and psychiatrist Arnold Pick (1851-1924) was a close associate of Otto Kahler. Together, they had worked-out what, in 1880, became known as Kahler-Pick law. It concerned the respective arrangement of incoming posterior root fibres in the posterior columns of the spinal cord. An ingenious injection technique enabled them to demonstrate that the fibres at higher-levels displace to progressively more medial planes those that enter at lower levels.

### Written works

« Beiträge zur Pathologie und pathologischen Anatomie des Centralnervensystem. » (Contributions to the pathology and pathological anatomy of the central nervous system) , with collaboration of Doctor Arnold Pick (1879) .

« Über die Diagnose der Syringomyelie » (On diagnosis of syringomyelia) in : « Prager medicinische Wochenschrift » , Prague, (1889) .

« Zur Symptomatologie des multiplen Myeloms. Beobachtung von Albumosurie. » (Symptomatology of multiple myeloma. Observation of albumosuria.) in : « Prager medicinische Wochenschrift » , Prague (1889) .

...

Otto Kahler studierte in seiner Vaterstadt Medizin und wurde 1871 promoviert. Das wohlhabende Elternhaus bot ihm neben einer gediegenen Allgemeinbildung auch die Möglichkeit zu einer Studienreise nach Paris, wo sich Kahler während mehrerer Monate besonders bei Jean-Martin Charcot und Guillaume-Benjamin-Amand Duchenne de Bologne weiterbildete. Seither galt sein besonderes Interesse der Klinik und pathologischen Anatomie des Zentralnervensystems. An der Prager Medizinischen Klinik bei Joseph Halla Assistent geworden, fand er in dem damaligen Sekundararzt der Prager

Irrenanstalt Arnold Pick, der gerade aus der Schule K. F. Westphals zurückgekehrt war, einen gleichgesinnten Mitarbeiter. Ein « frisch-fröhliches Forschen » der beiden zeitigte nach 4 Jahren als Frucht die « Beiträge zur Pathologie und pathologischen Anatomie des Centralnervensystems » (1879). Abgesehen vom Einzelwert der kasuistischen Arbeiten wirkte besonders die Abhandlung über die Systemerkrankungen wie ein Gärstoff auf die zeitgenössischen Untersuchungen über die Tabes dorsalis. Das Kahler-Picksche Gesetz (über den Verlauf der sensiblen Fasern im Hinterstrang des Rückenmarks, der durch immer neu hinzukommende bestimmt wird) erinnert heute noch an diese Arbeitsperiode. 1875 habilitierte sich Kahler in Prag, 1882 erhielt er den Professor-Titel und wurde 1887, nach Emeritierung seines Lehrers Halla, Vorstand der II. Medizinischen Klinik der Deutschen Universität Prag. 1882-1883 war die Abspaltung einer Böhmisches Universitäts dortselbst erfolgt, woraus sich Schwierigkeiten ergaben. Die damit verbundenen finanziellen und räumlichen Einschränkungen glich Kahler mit seinem Organisationstalent und seinem Fleiß aus. 1888 erschien seine Untersuchung « Über die Diagnose der Syringomyelie » (in : Prager medizinische Wochenschrift, Band 13 ; Seiten 45-47, 63-65) mit der I. vollständigen Beschreibung dieses Leidens und 1889 seine grundlegende Arbeit « Zur Symptomatologie des multiplen Myeloms » (Prager medizinische Wochenschrift, Band 14 ; Seiten 33-35, 44-49) , das seither als « Kahlersche Krankheit » in das medizinische Schrifttum eingegangen ist. Im gleichen Jahre erreichte ihn die Berufung nach Wien, wo seit dem Tode Heinrich von Bambergers die II. Medizinische Klinik verwaist war. Dadurch in die Nähe des damals bedeutendsten Internisten der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Carl Wilhelm Hermann Nothnagel, versetzt, zollte er diesem schon in seiner Antrittsvorlesung « Über das Wesen und die historische Entwicklung unserer Diagnostik » hohe Anerkennung. Beide verband fortan Freundschaft und gegenseitige Verehrung. Als Arzt brachte Kahler « Sonnenschein in die Krankenstuben » , als Lehrer fesselte er die Studenten mit seinem « klaren, anschaulichen und durchsichtigen » Vortrag. Alle wollten in ihm das Wesen Oppolzers wieder erkennen, dessen 2. Nachfolger er war. Da brach wenige Monate nachdem er in Wien heimisch geworden war, seine Todeskrankheit aus : ein Zungenkrebs. Von seinen Kollegen Theodor Billroth und Karl Gussenbauer mehrmals operiert, starb er wenige Wochen nach seinem 44. Geburtstag.

...

Otto Kahler, hervorragender Kliniker zu Wien, 1849 in Prag geboren, studierte auch dort, war Assistent an der Klinik von Halla, wurde 1871 promoviert, 1878 Dozent an der deutschen Universität in Prag, 1882 Professor e.o. , 1886 ordinarium Professor für specielle Pathologie und Therapie und Vorstand der II. medicinischen Klinik an der deutschen Universität und war schließlich seit 1889 als Nachfolger Bamberger's in gleicher Eigenschaft in Wien thätig, wo er jedoch bereits am 24. Januar 1893 starb. Trotz seines frühen Todes hat Kahler durch seine litterarische und Lehrthätigkeit sich den Ruf eines der bedeutendsten Kliniker der Neuzeit begründet. Er hat in verschiedenen Archiven und Zeitschriften zahlreiche Arbeiten aus verschiedenen Gebieten der inneren Medicin, vor allem aus dem der Neurologie, klinischen, anatomischen und experimentellen Inhaltes verfaßt, das Capitel « Centralnervensystem » in dem Lehrbuche der Histologie von Carl Toldt (3. Auflage Stuttgart 1888) bearbeitet und war Redacteur der Prager Medicinischen Wochenschrift seit 1878. Namentlich verdankt ihm die Lehre von der Tabes und von den combinirten Systemerkrankungen des Rückenmarks wesentliche Förderung. Ebenso hat Kahler Studien über die Basedow'sche Krankheit, über Rückenmarksverletzungen, über die acute, aufsteigende Paralyse, perniciose Anämie, Darmverschluss, Venenpuls, Pleurapunction etc. gemacht respektive veröffentlicht. Am 2. Juli 1904 wurde Kahler's Büste in den Arkaden der Wiener Universität feierlich enthüllt, wobei Professor Friedrich Kraus (Berlin) die Rede hielt.

...

Otto Kahler, zu Wien, 1849 in Prag geboren, studierte auch dort, war Assistent an der Klinik von Halla, wurde 1871 promoviert, 1878 Dozent an der Deutschen Universität in Prag, 1882 Professor e.o. , 1886 Professor ordinarius für speziell Pathologie und Therapie und Vorstand der II. medicinischen Klinik an der Deutschen Universität und schließlich seit 1889 als Nachfolger Bamberger's in gleicher Eigenschaft in Wien thätig, wo er jedoch bereits 24. Januar 1893 starb. Trotz seines frühen Todes hat Kahler durch seine literarisch und Lehrthätigkeit sich den Ruf eines der bedeutung Kliniker der Neuzeit begründet. Er hat in verschiedene Archiven und Zeitschriften zahlr. Arbeiten aus verschiedene Gebieten der innere Medizin, vor allem aus dem der Neurologie, klinischen, anatomischen und experimentellen Inhaltes verfaßt, das Kapitel « Centralnervensystem » in dem Lehrbuche der Histologie von Carl Toldt (2. Auflage, Stuttgart 1884) bearbeitet und war Redakteur der Presse mit Wien seit 1878. Namentlich verdankt ihm die Lehre von der Tabes und von den kombin. Systemerkrankungen des Rückenmarks wesentlich Förderung. Ebenso hat Kahler Studien über den morb. Basedowii, über Rückenmarksverletzungen, über die akute, aufsteigende Paralyse, perniziöse Anämie, Darmverschluss, Venenpuls, Pleurapunktion etc. gemacht respektive veröffentlicht.

### Genealogie

Vater : Josef (1810-1870) , Doktor der Medizin, Stadtarzt in Prag, Sohn der Landwirts Johann in Großdorf bei Braunau/Böhmen und der Barbara Rosenberg ; Mutter : Anna (1827-1897) , Tochter der Wirtschaft-Bes. Josef Souček in Lichtendorf und der Anna Stech ; verheiratet Prag 1876 Amalie (1855-1914) , Tochter der Carl Constantin Ritter von Zdekauer (1819-1873) , Doktor der Rechtswissenschaften, Bankier, Präsident der Böhmisches Eskomte-Bank in Prag, und der Anna Artus, Präsidentin der Prager deutsche Frauen-Erwerbsversicherung ; Schwager Konrad Ritter von Zdekauer (1847-1929) , Schriftsteller (Ps. Curt von Zelau ; Brümmer) ; 2 Sohn, 2 Tochter, und andere Otto (1878-1946) , Professor der Hals-, Nasen- und Ohrenheilkunde in Freiburg, Hermann (1891-1951) , Dozent für innere Medizin und Krankenhaus-Primarius in Wien, Lilli (verheiratet Richard Wiesner, 1875-1954, Professor der Pathologie in Wien) .

### Bruckner's swollen feet

**Wednesday, 1 June 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (Kremsmünster) :

« Reverend Sir and Highly-Honoured Friend !

The heat is intensive ! Everyone is fleeing from Vienna. But I must thank Your Grace most deeply - as much as it pains me (because I would with pleasure be in Kremsmünster) - on behalf of the invitation honouring me so. My feet, particularly the right, are swollen so much (by edema) that I am able to walk only ponderously and cannot play the organ at all. Please, be informed. Your Grace, of my deepest respect and thanks ; perhaps, Your Grace may permit me to pay a visit some time later. Please, remember me to the Reverend Chapter, especially Professor Romuald. Heartfelt greetings.

Yours,

Anton Bruckner »

**Tuesday, 14 June 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Bernhard Deubler (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Reverend Sir, Right Honourable Professor !

“ Cheers ” ! for the performance of the “ Vexilla regis ” ;

“ Cheers ” ! for the nice congratulations honoring me ;

“ Cheers ” ! for my noble patron !

I was really sorry that I was unable to be at St. Florian. Since April 25th, I have been suffering from pain and swelling in my feet (edema) , I cannot and dare not play the organ. In particular, the right foot is distended every day. “ Post molestam senectutem ” , etc. Also, I wish everything good to “ Herr ” Gruber, as well as to my brother Ignaz. Tomorrow evening, the 15th at 8:00 pm, my 4th Symphony will be performed in concert. Later, the 3rd. Perhaps, the 7th as well.

With the expression of most sincere thanks and respect,

Anton Bruckner »

Vienna : « Gasthaus Zur blauen Kugel »

**Thursday, 16 June 1892** (« Corpus Christi ») : Anton Bruckner and August Stradal talk about the performance of the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) at the Viennese restaurant « Gasthaus Zur blauen Kugel » (the Blue Ball Inn) , located at « Annagasse » Number 16 - « Krugerstraße » Number 13A (Conscription Number 997) in the 1st District (near the « Hofoper » and the Imperial Crypt) .

**End of Summer Semester 1892** : University student Ernst Schwanzara records his last lecture of Anton Bruckner. They spend the evening celebrating at the « Gasthaus Zur blauen Kugel » .

## History

The owners of the initial house that was previously occupying this site can be fully-documented from 1437 onwards. This contradicts the statement by the City of Vienna that it formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Clara. In 1671, the house was acquired by the Court Chamber Chancellor Johann Hueber, who demolished it in 1684, and built the present structure on a floor-space of 255 square-meters (according to other sources, it was built only in 1710) . It is a wonderful example of Baroque architecture. Like the old one, the new building also received the name « Zur blauen Kugel » . In 1700, it became the property of the Imperial Court Chamber Registrar Johann Andreas Kaimb.

At the top of the 4 storey building, the Imperial Colonel and City's chief-engineer Leander von Anguissola has set-up an observatory. After his death, the Imperial School of Engineering (founded in 1718 and whose first director was Anguissola) moved in. The institution remained there until 1754, then moved to the « Königseggpalais » in Gumpendorf.

In 1775, the building was owned by the Camesina family. In 1806, Albert Camesina was born ; he lived there until his death on June 6, 1881.

Finally, this small Baroque palace was transformed into a hotel in 1904 : the 4 Star Hotel « Zum römischen Kaiser » (Roman Emperor Hotel) . It has been run by the same family since its inauguration.

...

Die Besitzer des früher auf diesem Grundstück gestandenen Gebäudes lassen sich ab 1437 lückenlos belegen. Dies widerspricht der Angabe im Stadturbar, daß das Objekt ehemals dem Clarakloster gehört habe. 1671 wurde es vom Hofkammerkanzlisten Johann Hueber erworben, der es 1684 demolieren und auf einer Grundfläche von 255 Quadratmetern das heutige Haus errichten ließ (laut anderen Angaben wurde es erst 1710 erbaut) . Wie schon das alte Gebäude erhielt auch der Neubau den Namen « Zur blauen Kugel » . 1700 kam er in das Eigentum des kaiserlichen Hofkammerregistrators Johann Andreas Kaimb.

Im Aufsatz des vierstöckigen Hauses soll sich der kaiserliche Oberst und städtische Obergeringieur Leander von Anguissola ein Observatorium eingerichtet haben. Nach seinem Tod wurde hier die 1718 gegründete kaiserliche Ingenieursschule untergebracht, deren 1. Direktor Anguissola gewesen war. Sie blieb bis 1754 in diesem Gebäude und wurde danach in das Königseggpalais in Gumpendorf verlegt.

1775 kam das Haus in den Besitz der Familie Camesina. 1806 wurde hier Albert Camesina geboren, der sein ganzes Leben lang in diesem Gebäude lebte, in dem er auch am 6. Juni 1881 starb. Später wurde das Haus zu einem Hotel umgebaut, das den Namen « Zum römischen Kaiser » führt.

### 1892 : Bruckner goes to Bayreuth

**Between Friday, 15 and Tuesday, 19 July 1892 (?)** : Anton Bruckner goes to Bayreuth for the last time. He travels by train with members of the Vienna academic Wagner Society.

Leaving the Bayreuth station, he forgets to wait for the porter to whom he had given his baggage.

Along with his supporters, Bruckner go to the « Gasthaus » owned by Johann Gurt. There, he notices the loss of his travel-bag which contains, in other things, manuscripts of the first movement of his 9th Symphony. Greatly alarmed, he sets off in search of the man, who, in the meantime, had deposited his effects at the police-station.



In the evening, Felix Mottl's mother talks to Bruckner about the incident.

Bruckner attends performances of « Parsifal » and « Tannhäuser » . He also goes to pray at the grave of Richard Wagner, in the garden of « Haus Wahnfried » .

Doctor Rostorn from Prague provides him with medical assistance during his stay in Bayreuth.

Bruckner returns to Vienna via Nuremberg and Passau.

### Bruckner's pretty table companion

Anton Bruckner was neither a world-class talker nor a so-called « good companion » . In the high-standing circles and even in the company of ladies, he did not feel at home at all. He even behaved with a stirring awkwardness. One day, he was sitting in front of a gracefully dressed girl, while a meal was served to him. Again and again, the beautiful woman tried unsuccessfully to start a conversation with her famous table companion. Embarrassed, Bruckner whirled on his arm-chair, ate like a little bird, limited himself to monosyllabic answers and did not even dare to look into the lovely girl's eyes.

Finally, frustration took-over, she complained :

« But, dear Professor, you hardly look at me, and I am left alone in this conversation. Especially since I made myself honourable and beautiful by wearing my newest dress ! »

Even more embarrassed, Bruckner stuttered :

« But my liable “ Fräulein ”, you don't need anything from me at all ! »

The lady blushed ; Bruckner kept silence. The conversation was over.

### « Fräulein C. »

**Wednesday, 20 July 1892** : Anton Bruckner meets former Vienna Conservatory student « Fräulein C. (Cl.) » at the « Volksgarten » and invites her to visit him once, even though his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr is at home.

Josefine Lang (1844-1930) married Josef Weilnböck, a merchant, in 1870. On 21 April 1891, Bruckner wrote to Caroline, recalling the pleasant day he had spent, as well as to her mother.

See : « Harrandt - Schneider Anton Bruckner Briefe » (HSABB) Band 2, page 134 for the texts of both letters ; the originals are in the « Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum » , Linz. See, also : « Harrandt - Schneider Anton Bruckner Briefe » (HSABB) , Band 2, pages 157 and 160-161, for an exchange of letters between Karl Waldeck and Bruckner,

dated : Linz, 11 November and Vienna, 20 November 1891 respectively, in which « Fräulein C » is almost certainly a reference to Caroline, and « A. Lang » a reference to Anton Lang, Caroline's uncle ; the original of Waldeck's letter is in St. Florian and the original of Bruckner's letter is not extant but « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » , Vienna possesses a copy.

**Thursday, 21 July 1892** : Wilhelm Zinne from Hamburg visits Anton Bruckner at his « Heßgasse » apartment in Vienna. « Fräulein C. (Cl.) » is present.

Bruckner talks about Eduard Hanslick, Hans von Bülow, Siegfried Ochs, Ida Buhz and August Göllerich junior ; and also the exhumation of Beethoven and Schubert.

Zinne noticed Bruckner's strong tremor and the absence of many teeth (due to diabetes) .

It was now the « Fräulein's » turn to invite Bruckner.

Carl Wilhelm Zinne (1858-1934) : A Hamburg elementary school teacher and music-critic for the « Neue Hamburger Zeitung » , the « Hamburger Anzeiger » and the « Hamburger 8 Uhr Abendblatt » . Although very humble about his own musical endowments, he was true friend to Bruckner and a devoted champion of his work. Also a supporter of Gustav Mahler, in Hamburg. His friendship with Mahler was based on their mutual love of Bruckner and ... bicycling !

#### Vienna : Female ballet-dancers of the Hamburg Opera

**Friday, 22 July 1892** : Anton Bruckner invites 2 female ballet-dancers of the Hamburg Opera (on tour) to join him tomorrow evening (around 10 o'clock) alongside his compatriot Wilhelm Zinne.

**Saturday, 23 July 1892** : Anton Bruckner and Wilhelm Zinne attend a performance of the Hamburg Opera in Vienna.

Doktor Richard Paltauf, who is concerned about Bruckner's health, invites Aurelia Stolzar to sit in his company and with Professor Hans Rabl from Prague.

Bruckner is talking with Aurelia.

At about 10 o'clock, Bruckner and Zinne meet with female ballet-dancers of the Hamburg Opera who propose to join them at the « Schweizerhaus » (Swiss House) in the « Prater » , Leopoldstadt.

#### Prater : « Schweizerhaus »

**1766** : The « Schweizer Hütte » (Swiss Lodge) is mentioned for the first time in Vienna. The « Prater » was not yet a public park. The name can originate from the typical wooden construction. Another theory relates to the Swiss huntsmen, entertaining « gentlemen » on the Imperial hunting grounds, who had a shelter there.

**1800** : The « Gasthaus zur Tabakspfeife » (The Tobacco Pipe Inn) is located on the site of the « Schweizer Hütte » . The establishment is considered as a meeting place for smokers, because tobacco smoking is banned by the high-society.

**1814** : During the Congress of Vienna, the house is reputedly renamed « Zum russischen Kaiser » (At the Russian Tsar Inn) .

The name « Schweizerhaus » (literally : « Swiss House ») derives from a « Schweizer Meierei » (Swiss dairy farm) which opened at the « Prater » in **1868**. Switzerland had been, for Centuries, associated with opulence and sophisticated gastronomy.

**1880** : There is already a restaurant at the « Prater » (civic address : Number 16) - the « Schweizerhaus' » actual site. It is owned by Boruslav Straßnicky, a representative of the Citizens' brewery of Plzeň (Pilsen) , in Bohemia.

**1883-1884** : At the beginning, the restaurant is owned by Gustav Pach. Then, the Pach brothers (Gustav and Hermann) create their own company. So, during the summer season, they operate the « Schweizerhaus » and, during the winter season, they work at the conversion of Vienna's « Sofienbad » (a public bath-house) into the « Sofiensaal » (a new dance-hall) .

**1899** : The Pach brothers sell the « Schweizerhaus » to the « restaurateur » Karl Hysam.

**1906-1907** : Julius Maly, who owns the « Hotel Germania » (on « Kaiser Ferdinand-Platz » in the 1st District) , operates the « Schweizerhaus » .

**1907-1920** : The « Schweizerhaus » restaurant is owned by the in-keeper Jan Gabriel.

**1920** : The 19 year old Karl Kolarik (the father of today's owner) takes over the « Schweizerhaus » . It will become a family business.

**1925** : The « Schweizerhaus » is the first Viennese restaurant to offer « Fish & Chips » . The rustic potato-chips are produced there.

**1926** : The « Schweizerhaus » offers the original « Budweiser Budvar » beer from Bohemia.

**1929** : Karl Kolarik builds the first kitchen which is opened to the public. A few years later, other restaurants will follow the same original concept.

**1945** : The « Schweizerhaus » is completely destroyed by Allied bombings.

**1947** : Karl Kolarik and his wife Else rebuild the « Schweizerhaus » by transforming an old wagon from the « Prater's

» ferris-wheel into a tiny wooden hut.

...

Der Name Schweizerhaus leitet sich von einer 1868 im Prater eröffneten Schweizer Meierei ab. Es soll aber bereits 1766 als Schweizer Hütte im damals noch nicht öffentlichen Prater bestanden haben und 1814 in Zum russischen Kaiser umbenannt worden sein. Auch kann der Wortteil Schweizer im Kompositum Schweizerhaus auf der für die exponierte Lage und ursprüngliche Verwendung zurückgehende typische Ausführung in Holz beziehungsweise dem Schweizerstil beruhen. Eine andere Theorie bezieht sich auf die im kaiserlichen Jagdgebiet tätigen schweizerischen Jagdhelfer, die dort eine Schutzhütte hatten.

1880 gab es am heutigen Standort (Prater Nummer 16) bereits eine Gaststätte, geführt von Boruslav Straßnicky, Vertreter des bürgerlichen Brauhauses in Pilsen. 1883-1884 kam der Betrieb zunächst an Gustav Pach, später an die von Gustav und Hermann Pach gegründete Firma Gebrüder Pach, die, saisonal alternierend, im Sommer das Schweizerhaus und im Winter die Restauration des Sofienbades beziehungsweise der Sofiensaal führten. Die Gebrüder Pach verkauften den Betrieb 1899 an den Restaurateur Karl Hysam.

1906-1907 war Julius Maly, Inhaber des Hotel Germania (Schwedenplatz Nummer 4, Wien-Innere Stadt), Betreiber des Schweizerhauses. 1907 bis 1920 wurde die Gaststätte von Johann Gabriel geführt, wonach sie Karl Kolarik übernahm und zu einem Familienbetrieb machte.

Das Lokal verfügt über einen groß angelegten Biergarten, der in kleinere Bereiche unterteilt ist, die nach den Wiener Gemeindebezirken benannt sind. Eine Ausnahme stellt der Bereich bei der Schank selbst dar, dessen Bezeichnung Franz-Josefs-Bahnhof dem gleichnamigen Wiener Bahnhof entlehnt ist, sowie die nach bekannten Wiener Stadtteilen benannten eigenständigen Bereiche Oberlaa und Kaisermühlen. Dieser Aufbau soll vor allem der leichteren Orientierung innerhalb des Areals dienen, doch die verschiedenen geografischen Bezugspunkte sollen auch für das Personal eine gute Hilfe sein.

Neben klassischen Wiener Küchenspezialitäten wie Gulasch oder Schnitzel gelten vor allem die im Schweizerhaus angebotenen Schweinsstelzen sowie die Erdäpfelpuffer als Markenzeichen der Gaststätte.

...

**1766** die « Schweizer Hütte » wird erstmals urkundlich erwähnt. Schweizer Jagdtreiber bewirten hier schon vor bald 250 Jahren die kaiserlichen « Herrschaften » .

**1800** stand an gleicher Stelle das Gasthaus « Zur Tabakspfeife », so benannt, weil es damals als Treffpunkt der Raucher galt, denn Tabakrauchen war zu dieser Zeit in der sogenannten guten Gesellschaft verboten.

**1814** Während des Wiener Kongresses wurde das Gasthaus der Zeit gemäß « Zum russischen Kaiser » umbenannt.

**1868** entstand auf diesem historischen Boden die Schweizer Meierei und diese erhielt später den heutigen Namen « Schweizerhaus » .

**1920** übernahm Karl Kolarik, der Vater der heutigen Inhaber, das Schweizerhaus. Der Wiener war damals ganze 19 Jahre alt.

**1925** « Erste Wiener Fischbraterei » und Erzeugung der Rohscheiben.

**1926** « entdeckt » er in Böhmen das original Budweiser Budvar Bier.

**1929** errichtete er die erste Gästeschauküche. Erst - zig Jahre später folgten andere seinem Beispiel.

**1945** wurde das Schweizerhaus, infolge der Kriegshandlungen vollkommen zerstört.

**1947** mit einem alten Riesenradwaggon und einer winzigen Holzhütte begannen Karl und Else Kolarik den Wiederaufbau.

**1954** wurde eine Schauküche aus Holz errichtet. Dies war die Entstehung des heutigen Gassenverkaufs mit Rohscheiben und Kartoffelpuffer.

### Aurelia Stolzar

One problem still continued to preoccupy Anton Bruckner :

« As far as marriage is concerned, I still have no bride. If only I could find a really suitable charmer. »

One day, sitting in a restaurant at the « Prater » gardens with his friends, he flirted with the waitress :

« You're a pretty child, Aurelia. My whole life, I've never had a real affair but I'm always happy when I see such an open and honest face. »

The waitress' answer has also been recorded :

« Then, I expect you're alone in the world in that regard ! »

**Before Monday, 22 December 1890** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« “ Fräulein ” Aurelia Stolzar. Coffee-Shop, “ Florianigasse ” Number 33. »

**Saturday, 6 August 1892** : Letter from Wilhelm Zinne (Naples) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Greetings from Naples. In Rome, Zinne has found ladies whose beauty exceeds that of Aurelia Stolzar.

**Monday, 8 August 1892** : Letter from Wilhelm Zinne (Naples) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« From the 10th : in “ Birreria Cambrinus ”.

Dear Professor !

Most splendid greetings from the most beautiful region. So far, everything has proceeded according to desire and schedule. Yesterday, in Pompeii (the ancient city) ; from there, today, “ Vesuvius ”, tiring ascent in lava and ash, but the highest pay-off : remarkably majestic crater ; it always roared when granular lava and steam would thrust outward. I permitted myself to stand on the edge of it, for a whole hour. In Rome, for 8 days ; there, I found the most beautiful women I know, “ Aurelia ”, herself, returns there ! Naturally, I will marry only a Roman lady after all.

Heartfelt greetings.

Yours,

Wilhelm Zinne »

« Aurelia » : Latin word meaning golden. Hence, a beautiful lady's name.

**Before Wednesday, 17 August 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Aurelia Stolzar :

Bruckner sends a photograph of him to Aurelia with a dedication on the back :

« To my dear friend, “ Fräulein ” Aurelia

Anton Bruckner, m.p. »

**Wednesday, 17 August 1892** : Letter from Aurelia Stolzar to Anton Bruckner :

Aurelia thanks Bruckner for sending his photograph. (Perhaps, this picture has been taken by Aurelia herself.)

**Tuesday, 23 August 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Aurelia Stolzar :

Bruckner thanks Aurelia for her letter and picture. He was already worrying that she was ill. During this time, he worked diligently on the 9th Symphony.

Bruckner must be in Vienna for the beginning of September. He will attend on the 18th a performance of his « Psalm

150 » during the German Music Festival (which is part of the Music and Theater exhibition) . He would then visit Aurelia.

### The « Te Deum » dedicatee

By the time Anton Bruckner completed his « Te Deum » , the indignation of his many adversaries reached a climax.

One of them asked mockingly :

« So, why did you just now complete the “ Te Deum laudamus ” ? »

Bruckner replied in a serious manner :

« Out of gratitude to God, because my enemies have not yet managed to kill me ! »

During the evening, over a glass of « Pilsner » at the « Gasthaus » , he told the same story ... and much more :  
« Hellmesberger said that I should dedicate the “ Te Deum ” to the Emperor, I replied to him that I have already suffered enough from the attacks in Vienna ! »

(« I hab ihm aber gsagt, es is nimmer frei, i hab's schon dem oben zugsagt aus Dank für in Wien ausstandene Leiden ! »)

He concluded thoughtfully :

« I believe I would like to give the score of the “ Te Deum ” to our Lord, and say to him :

“ Look, I've done it all by myself, for you alone ! ”

After that, I would be already sleeping ! »

### A medical certificate

**Monday, 11 July 1892** : Anton Bruckner submits a medical certificate (jointly signed by Doctors Guido von Török, Friedrich Kraus and Otto Kahler) to the Vienna « Hofkapelle » authorities when requesting permission to retire.

He had been treated by these physicians since the summer of 1890, most recently since 3 May 1892.

Bruckner's ailments are listed in the medical certificate signed by Doctors Guido von Török and Friedrich Kraus, as reported by Theophil Antonicek (pages 118-119) :

General sclerosis of the arteries (« endarteritis chronica deformans ») , with consequent weakening of the heart muscles and valves, edema in the lower-extremities and varicose veins.

Atrophy of the liver (« cirrhosis hepatitis ») with persistent digestive problems.

Excess of sugar in the urine (« diabetes mellitus ») .

These diseases are incurable. The composer needed the utmost care and was incapable of any service. He gradually withdrew from active musical life. He had already left his post at the Vienna Conservatory in 1890.

« After his serious illness, Bruckner had given-up smoking and now took snuff in considerable quantities. »

(Doctor Richard Heller)

The most significant symptoms however were of poor circulation, swellings in his feet and general debility. His depression also became more marked. Playing the organ became difficult, and the flights of stairs to get to his flat on the 4th floor of the « Hôtel de France » (« Heßgasse » Number 7) increasingly became a trial. These symptoms indicate atherosclerosis or hardening of the arteries, a disease that normally progresses slowly but that can advance rapidly in cases of diabetes. Atherosclerosis can weaken the muscles of the heart (heart failure was to be the immediate cause of Bruckner's death) and can also limit the supply of blood to the brain, giving rise to multi-infarct dementia, a possible reason for the mental confusion reported by Doctor Richard Heller and others in the last months of Bruckner's life. Gradually, lucidity with moments of confusion gives way to confusion with windows of lucidity, and eventually to total mental collapse.

### Meeting Doctor von Török at the « Riedhof »

**Probably July 1892 (Vienna)** : Autograph note signed « ABR » mentioning the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) , inscribed on the back of a 47 mm x 77mm printed visiting-card of Bruckner (« Professor Anton Bruckner Ehren Doctor der Philosophie der Kaiserlich-Königlich Universität in Wien, Ritter des Franz-Josef Ordens, Kaiserlich-Königlich Hoforganist ») to « Edler Doktor in Spe ! » (« Noble Doctor, in hope ! ») , possibly Doctor Friedrich Kraus, telling him that Doctor Guido von Török has written to him, suggesting meeting at the « Riedhof » restaurant that very day and, probably, it would be possible after finishing the matter of the « Te Deum » (« Vielleicht nach Vollendung der “ Te Deums ” Angelegenheit ») .

This note is possibly connected with the medical certificate Bruckner sought from the eminent Viennese doctors Friedrich Kraus and Guido von Török, in **July 1892**, which he then submitted to the « Hofkapelle » , requesting permission to retire. Friedrich Kraus (1858-1936) , an eminent cardiologist, may be the recipient of Bruckner's message. Bruckner's printed visiting-card refers to his Honorary Doctorate of Philosophy, which he was awarded on 7 November 1891. The « Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus » (at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schließelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of Josefstadt - 8th) was a Viennese hotel restaurant and brasserie with a garden



frequented by Bruckner and many doctors, including Billroth (the dedicatee of Brahms' String Quartet in C minor, Opus 51, No. 1) , who was a friend of von Török's. Bruckner's « Te Deum » (WAB 45) was one of his most successful works, receiving around 30 performance during his lifetime.

In 1871, Baron Doctor Guido Karl (Carl) von Morpurgo (1846-1923) married Judith Hermine von Török (1853-1920) .

### Doctor Theodor Billroth

Honorary members of the Vienna Academic Choral Society (« Wiener Akademischen Gesangverein ») :

Richard Wagner, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Theodor Billroth, Julius Wagner-Jauregg, Josef Viktor von Scheffel, Georg Reimers, Johannes Schober, Otto Tessler.

Surgeon and amateur musician, Christian Albert Theodor Billroth was born in a family of Swedish origin, on 26 April 1829 at Bergen auf Rügen, in the Kingdom of Prussia ; and died on 6 February 1894 in Opatija, Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Billroth was a great surgeon who invented many surgical procedures. He is remembered for the important role he played in establishing the first modern school of thought in surgery.

As a surgeon, he is generally regarded as the founding father of modern abdominal surgery. As a musician, he was a close friend and confidant of Johannes Brahms, a leading patron of the Viennese musical scene, and one of the first to attempt a scientific analysis of musicality.

Education : Georg-August University of Göttingen ; Humboldt University of Berlin ; Ernst Moritz Arndt University of Greifswald.

Billroth went to school in Greifswald. He was an indifferent student, and spent more time practicing piano than studying. Torn between a career as a musician or as a physician, he acceded to his mother's wishes and inscribed himself at the University of Greifswald to study medicine. He then followed his professor, Wilhelm Baum, to the University of Göttingen, and completed his medical doctorate at the University of Berlin. Along with Rudolph Wagner (1805-1864) and Georg Meißner (1829-1905) , Billroth went to Trieste to study the torpedo fish.

Billroth worked as a doctor from 1853 to 1860 at « La Charité » , in Berlin. In Berlin, he was also apprenticed to Carl Langenbuch. From 1860 to 1867, he was Professor at the University of Zürich and director of the surgical hospital and clinic in Zürich. While in Zürich, Billroth published, in 1863, his Classic text-book, « Die allgemeine chirurgische Pathologie und Therapie » (General Surgical Pathology and Therapy) . At the same time, he introduced the concept of audits, publishing all results, good and bad, which automatically resulted in honest discussion on morbidity, mortality, and techniques - with resultant improvements in patient selection. He was appointed professor of surgery at the University of Vienna, in 1867, and practiced surgery as chief of the 2nd Surgical Clinic (located at court-yard Number

l) at the « Allgemeine Krankenhaus » (Vienna General Hospital) .

He was directly responsible for a number of landmarks in surgery, including the first esophagectomy (1871) ; the first laryngectomy (1873) ; and, most famously, the first successful gastrectomy (1881) for gastric cancer, after many ill-fated attempts. Legend has it that Billroth was nearly stoned to death in the streets of Vienna when his first gastrectomy patient died after the procedure.

Billroth was instrumental in establishing the first modern school of thought in surgery. Among his disciples were luminaries such as Alexander von Winiwarter, Jan Mikulicz-Radecki and John Benjamin Murphy. William Halsted's pioneer surgical residency program was greatly influenced by Billroth's own methods of surgical education.

...

Christian Albert Theodor Billroth is remembered as one of the most innovative medical surgeons and educators of 19th Century. He was a leading patron of Viennese musical scene and contributed to both surgical and musical field. Billroth is regarded as the father of modern abdominal surgery and was the first person to attempt to do a scientific analysis of music. He completed his doctorate studies in medicine and became a successful surgeon. Being a passionate learner, Billroth visited many medical Universities, as part of his educational tour. His amazing presence of mind and cool temper made him one of the most distinguished surgeons of his time. He penned many papers and books in medicine and also served in a military hospital during Franco-German War. He is remembered for his important role in establishing the first modern school of thought in surgery.

He attended school in Greifswald and, later, inscribed in the University of Greifswald for medicine. He was student to Wilhelm Baum and moved to the University of Göttingen along with his professor. Billroth completed his doctorate studies from University of Berlin and then he, along with his friends Rudolph Wagner and Georg Meißner, went to Trieste to study about the electric ray « Torpedo » . In 1852, after completing his doctorate studies, he started for an educational tour, visiting many medical schools in Prague, Vienna, London, Paris and Edinburgh.

Billroth had an amazing ability to carry-out or even invent new procedures and this gained him the appellation of « surgeon of great initiatives » . He worked as a doctor at « La Charité » , in Berlin, from 1853 to 1860, where he was working under Carl Langenbuch as apprentice. He served as professor at the University of Zürich, from 1860 to 1867, and also served as the director of the surgical hospital in Zürich. Because of his interest in military surgery, he volunteered to work in Mannheim and Weissenburg hospitals during the Franco-German War. He put in great efforts in improving the transportation facilities and treatment for the wounded people in War and gave his famous speech on War Budget, in 1891, emphasizing the need of effective ambulance system. In 1867, he was appointed by the University of Vienna as a professor of Surgery. He also practiced surgery at the 2nd Surgical Clinic (located at courtyard Number 1) at the Vienna General Hospital. He penned many papers and books in medical domain and his book, « Die Allgemeine chirurgische Pathologie und Therapie » (General Surgical Pathology and Therapy) , published in 1863, was translated into many languages. He was the first person to do esophagectomy (1871) ; laryngectomy (1873) ; and gastrectomy (1881) . He achieved this after many ill-fated attempts and it is said that his first gastrectomy surgery

was such a failure that the patient died during post procedure and Billroth was almost stoned to death in the streets of Vienna. By 1881, Billroth successfully did an excision of a cancerous pylorus (the lower-end of the stomach) which became a great sensation. This initiated the modern era of surgery in the field of allopathic medicine. Modified versions of his surgical removal methods remained in use for many years. He was specialized in plastic surgery as well, especially of the face.

Billroth had a severe lung infection during the spring of 1887. He suffered from cardiac problems as well, towards his last years. Billroth died on 6th February 1894 in Abbazia, Austria-Hungary. He was buried in Vienna with « princely » honours. There is a memorial for him in the arcade square at the University of Vienna, which was unveiled on November 7, 1897.

Positions held :

Doctor at « La Charité » , in Berlin.

Director of a surgical hospital, in Zürich.

Professor of Surgery, University of Zürich.

Professor of Surgery, University of Vienna.

**1852** : Billroth completed his doctorate studies from University of Berlin. He started an educational tour and visited many medical schools in Prague, Vienna, London, Paris and Edinburgh.

**1853** : Billroth worked as a doctor at « La Charité » in Berlin until 1860.

**1860** : He became Professor at the University of Zürich and remained in this post until 1867.

**1863** : Billroth's book, « Die Allgemeine chirurgische Pathologie und Therapie » (General Surgical Pathology and Therapy) , got published and was translated into many languages.

**1871** : Billroth successfully did his first esophagectomy.

**1873** : Billroth successfully did his first laryngectomy.

**1881** : Billroth successfully did his first gastrectomy. The same year, he successfully did an excision of a cancerous pylorus (the lower-end of the stomach) . This initiated the modern era of surgery in the field of allopathic medicine.

**1891** : Billroth gave his famous speech on the « War Budget » , in 1891, emphasizing the need of effective ambulance system.

...

Doctor Theodor Billroth was appointed professor of surgery at the University of Vienna, in 1867, and practiced surgery as chief of the at the « Allgemeine Krankenhaus » (Vienna General Hospital) .

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...

Toward the latter few years of his life, Billroth started work on a new investigation into the « Physiology of Music » and the book was published, posthumously, by his musician friends after his death.

Billroth, of course, is only one of several examples of scientists and surgeons who have found inspiration for their scientific work, in the arts and humanities. In a letter to his art historian friend Lubke, Billroth wrote :

« It is one the superficialities of our time to see in science and in art, 2 opposites. Imagination is the mother of both. »

Much before Billroth's famous letter to Lubke, the great English poet-surgeon, John Keats (1795-1821) had written in a letter to his brother George :

« I am certain of nothing but the truth of the imagination. »

And, in more recent times, Albert Einstein himself wrote, that for creative work in science, « imagination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited ; imagination encircles the globe. »

« After a certain high-level of technical skill is achieved, science and art tend to coalesce in esthetics, plasticity, and form. The greatest scientists are artists as well. »

...

In the Vienna of the latter half of the 19th Century, the German immigrants to the once-mighty seat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, recognized Vienna's eminence in the sciences, but also in the arts. It was this combination of the creative pursuits of mankind that acted like a magnet, drawing in perhaps the leading surgeon of the 19th Century,

Christian Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) , to take-over the chair of surgery in Vienna, in 1867.

Billroth quickly brought in new methods of investigation and practice to the Viennese school, some of which he had learned as a pupil of the famed German school of surgery under Bernard von Langenbeck. Moving away from a simplistic understanding of disease based on cadaveric dissection, Billroth advocated to his devoted surgical disciples, an understanding of surgical disease based on anatomy and surgical physiology and pathophysiology. It is well-known, of course, that he introduced bold, new operations on the larynx, the esophagus and the stomach (we still speak of « Billroth 1 and Billroth 2 gastrectomies ») , but he also insisted that his students practice first on doing the same operations safely, on animals. Very uniquely for his time, he introduced an audit of his own results - and famously stopped doing thyroidectomies when he realized the mortality rate in his cases was unacceptable (he started doing them again, several years later, after another of Langebeck's pupils, Theodor Kocher, had made thyroidectomies safer than ever before) . We, in North America, have a direct link to Billroth as well, since William Halstead brought back to Baltimore the residency system of surgical training which he had learned from Billroth and from the German surgical school.

...

Outstanding surgeon of the Viennese medical school, from 1867 on, professor at the University of Vienna. In 1882, Christian Albert Theodor Billroth founded the first private institute for laic nurses with integrated hospital (« Rudolfinerhaus ») under the auspices of Prince Imperial Rudolf (1858-1889) . On his initiative, an own house was built in 1893 for the « Gesellschaft der Ärzte » (Physician Society) , in Vienna, which president he was since 1888. Billroth refused 2 chairs in Berlin because of his love of music and visual art (he was friends with Johannes Brahms and Eduard Hanslick) .

He studied medicine in Greifswald, Göttingen and Berlin. After obtaining of a doctorate, he was assistant of Langenbeck, in Berlin. He concerned himself already early with music and neglected therefore his medical studies for a long time. In 1860, he was appointed professor in Zürich. In the mid-1860's, he met Brahms, there. In 1867, he accepted a call to the University of Vienna to be in the second surgical chair. Despite calls to the University of Berlin, he left Vienna never again.

In Vienna, he started developing systematically almost inaccessible fields of the medicine till then. He showed new methods of operation or developed them, such as for example operations of the liver, the spleen, the urocyt and so on. But his principal merit is to have ventured on operations in the area of the stomach and the intestines and to have developed their technique.

His humanitarian efforts are a monument to the famous surgeon at the « Rudolfinerhaus » , which had to serve and serves already today in an exemplary manner the teaching of the nursing. He was equally important as scholar and scientist, as clinical teacher and Master of the operative technique, and all this made him the most important surgeon before the turn of the 20th Century.

## The Nicodés pay a visit

As a conductor, Jean-Louis Nicodé zealously championed the modern composers of his day, especially Anton Bruckner, Franz Liszt, Richard Strauß and Richard Wagner.

**March 1891** : The conductor and piano teacher at the Dresden Conservatory, Jean-Louis Nicodé, accompanied by his wife (who died prematurely) , decides to visit his former teacher at the Vienna Conservatory, Anton Bruckner, to his apartment on the 4th floor at « Heßgasse » Number 7. Bruckner is working on the composition of his 9th Symphony. Although over-worked, he welcomes the couple and offers to visit his vast apartment. On arriving in the bedroom, he proudly shows the portraits of Ludwig van Beethoven and Richard Wagner, which he had carefully placed just above his large brass bed (which was offered by an English admirer) .

Nicodé recalls the words of his former teacher :

« “ Here are my dear Masters ”, said Bruckner making a full movement of deference, kneeling almost before his icons. »

Nicodé recalled later that Bruckner wanted his « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) to serve as the Finale to his incomplete 9th Symphony, « though I wouldn't swear to it » .

## Jesus, Mary, Joseph !

**May 1891** : University student Max Graf recounts that after the triumphal « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) performed in Berlin, Anton Bruckner addressed his students in these words :

« Gentlemen, a music-critic wrote that I am a second Beethoven. Jesus, Mary, Joseph, we can not say such a thing. »

Graf continues :

« And he made a sign of the cross on his face and on his chest as if to keep sin away. »

## A new doctor to treat influenza

It was not odd that Anton Bruckner would write to his friend Professor Deubler for this favour, for Ignaz who was ill again resided in the town of St. Florian and was associated with the Monastery. In addition, Bruckner was not asking for himself, and he knew Deubler would be understanding and kind to find a new doctor for his brother.

**Sunday, 14 June 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Professor Bernhard Deubler (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Most Venerable “ Herr ” Professor !

Sincerest thanks for your utmost kind-hearted letter, through which I perceive myself very honoured. Berlin (most incredibly) is, again, going to present the “ Te Deum ” this winter (even the Imperial Couple is supposed to appear) , and 1 or 2 of my Symphonies ; von Bülow has recommended the “ Te Deum ”.

Thus, also in Dresden, Stuttgart, Christiania, and other places. In London, the “ D minor ” Symphony will now be performed.

My brother, as he writes to me, has been afflicted with influenza for a week.

Might I not request the most venerable “ Herr ” Professor (on my account) to arrange for a replacement and doctor for him, because this insidious disease, when it is neglected, often leaves behind bitter consequences.

Again, very much pleading, with thanks in advance and deep respect,

Anton Bruckner »

« Christiania » : The old name for the city of Oslo, in Norway.

Bruckner's favourite wine

**Monday, 15 June 1891** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Theodor Helm (Vienna) :

« Right Honourable “ Herr ” Doktor !

Your noble High-mindedness has caused me the greatest pleasure. Please, receive my heartfelt thanks for that reason. “ Herr Doktor ” ! Be and remain, as I perceive, my greatest patron. Therefore, once more : “ 3 Cheers ” to the close of spring.

(It will follow.)

Anton Bruckner »

« It will follow. » : A package of Bruckner's favourite wine from the monastery of Klosterneuburg arrived shortly. Professor Helm had to accept the gift because Bruckner's feelings would have been hurt if Helm had not. There was, however, the matter of a fee which had to be paid by the recipient.

**1891 (unreadable date)** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Theodor Helm (Vienna) :

« “ Calling-Card ”

Telegram from Salzburg : “ D minor Symphony ”, yesterday ; marvelously sensational success.

A toast ! With May wine ! To my noble patron. »

### Wine from Klosterneuburg monastery

Max Graf :

The cloisters of Vienna, Klosterneuburg, Melk and Gottweih, provided wine for the Viennese. Each of these ancient monasteries had its wine-cellar in Vienna proper where the people went to drink « cloister wine » . Here, the behaviour was not on a very pious level, and the laughter of Viennese girls rang-out in the low-ceilinged rooms. On St. Leopold's Day, hundreds of Viennese went with their wives and children to Klosterneuburg to drink wine in honour of the good saint, who is buried there in the famous altar of Verdun. The monks provided good food and sweet wine, and they did not hesitate to sit down with the Viennese and join the celebration. This was Viennese Catholicism. All the pilgrimages ended-up at the inns, after the religious ceremonies. The same held true for funerals. Near every Catholic cemetery, even to-day, in Vienna, there is an « Inn of the Eye of God » where God can look down on the Viennese, who, after a funeral, enjoy life and their drinking.

...

The country's largest privately owned winery, « Stift Klosterneuburg » , has played a formative role in Austrian wine. With a modern management and a contemporary technological infrastructure, this example will be used as a role model for the future, along with the « Bundeslehranstalt für Wein und Obstbau » (Federal institute for viticulture and pomology) , the world's first viticultural and oenology school (founded in 1860) , and today is a leading wine institution with internationally recognized standards for future wine-making generations. The wineries of Klosterneuburg cover a wide-range of viticultural activities, from the small, family owned Heuriger to the large Sekt, or sparkling wine producers, all at the door-step of Austria's capital city Vienna.

...

The history of the Klosterneuburg monastery winery dates back to the founding year of the monastery. Traditionally associated with scholarship and art, viticulture matured under the watchful eyes of the Augustinian canons into the most important economic sector in Klosterneuburg. Roughly 900 years old, the Klosterneuburg monastery winery is not only one of the oldest wine Estates in Austria, but also one of the largest with its 108 hectares (267 acres) of cultivated land. The varieties of « terrain » are unique : the wines of the Klosterneuburg monastery winery grow in choice vineyards in Klosterneuburg, Vienna, Gumpoldskirchen and Tattendorf, 4 wine-growing areas of varying characteristics.

« Stift Klosterneuburg » Winery : Great Wines since 1114 !



Much has changed since our foundation in the year 1114, but the most essential things have remained the same :

Our symbiotic work with nature.

Our respect for humankind and the environment.

Our openness for new ideas.

Our efforts to create unique and memorable wines !

On the winery tour, you see how state-of-the art wine-making is seamlessly integrated in the stunning and expansive Baroque cellar. An extensive old wine archive is kept in the historic cellar which descends three stories and 36 meters under the earth's surface.

A wine tasting of the monastery's award winning wines completes the tour.

### Wine Estate

Top vineyard sites in 4 different wine villages, one of the most fascinating cellars in Austria, an unbroken wine growing tradition for nearly 900 years and quality without compromise are the attributes of the « Stift Klosterneuburg » winery. Since its foundation in the year 1114, « Stift Klosterneuburg » has produced wine, making it the oldest winery in Austria. With a total vineyard area of 108 hectares, it also counts among the largest and most famous wineries in the country.

Centuries of experience, thoughtful vineyard cultivation in harmony with nature, and openness for new ideas make it possible to create truly great wines each year. « Stift Klosterneuburg » is dedicated to producing authentic wines of character, wines with a sense of place. Purposeful specialization in autochthon grape varieties, conscientious handling of fruit and gentle vinification serve this goal. Highest international accolades for our wines deliver confirmation of quality efforts each year. « Stift Klosterneuburg » is also a leader in sustainability and environmental protection and was the first carbon neutral winery in Austria.

### Wine Cellar

An extensive cellar from the Baroque period serves as the vinification facility at the Klosterneuburg Monastery. The vaulted cellar extends over 4 levels to a depth of 36 metres (118 feet) . State-of-the-art technologies are put to work for the production of high-quality wines in this historic venue. Prolonged, temperature-controlled white wine vinification highlights typical varietal aromas and fresh, crisp fruit. Red wines are fermented warmer to enhance optimal extraction of colour and tannin. Minimal intervention is practiced after fermentation to preserve varietal, vintage, and single vineyard character of the wines. Maturation and storage take place in the 4 story vaulted cellar directly under the monastery.

## Brahms and Bruckner (Natalie Bauer-Lechner)

Gustav Mahler and his brother Otto were talking about Brahms and Bruckner. Otto insisted on ascribing greater importance to Bruckner ; in his view, the content of Bruckner's works unquestionably excelled that of Brahms's, though Brahms did achieve greater perfection of form.

Mahler said :

« In order to judge a work, you have to look at it as a whole. And, in this respect, Brahms is indisputably the greater of the two, with his extraordinarily compact compositions which aren't at all obvious, but reveal greater depth and richness of content the more you enter into them. And think of his immense productivity, which is also part of the total picture of an artist ! With Bruckner, certainly, you are carried away by the magnificence and wealth of his inventiveness, but, at the same time, you are repeatedly disturbed by its fragmentary character, which breaks the spell. " I " can permit myself to say this, because you know how deeply I revere Bruckner in spite of it, and I shall always do whatever is in my power to have his works played and heard. That is what is so sad ; that Bruckner never received his due in his lifetime, from his contemporaries. Now that he is just beginning to emerge from obscurity, he is over 70 ; and posterity, which inherits only what is complete and perfect in itself, will love and understand him still less. Look at Jean Paul, who is, after all, such an extraordinary person, wittier and more extravagantly gifted than anyone else ; yet, who reads or even knows of him today ? »

« No, it isn't enough to judge a work of art by its content ; we must consider its total image, in which content and form are indissolubly blended. It is this which determines its value, its power of survival, and its immortality. »

## Otto Mahler quits

**April 1892** : The 18 year old Otto Mahler leaves the Vienna Conservatory without graduating and, perhaps, even without Mahler knowing.

## Hugo Wolf catches a catarrh

**Monday, 2 May 1892** : After his return to Vienna, Hugo Wolf writes to Oskar Grohe asking him to pray for his poor soul :

« I have not the least idea of composing ; heaven knows how this will end. »

A few days afterwards, Wolf caught a catarrh. On the doctor's recommendation, he went to Unterach, where, however, he recovered very slowly, in spite of his delight in the beauty of the scenery.

## Richard Strauß's pneumonia

The clear « rapprochement » between Mahler and Strauß in 1891 suffered an interruption.

**Friday, 6 to Sunday, 8 May 1892** : The 26 year old Richard Strauß becomes seriously ill with pneumonia and must be hospitalized. His life is actually in danger for 6 days.

Cosima Wagner visited him during his convalescence at Feldafing and walked in the garden with Franz Strauß ! On **1 July**, Richard went to Bayreuth, stayed in « Wahnfried » and met Romain Rolland for the first time. His relationship with Pauline at this time was that of « Master and pupil » and had undergone a minor upheaval just before his illness when she had made mistakes during one of Eduard Lassen's works while the composer was conducting.

Strauß wrote :

« You are now so set on going your own way that my presence and the influence it inevitably exercises could only seem a burden to you. I regret therefore that I must gratefully decline your kind invitation both today and in the future. »

After his leave from the hospital, Richard Strauß spends almost the whole of the following year in the Mediterranean region (Greece and Egypt) to recuperate. Moreover, he gained new impressions and ideas. The journey was followed by the creation of his first Opera, « Guntram » (Opus 25) .

...

After 2 serious illnesses, Richard Strauß still had only music in his head. Pauline was the one who pushed him to be better aware of his health. She saw to it that he eat regular meals, that he go on his daily walks, and have an afternoon nap. However she was unable to steer him away from smoking.

In 1892 as well as in 1907, Strauß suffered from serious medical emergencies. As a 26 year old, he had pneumonia that healed badly, while at the age of 42, he experienced cardiac weakness - the cause remained under investigation.

On many occasions, his father would try to speak to him and work on his conscience :

« We are very saddened to see how you are sabotaging your health, and trying to build your fortune so that your later life can be spent only composing. Do you think that a sick body is able to achieve anything intellectual ? »

His son fought-back :

« Too much work has never made anybody sick, if they have lived well and solidly, which is what I do. »

Smoking as a vice until old age.

Although she was unable to put a stop to the nightly nicotine - filled skat parties, Pauline was the only one who was able to make Strauß realize the importance of taking care of his health. She was aware of Strauß' relapse-prone lungs and insisted on 2 daily walks to also even-out the effects of the smoking. (Strauß renounced this vice at the age of 75 and had « nasty mood » for many weeks.)

One hour before lunch and dinner, Pauline would take her husband away from his work and into the fresh air. She also supervised the strict observance of daily afternoon naps.

A letter written by Gustav Mahler to Alma :

« I was at Strauß' yesterday afternoon. She greeted me at the door with :

Shh ! Shh ! Richard is sleeping (...) »

### Preference for home cooking - gladly with edges of fat

Richard Strauß did not eat much, but he did so with great satisfaction. He despised long drawn-out banquets but he knew how to appreciate fine foods and meals. (« I starve at “ lunch ” and “ dinner ”. ») However, Strauß preferred home-cooking over everything else. He meticulously noted-down recipes that appealed to him and gave them to Pauline and the loyal house-keeper « Anni » . He also wrote-down lists of what to buy and how to prepare certain dishes.

His favourite dishes were beef with « G'schlader » (fatty edge) , porcini mushrooms with dumplings, kidney and veal roast. His favourite desserts were « Anni's » vanilla biscuits, « Punsch-torte » and pre-served rose-hip jam (the only jam that is honoured in his Opera « Intermezzo » .) According to tradition, chocolate was one of his favourite sweets.

Pauline was a passionate cook who left behind a hand-written cook-book with recipes from all over the world. She also enjoyed going-out to fine-restaurants, or even having these deliver to her house on special occasions.

### Father « Oddo » Loidol's illness

Letter to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, at Kremsmünster, in which Bruckner stated his regrets at not being able to accept the invitation to visit the Monastery. All in all, a sad letter. Bruckner could no longer play the organ due to the swelling in his legs, which allowed him to walk only ponderously.

**Wednesday, 1 June 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (Kremsmünster) :

« Reverend Sir and Highly-Honoured Friend !

The heat is intensive ! Everyone is fleeing from Vienna. But I must thank Your Grace most deeply - as much as it

pains me (because I would with pleasure be in Kremsmünster) - on behalf of the invitation honouring me so. My feet, particularly the right, are swollen so much (by edema) that I am able to walk only ponderously and cannot play the organ at all. Please, be informed. Your Grace, of my deepest respect and thanks ; perhaps, Your Grace may permit me to pay a visit some time later. Please, remember me to the Reverend Chapter, especially Professor Romuald. Heartfelt greetings.

Yours,

Anton Bruckner »

« Herr » Professor Romuald (of the Chapter-House in Kremsmünster Abbey) was a special friend of Bruckner.

At this time, Bruckner was himself quite ill with liver and stomach ailments and persistently swollen feet. He and Father Loidol had a friendship that defied age and time, so it is not surprising that Bruckner, though sick himself, would write a consoling letter which included his prayer for Father Loidol's recovery. It was not to be so, for Father Loidol died the next year.

**Tuesday, 2 August 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (Kremsmünster) :

« Most Venerable, Most Noble Friend !

To my sadness, I heard that you, the Right Reverend Father, are still sick. I want most sincerely to beg God that “ He ”, through His divine goodness, take away this difficult affliction and grant you the best of health ! I am in Steyr, likewise a patient ; I have liver, stomach, and foot ailments (swollen feet) and must avail myself of the “ Karlsbad Cure ”. “ Post molestam senectutem. ”

Repeating my most heartfelt wish, I ask again that you allow me to know how you are.

Your admiring, warmest friend,

Anton Bruckner

The “ 150th Psalm ” is finished. »

Anton Bruckner was himself quite ill with liver and stomach ailments and persistently swollen feet. He and Father « Oddo » Loidol had a friendship that defied age and time, so it is not surprising that Bruckner, though sick himself, would write a consoling letter which included his prayer for Father Loidol's recovery. It was not to be so, for Father Loidol died the next year, at Kremsmünster Monastery, on **31 January 1893**.

Eating at the Eibenschutts

**Summer 1892** : Johannes Brahms went on holiday in Ischl, calling on the Eibenschutz family. « Frau » Eibenschutz warned Brahms that he must expect only a plain lunch.

He shot back :

« When I come to you, I am happy to eat goulash and drink water. But when I dine with millionaires who care nothing for music and only invite me because I am successful, I am very angry if they do not serve me caviar and champagne. »

**Steyr : The « Karlsbad Cure »**

**Wednesday, 27 July 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Adolf Koch Edler von Langentreu (Vienna) :

« Right Honourable “ Herr ” Doctor !

Thank you very much for the account from Bronsart's decree. It is a cunning piece of writing, by which the German gentlemen, themselves, can spread their influence all the easier. It refers to a choral work from last year ; but things are the same today, and I am usually considered a Symphonic composer. I will not so soon again disturb the German gentlemen ; indeed, this year, it is my fondest wish to remain in my homeland. Could you give me a single hour ? The “ Psalm ” belongs precisely at the closing of the Festival. I beg you. “ Herr ” Director, once more for your intercession. If the German gentlemen don't want to talk with you, then, they will have to be happy with me. In Munich, Levi's wanted to perform the 7th or 8th Symphony at this Festival, as he wrote to me. Now, I will go to the Steyr town rectory and continue my “ Karlsbad Cure ”, there. Again, my request.

With thanks and respect.

Doctor Anton Bruckner »

**Wednesday, 27 July 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

He congratulates Ignaz in anticipation of his Name-Day on the 31st and sends him 10 Florins. On vacation, Bruckner continues the « Karlsbad treatment » from Steyr. He still cannot play the organ.

**Thursday, 18 August 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Professor Bernhard Deubler (St. Florian, near Linz) :

« Your Reverence, Right Honourable Professor !

Once again, in honour of your noble Name-Day, I have made bold to lay at your feet the feelings of my heart, which consist primarily in praying that God may bless Your Reverence at all times, and guard and protect you ! Good health, and with it physical and spiritual strength, toward the realization of your high-calling ; may “ He ” never deny you

well-being in any respect.

I am in Steyr with swollen feet and “ may not do any organ playing ” ; on the contrary, I require the “ Karlsbad Cure ”. In September, I must go to Vienna for the German “ Musik-Fest ”, since, according to letters from Weimar, they want to perform my new composition, the “ 150th Psalm ”.

Again and again, my most sincere wishes and with deepest respect, I remain,

Yours devotedly,

Anton Bruckner »

**Saturday, 3 September 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr (Vienna) :

The Vienna Music Festival is canceled that is why Bruckner is still on vacation in Steyr. He asks « Frau Kathi » to buy him snuff and cigars before his return in the capital.

**Tuesday, 6 September 1892** : Bruckner was still residing in Steyr, from which location he wrote to Cyrill Hynais ; this means that he had not left between **Thursday, August 18** and **Tuesday, September 6**, due to his poor physical condition.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Cyrill Hynais (Vienna) :

« The second full-score is meant only for me, and is to be written at my expense. Of course, it doesn't have to be beautiful ; just correct. (Otherwise, copy nothing.) Think of it ; “ Herr ” Gericke wrote to me saying that he intends to put the “ Psalm (150) ” on the first “ Gesellschaft ” concert program. I did not answer him. I would have believed that he would be permitted to do that only with the permission of the Directorship. Please speak about this with “ Herr ” Director Gutmann, whom I most highly-recommend.

My feet are much better, but are not yet healthy.

I shall, thus, be staying in Steyr.

Yours,

Bruckner »

**Around September - October 1892 (?)** : Anton Bruckner visits his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck, which he can now support better financially.

## Anna Rogl

August Göllerich junior relates in the second volume of his monumental biography on Bruckner (page 311) one of these typical episodes featuring the old Master who is (again) attracted by a pretty young girl, this time from the Amstetten region.

**End of August - September 1892 (?)** : Anton Bruckner spent a few days in St. Florian. He frequently walked around the local public market or in the neighbourhood of the monastery usually accompanied by his brother Ignaz or his colleague, the copist Karl Borromäus Aigner who teaches music there. Once, the Master's eyes turned suddenly to a pretty 16 year old teenager who was entering the Municipal Court House. Bruckner and Aigner stood a long time in front of the building. Then, they saw the young lady again, this time in the garden just opposite. It was Anna Rogl, the town jailer's daughter. He went in her direction and introduced himself with his usual kindness. He spoke affectionately to Anna. It became his practice always to desire to tell her about his 9th Symphony which was in progress.

From St. Florian, Bruckner went-back to Steyr to continue his « Karlsbad Cure » . On her part, Anna left for Amstetten as she was hired by Baron Lederer as chamber-maid.

In Vienna, Bruckner succeeded to trace Anna Rogl through another acquaintance. He wrote to her for permission to visit despite the fact that he did not know the Baron at all ! Rogl's landlady was very approving and sanctioned his coming. Since Bruckner was between trains, he could not stay long but was very happy to see her again.

**Saturday, 1 October 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (parish church's presbytery of Steyr) to Anna Rogl (Steyr) :

« Court Church Rectory  
In the City of Steyr

Highly-Honoured Lady !

In accordance with my promise, please accept my portrait. I beg for one of you. On Wednesday, October 5, I will be coming to Amstetten on the noon train, arriving around 2:00 to 3:00. Shall I call on you “ then ”, first of all, or later ? Please, write to me concerning this. With a hand-kiss,

Yours,

Bruckner »

**Wednesday, 5 October 1892** : Bruckner is received in Baron Lederer's drawing-room where he met Anna Rogl and stayed until time to leave for the next train to Vienna ; and the young girl was permitted to accompany him to the train.



Bruckner visited Anna several times. Her parents did not stop Bruckner from seeing her because he was highly-respected in St. Florian, and his peculiar behaviours were no surprise to the townspeople.

**After Wednesday, 5 October 1892** : Another (missing) letter from Anton Bruckner to Anna Rogl :

Bruckner gives his address and also the assurance that his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr would meet Anna (and her mother) on the train-station dock. The old Master wanted to show her the most beautiful sites in Vienna.

Despite repeated letters, the girl never wrote back.

### A 10th Symphony

**1892** : It is a fact that Anton Bruckner wanted to write a 10th Symphony : his « Gothic » . At some point during the year, he walked for hours and days in and around the Vienna « Stephansdom » Cathedral to find inspiration.

### Mahler flees a cholera epidemic

**Saturday, 27 August 1892** : While returning to Hamburg via Berlin, Gustav Mahler learns about the cholera epidemic in Hamburg and heads back to Berchtesgaden.

### University of Vienna : Winter Semester (1892-1893)

**Monday, 17 October 1892** : First university lecture of Anton Bruckner for the Winter Semester.

Emil Czerlunckiewicz, Eugen Herzog, Rudolf Prisching and Georg Stingl inscribed in the Faculty of Arts but were after deleted from the list.

### Wolf's usual propaganda

**Thursday, 27 October 1892** : After 4 days' stay in Cologne, Hugo Wolf reached Frankfurt-am-Main where he was Engelbert Humperdinck's guest for 2 days. He made his usual propaganda on behalf of Anton Bruckner, succeeding in interesting Humperdinck in the Vienna composer by playing the 3rd Symphony (**WAB 103**) with him as a piano-duet. Humperdinck, in his turn, recommended Wolf's songs to Julius Stockhausen ; it is comical to note Hugo's naive wonder that the great singer should really take to his songs, for was not Stockhausen one of the most notorious of Brahmsians ?

### « At Gause » with very bad swollen feet

**After Monday, 21 November 1892** : One evening, Anton Bruckner limped into « Gause's » restaurant to tell his disciples that he could hardly walk because his feet were so swollen.

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 1st District.

### Consulting Doctor Schrötter

The next day, Bruckner decides to consult the Austrian internist and laryngologist Professor Leopold (Anton Dismas) Schrötter von Kristelli. He is diagnosed with cardiac insufficiency, heart enlargement and cirrhosis of the liver. The underlying cause is diabetes. Dietary restrictions are the only treatment available at that time.

Doctor Schrötter orders the strictest prevalence and reduction of alcohol consumption insisting that Bruckner should replace his beloved « Pilsner » beer by milk !!

The once plumpish composer became emaciated, and he suddenly seemed older. His hands shook, and he appeared to have lost many of his teeth. He was also afflicted with a chronically sore throat.

Bruckner complained bitterly about his critics but hardly complained at all about his declining health :  
« Professor Schrötter ordered me to bed and, for weeks, I was'nt allowed anything but milk without bread or beer, etc. Also, there is little water left in my stomach. Better in the stomach than on the brain. »

### Kremsmünster : The mill-owner's daughter

**September 1892** : Anton Bruckner is noticed by the mill-owner's daughter from Kremsmünster. Her name : « Fräulein » Mayer.

Some people appeared to know about this « affair » ...

**Saturday, 26 November 1892** : Letter from friend Josef Leitenmaier (Kremsmünster) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Leitenmaier confirms to Bruckner the identity of the mill-owner's daughter from Kremsmünster.

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 ? »

On her part, Mathilde Feßl announced she will marry next spring.

The health-condition of Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol is unchanged.

### Hanging the doctor's note

**Monday, 28 November 1892** : Anton Bruckner hangs a note in the lecture-hall of the University of Vienna (based on the medical order by Doctor Leopold Schrötter) that he cannot hold his weekly lecture.

**Monday, 5 December 1892** : During his lecture at the University of Vienna, Anton Bruckner talks to the audience about his illness and the indications he received from Doctor Leopold Schrötter.

### Offering 48 « krapfen » to Hans Richter

Again, 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 » . 4th Subscription Concert of the season 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 8th 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.

The terminology used to refer to this delicacy differs in various areas of Germany. While called « Berliner » (« Ballen ») in Northern and Western Germany as well as in Switzerland, the Berliners themselves and residents of Brandenburg, Western Pomerania, Saxony-Anhalt and Saxony know them as « Pfannkuchen », which in the rest of Germany generally means pancakes ; pancakes are known there as « Eierkuchen » (egg-cakes) .

All of these are essentially identical preparations :

In parts of southern and central Germany (Bavaria) , as well as in much of Austria, they are a variety of « Krapfen » (derived from Old High-German « kraffo » and, furthermore, related to Gothic language « krappa ») , sometimes called « Fastnachtskrapfen » to distinguish them from « Bauernkrapfen » .

In Hesse, they are referred to as « Kräppel » or « Kreppel » .

Residents of the Palatinate call them also « Kreppel » or « Fastnachtsküchelchen » (little carnival cakes) , hence, the English term for a pastry called « Fasnacht » .

Further south, the Swabians use the equivalent term in their distinctive dialect : « Fasnetskiachla » .

In the Netherlands, it is called « Berlinerbol » .

In Belgium, it is called « boule de Berlin » .

In Slovakia, it is called « šiška » .

In Slovenia, it is « Trojanski krof » .

In the Czech Republic, as « koblíha » .

In Croatia, « krafni » .

In Bosnia and Serbia, « krofne » .

In Hungary, it is called « bécsi fánk » .

In Poland, they are known as « pączki » .

In the southern parts of Italy, it can be referred as « bomba » or « bombolone » .

In Finland, it is called « hillomunkki » or (glazed) « berliinimunkki » .

In Norway, it is called « berlinerbolle » .

### Johann Strauß II invites Bruckner for a drink

**Monday, 19 December 1892** : Johann Strauß junior called on the street a friend of Anton Bruckner :

« Hey, yesterday, I heard a Symphony by Bruckner ! It was simply great ! Bring him to me one of these days ! »

The famous composer of waltzes expressed the desire to meet Bruckner and invited him for a drink at his Viennese home in the presence of sculptor Viktor Tilgner and composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt.

Feeling honoured, Bruckner accepted the invitation of the most-performed composer in music history and addressed Johann Strauß in his well-known submissive manner with « Großmeister » (grand Master) . Yet, Strauß staved-off the subservience with his usual poise and adroitness and replied in a respectful, collegial tone :

« Now, now, you are the grand Master. I'm just a simple sub-urban composer. The Symphony was truly wonderful ! »

The 2 men immediately sympathized.

In the presence of sculptor Viktor Oskar Tilgner, who created Bruckner's bust, the evening reached convivially Symphonic dimensions. It ended very late ...

### Otto Kitzler conducts the « Romantic »

Anton Bruckner's preoccupation with physical health is obvious. In his own case, it was truly justified at this point, for he would never fully-recover from his maladies. In the case of Otto Kitzler, who was in good health, it was Bruckner's hope that his friend not miss any good part of life, either on the personal or professional level.

For more than one reason, Bruckner was very much aware that he might not be able to attend a proposed performance of his 4th Symphony.

**Tuesday, 27 December 1892** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to Otto Kitzler (Linz) :

« Highly-Respected “ Herr ” Professor and Friend !

Thank you very much for your kind participation, and I wish you and your gracious lady a very Happy New Year. Also, thank you very much for your proposal with regard to conducting the 4th Symphony. Whether I am actually able to come depends on my constantly precarious state of health ; and the performance of one of my own works always agitates me. Stay very healthy.

My compliments to you.

Your former student,

Doctor Anton Bruckner »

### The Viennese's collective consciousness

Now placed alongside the great composers who lived in the capital of European music, the name of Bruckner was part of the Viennese's collective consciousness. When the old Master passed along the street, one could hear voices whispering with admiration :

« Here comes Anton Bruckner ! »

### Vienna : Bruckner, Mahler and the right-wing movement

As historian Fritz Stern observes :

« The very term anti-Semitism was first “ invented ” in Germany (and Austria) in the 1870's. »

That decade marks the emergence of Vienna as a centre of the « new dogma » .

In addition to the city's overtly anti-Semitic government, the geographical situation in Vienna made it a particularly explosive space for political life. Being the Western city furthest east, it became a gateway for all immigrants fleeing

persecution, becoming a stop-over point for some, a permanent home for many others. The rise in Jewish (but also other ethnic) immigration to Vienna after the 1867 emancipation, particularly after the 1881 assassination of Czar Alexander II and the ensuing Russian pogroms, may have contributed to the success of Lueger's anti-Semitic platform.

Anton Bruckner's activities as a teacher and composer in Vienna in the context of the social and cultural history of the period was marked by a threefold increase in the population of the city, including the dramatically huge immigration of nearly 700,000 people from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary in the final years of the 19th Century. Vienna's heterogeneity would have been a significant factor in the musical creativity of Bruckner, Mahler, and Schönberg, who lived and worked in the city during a time of great social and political upheaval and artistic and cultural transformation when there was a heady mixture of « endogenous » and « exogenous » elements, and whose music perhaps reflects some of the contrasts, contradictions and ruptures that characterised « fin-de-siècle » Vienna.

During the rise of German nationalism, young supporters who were keen Wagnerites also adopted Bruckner as one of their own.

The conservative Austro-German streak in modern Austrian politics linked to Anton Bruckner dates from the 1880's. It encompasses the views of contemporaries of Bruckner such as Georg von Schönerer and Prince Aloys Liechtenstein as well as the Christian-Socialism of Karl Lueger. Austro-German cultural chauvinism presents a continuous ideological framework for the political appropriation of Bruckner dating-back to his lifetime.

In his last years, when his health was declining, Bruckner was taken-up as a « special cause » by the newly-emergent Austrian Christian-Social Party (« Christlichsoziale Partei »), whose right-wing, nationalist views, championship of « the little man ». Its leader, Karl Lueger (1844-1910) was committed to a pro-Catholic, German-centred, anti-capitalist, and aggressively anti-Semitic platform. He was strongly admired by Adolf Hitler. The unworldly Bruckner is unlikely to have felt any special sympathy with Lueger's views, but that doesn't seem to have bothered Hitler overmuch.

...

Lueger started to use the anti-Semitic atmosphere for his own political interests. He built his Christian-Social Party and the political machine that controlled the city on the basis of the new, lower-middle classes. Known as « Der schöne Karl » (handsome Karl) for his erect posture and square blond beard, Lueger appeals to the « little man », canvassing in taverns and promising a free cab-ride home for « every citizen who has caroused through the night ».

At mass-rallies, « he (Lueger) transfers his will onto others in an almost super-natural way ». His racism, selective and at times quiescent, can be whipped-up at will against the « money and stock-exchange Jews », the « beggar Jews », the « ink Jews » (intellectuals), and, perpetually, the « press Jews ».

« Without the Jewish newspapers, there would be no anti-Semitism. », Lueger proclaims, accusing the Jews of controlling the mass-media.

Lueger coins a classic equivocation :

« Wer Jude ist bestimme Ich. »

(I decide who's a Jew.)

Unlike Georg Schönerer, the head of the Pan-Germans, whose rabid version of anti-Semitism was too much even for the Viennese, Lueger was a consensus builder who used anti-Semitic feelings to unite « aristocrats and democrats, artisans and ecclesiastics, by confining the uses of racist poison to attacking the Liberal foe » .

When Gustav Mahler came to Vienna as a student in 1875, the City Council was dominated by anti-clerical Liberals, exemplified by Cajetan Felder (1814-1894) , Vienna's mayor from 1869 to 1878. Mahler's appointment to 2 prestigious Viennese posts exposed the most virulent affliction in the critical community : anti-Semitism, which had also raised its ugly head in the Viennese political arena with the candidacies of Karl Lueger as mayor of Vienna. 3 times, this Christian-Socialist had the requisite number of votes to be mayor, and 3 times, Emperor Franz-Josef declined his approval, in part because of Lueger's hateful anti-Semitic rhetoric. But on April 8, 1897, the day of Mahler's promulgation, Lueger, mobilizing an electoral coalition, is elected mayor of Vienna for the 4th time. Under threat of riots, and after a week's deliberation, the Emperor finally awards him the chain of office. Under Lueger, Vienna becomes the first modern city to make hating Jews municipal policy.

The Austro-German amalgam of progressive and reactionary idealism was an indispensable pre-condition for the success of the radical, anti-Liberal Viennese politics of Christian-Socialism and Karl Lueger in the 1890's.

His radical and reactionary rhetoric and his deft manipulation of a conservative nostalgia for the era which preceded economic rationalization, industrialization, and demographic cosmopolitanism revealed Vienna's most charismatic political figure.

As Klaus Fischer comments :

« Vienna was probably the most racially paranoid capital of Europe. It was here that fears of Slavic encirclement and rumors of Jewish conspiracies combined to produce a very volatile atmosphere that could easily be exploited. »

« Between 1880 and 1910, Vienna's population almost doubled » , creating housing and food shortages and over-stressing the vastly under-developed Viennese infrastructure.

Lueger, as mayor, spear-headed the city's long-delayed but remarkable modernization of transport, sewerage systems, water-supply, and public facilities. His favourite architect was none other than the great Otto Wagner (1841-1918) whose apartment houses, institutional buildings, and railway stations helped shape the distinct modernist architectural aesthetic of turn-of-the-Century Vienna. Once again, in Vienna, reactionary politics and progressive aesthetics flourished side-by-side.



Vienna (the 6th largest city of the world by 1908) did not lag in public confrontational politics. The inauguration of Karl Lueger's Christian-Socials and the continued progress of the Marxian Socialists set the stage for episodic confrontations that would finally culminate in civil war by 1934.

...

Social Liberalism had suffered a decisive set-back. One can imagine how the synergy of events could only have worked against Mahler ; a populist demagogic mayor representing the « Volk » versus the Jewish « Opernkapellmeister » representing the elitists of Social Liberalism. Despite the conductor's nominal conversion to Catholicism, the City Council of Vienna declined to accept a concert by the Opera Orchestra if Mahler insisted on conducting it. The Jews of the dual monarchy had a vested interest in a tolerant pluralism. In this set of circumstances, it is a wonder that Mahler was able to survive in his position for the next 10 years.

Right-wing commentators view Mahler's appointment as a political counter-weight to Lueger's, one of the checks and balances of a bumbling constitution.

Scholars have acknowledged that Mahler was attacked by the anti-Semitic press as soon as his appointment as director of the « Hofoper » was made public.

The « Deutsche Zeitung », which characterized itself as « the only anti-Semitic German Nationalist daily-paper in Vienna », wonders why it « is opportune to appoint a Jew to the German Opera of a city with a strong movement against the fearsome “ Jewification ” of art is just cutting a path ? » :

« We still have a few things to add for the clarification of what we have published about the appointment of Mahler to the Court Opera. Someone seems to have become conscious that the appointment of a “ Jew ” would be most unpopular, that it would amuse sensation and justified opposition. It seems to have occurred even to Mahler himself, because 3 weeks ago, and thus at a time when, in any case, he already knew of his imminent appointment, “ he had himself baptized ” ! Of course, that does not change the facts at all, that at this stage in one of the few non-Jewish artistic institutions in Vienna from now on a “ Jew ” will be in a position to call the tune. The consequence will be inevitable : the Viennese public will not be held to blame for the proper response to this violation of its patent wishes. Then, we shall also see whether it was right to settle such an important engagement without even asking Hans Richter. It looks precisely as if the appointment of Mahler will have been the last sneering deed of the departing cabinet of Wilhelm Jahn ; it is the fitting leave-taking of a reprehensible system. »

The « Reichpost » warns that it will not be long before Mahler « starts his Jew-boy antics on the podium » .

Another German nationalist paper was the « Ostdeutsche Rundschau », whose critic signed himself in Wagnerian form as Hagen :

« The appointment of the Jew Mahler is a triumph for artistic Jewry, but (rejoice, Geßmann !) also a triumph for the

Catholic Church. A very short time before his nomination, Mahler had himself “ done ” and with that cheated what is not only founded in law, but also a wise tradition, that no Jew be tolerated in the service of the Court. Indeed, baptizing Jews is extremely practical, for the people of Israel as for the clerics. »

The focus on such overt attacks, however, has obscured the much more insidious tacit anti-Semitism. In 19th Century Europe, the term « Jew » was not a religious category but a racial one : being Jewish had nothing to do with belief and everything to do with their immutable difference from other « peoples » .

Mahler's advent is dressed-up as an insult to conductor Hans Richter, whom Mahler tries to mollify :

« From my earliest youth, you have been the model I have tried to emulate. (...) When in doubt, I ask myself, what would Hans Richter do ? »

Wagner's acolyte huffily assures Mahler :

« You will not find me a hostile colleague (...) once I am convinced that your work will benefit the Imperial institution and advance our noble art. »

Mahler dubs him « honest Hans » and determines to get rid of him.

The production of Wagner's « Ring » has not changed since 1877, but with Mahler in the pit, the drama feels recharged. There is urgency to the acting, extra-brilliance to the sound, and an integrity to the text.

Hugo Wolf exclaims :

« In this “ Ring ”, one could hear things that nobody had heard before, things one had given-up all hope of hearing. »

Mahler, feeling threatened, does what Jews have done down the ages : he huddles in a ghetto of close friends, almost all of them Jewish, and keeps his head down. He does not need to do much to get noticed. Older students, sensing talent, seek his company. Rudolf Krzyzanowski and his brother Heinrich make sure he has something to eat each day. Anton Krisper shares his essays. Friedrich Lohr, an archæology scholar, takes him to exotic lectures. Guido Adler, the Wagnerian, helps him find work. Emil Freund, a law student, gives financial advice. Natalie Bauer-Lechner, a plain-faced book-seller's daughter, flutters her eye-lashes. In mid-winter, she sees him coatless in the street, correcting a sonata as he runs along, unaware that the sheets are scattering behind him. Someone should look after the lad, she thinks.

The combination of Mahler and Vienna gives us a glimpse of something that might otherwise (in a less public place, with a less prominent figure) remain hidden. No one, of course, doubts that Mahler's tenure at the Vienna Court Opera from 1897 to 1907 was made extremely unpleasant by the anti-Semitic press.

Mahler arrived at the Court Opera in time for the Badenyi riots - a series of German nationalist demonstrations that may have led him to produce Bedřich Smetana's Opera « Dalibor » on the Emperor's name-day as a show of support for the government's pro-Czech policies. Mahler would witness the struggle over the planned torch-light celebrations for Karl Lueger's 60th birthday in 1904, which had to be canceled because of Socialist counter-demonstrations. In November 1905, he could witness 200,000 Socialist sympathizers occupy the « Ringstraße » to call for equal male suffrage. Until 1907, suffrage for the parliament of the Austrian half of the Empire (so-called Cisleithania) was based on electoral colleges or « curiæ » weighted by voters' wealth.

Many scholars have pointed-out that the Vienna in which Mahler lived from 1897 to 1907 was far from being a typical European city.

As Stephen Beller has noted :

« Vienna was the only European capital at the time to have an elected anti-Semitic municipal government. »

### Theodor Helm pays tribute to Bruckner

**Thursday, 5 January 1893** : Viennese music-critic Doctor Theodor Helm recalled the premiere of the second version of the 8th Symphony (WAB 108) in Vienna, in December 1892 :

« Sometimes, I am really doubtful as to who is the greater : Bruckner, the “ Master of the Symphony ” or Bruckner, the “ Master of Church Music ”. Let us be happy to have both. »

### Returning to the « Red Hedgehog »

**Around the beginning of January 1893** : Anton Bruckner meets Johannes Brahms at the « Red Hedgehog Inn » (« Gasthaus Zum Roten Igel ») on the « Wildpretmarkt » . He asks Brahms's opinion about the 8th Symphony.

According to Theodor Hämmerle, the Austrian textile industrialist and patron of the arts :

After the premiere of the 8th Symphony, Brahms was supposed to have said to Doctor Steger that Bruckner was a great genius.

### Bed rest and diet

**Tuesday, 17 January 1893 (or Tuesday, 24 January 1893 ?)** : Due to increasing wateriness, heart weakness, and dyspnoea, Doctor Leopold Schrötter. prescribes bed rest and diet to Anton Bruckner.

From then on, the patient is visited 3 times a week by Schrötter's assistant, Doctor Alexander Ritter von Weismayr.

A certain « Herr H.S. » also reports to have visited the sick composer.

Bruckner was entertained by Eduard Hanslick's articles on the Italian composer Pietro Mascagni. (Bruckner heard only one of his Operas.)

House-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr recalls that, at the beginning of his illness, Bruckner had also consulted Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy and German surgeon Professor Gustav Riedel plus other physicians and specialists who were part of the « Riedhof » Circle.

### Doctor Carl Riedel

The German surgeon Bernhard Moritz Carl Ludwig Riedel was born on 18 September 1846 in Teschentín (Laage) , in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg (« Großherzogtum Mecklenburg ») ; and died of lung cancer on 12 September 1916 in Jena.

The son of a parson, Riedel studied medicine at Jena from 1866, but, in 1868, moved to Rostock. Just before the Franco-Prussian War broke-out, he took an emergency degree and went to Glogau in military service as a corpsman with a rank of corporal and he remained in the medical corps until the end of the War, during which he saw service both at the front and in military hospitals.

After the War, he returned to Rostock and completed his medical examinations, graduated from the University in 1872 - topping his class. For the next 3 years, he was prosector to the anatomist Friedrich Siegmund Merkel (1845-1919) in Rostock.

In 1875, he became an assistant to Franz König (1832-1910) in Göttingen, where he was habilitated for surgery in 1877. In the ensuing years, he studied surgery with Bernhard Rudolf Konrad von Langenbeck (1810-1887) , Heinrich Adolf von Bardeleben (1819-1895) and Hermann Eberhard Fischer (1831-1919) . After Franz König was appointed professor of surgery at Göttingen, Riedel returned to Göttingen to work with him there. In Göttingen, he studied wound healing and joint effusions and commenced his interests in gastric surgery and cholelithiasis.

From 1877 to 1881, Riedel was « Dozent » of surgery in Göttingen. In 1881, he became head-physician at the surgical department of the « Städtisches Krankenhaus » in Aachen, and, in 1888, he succeeded Heinrich Braun (1847-1911) as full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») of surgery and director of the surgical clinic at the University of Jena.

Riedel was a pioneer in the surgical treatment of appendicitis and cholecystitis. In 1888, he performed the first choledochoduodenostomy (anastomosis of the common bile duct to the duodenum) .

Riedel was named « Professor emeritus » in 1910.

Late in life, Riedel had to have his leg amputated at the knee as a consequence of a painful leg condition secondary

to atherosclerosis. Despite this, he resumed full-activities when World War I broke-out in 1914.

Riedel was one of the pioneers in surgical treatment of appendicitis and strongly advocated « the earliest early operation ». He was the first to demonstrate that the abscess, which occurs after appendicitis, may be removed with an incision in the free abdominal cavity without danger to the patient, as long as it has not spread too much.

For acute cholecystitis in the late-19th Century and early-20th Century, the diagnosis was difficult and the management not defined.

Riedel documented his patients, analysed his results, and described his method of cholecystectomy.

Riedel advocated early operation for acute cholecystitis when the conditions were favourable, as for acute appendicitis. He stressed the importance of good lighting, an experienced surgeon and trained assistants. He advocated conservative treatment for minor cholecystitis (biliary colic) until the diagnosis was certain, followed by elective cholecystectomy to reduce the risk of subsequent acute cholecystitis or bile duct stones. Caution was advised when analysing previous statistics, to ensure appropriate patient comparison.

« Anatomy and more anatomy is the essence of surgery. »

(Doctor Carl Riedel)

## Eponyms

**Riedel thyroiditis** (sometimes called : ligneous thyroiditis, invasive fibrous thyroiditis or struma fibromatosis) : An uncommon thyroid disease in which the thyroid gland is replaced by extensive fibrosis. first described by Riedel in 1896.

**Riedel's lobe** : A tongue-shaped process of the liver, often found protruding over the gallbladder in cases of chronic cholecystitis.

**Riedel's disease**

**Riedel's operation**

**Riedel's tumour**

...

Deutscher Chirurg Doktor Bernhard Moritz Carl Ludwig Riedel : geboren 18. September 1846 in Teschentin (Laage) , Großherzogtum Mecklenburg ; gestorben 12. September 1916 in Jena.

Riedel begann an der Universität Jena Medizin zu studieren. 1867 wurde er im Corps Thuringia Jena aktiv. Als Inaktiver wechselte er an die Universität Rostock. Er legte 1872 in Rostock das Staatsexamen ab und wurde zum Doktor der Medizin promoviert. Nach 3 Jahren als Assistent und Prosektor am Anatomischen Institut in Rostock bei Johann Friedrich Sigmund Merkel wechselte er 1876 an die Chirurgische Klinik in Göttingen als Assistent von Franz König, wo er sich 1877 habilitierte und 1880 zum außerordentlichen Professor ernannt wurde. Nach weiteren sechseinhalb Jahren als Oberarzt und Leiter der chirurgischen Abteilung des Mariahilfshospitals in Aachen wurde Riedel 1888 als Nachfolger von Heinrich Braun Ordinarius für Chirurgie an der Universität Jena und Direktor der Chirurgischen Klinik in Jena. 1910 wurde er emeritiert.

Sowohl Arbeiten auf histologischem und embryologischem Gebiet als auch experimentell-chirurgische Forschungen zu Narbenbildungen an ligierten Gefäßen und zur Fettembolie gehörten zu seinem wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsgebiet. 1882 gelang ihm als erstem deutschen Chirurgen die blutige Reposition des spontan luxierten Hüftgelenks, 1884 die des traumatisch luxierten. Er wies als Erster nach Knochenbrüchen Eiweiß und Zylinder im Harn nach. Von ihm stammt eine Methode der Sequestrotomie. Er wies zuerst nach, daß die am Kieferwinkel gelegene Kiemengangsfistel mit dem Mittelohr kommunizieren könne.

...

Bernhard Moritz Carl Ludwig Riedel studierte in Jena und Rostock Medizin, wo er 1872 die ärztliche Staatsprüfung ablegte und promoviert wurde. 1873-1875 arbeitete er als Assistent und Prosektor am Rostocker Anatomischen Institut, dann bis 1882 an der Chirurgischen Klinik Göttingen unter Franz König. Riedel habilitierte sich 1877, wurde Privatdozent und 1880 außerordentlicher Professor. 1881 übernahm er die Leitung der Chirurgischen Abteilung des Mariahilfshospitals Aachen. 1888 erfolgte die Berufung zum Ordinarius für Chirurgie und Direktor der Chirurgischen Klinik an der Universität Jena (1910 em.) .

Riedels wissenschaftliche Arbeiten umfassen histologische und embryologische Fragestellungen ebenso wie experimentell-chirurgische Forschungen zu Narbenbildungen an ligierten Gefäßen und zur Fettembolie. Er entdeckte und andere, daß Kiemengangsfisteln am Hals mit dem Mittelohr kommunizieren können. Wichtige Untersuchungen lieferte er zu Erkrankungen des Magens, der Gallenblase und des Pankreas. Die akute Pankreatitis wurde als « Riedel'scher Tumor » bezeichnet, eine zungenförmige Ausziehung der Leber vor der Gallenblase bei Cholelithiasis als « Riedel-Lappen » . Von großer Bedeutung waren Riedels Arbeiten zur Appendizitis und die daraus resultierende Forderung nach einer Frühappendektomie mittels Wechselschnitt. Bis heute ist die Bezeichnung « Riedel-Struma » für eisenharte Struma geläufig. Als erstem deutschen Chirurgen gelang Riedel 1882 die blutige Reposition des spontan und 1884 des traumatisch luxierten Hüftgelenkes.

## Genealogie

Vater : Johann Carl, Konrektor, evangelist Pfarrer ; Mutter : Mariana Dorothea Krause ; verheiratet 1883 Emma Heräus (geboren 1859) ; 2 Sohn, 2 Tochter.

## Auszeichnungen

Mitglied der Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina (1888) .

Nach Riedel wurden die Riedel-Struma, eine Schilddrüsen-Erkrankung, der Riedel'sche Fortsatz der Leber oder auch Riedel-Lappen, die Stirnhöhlen-Operationen nach Riedel und der Riedel'sche Tumor benannt.

Vorsitzender der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie (1907) .

Geheimer Medizinalrat.

Ehrenmitglied des Corps Thuringia Jena.

## Schriften

Erfahrungen über die Gallensteinkrankheiten mit und ohne Icterus, Berlin (1892) .

Anleitung zum Operieren an der Leiche und am Lebenden mit Rücksicht auf der ärztl, Praxis (1896) .

Die Pathogenese, Diagnose und Behandlung des Gallensteinleidens (1903) .

## Death of Father Loidol

Although much younger than Bruckner, Father « Oddo » Loidol would die early in 1893.

« Being thankful from the bottom of my heart, I beg God above all for your health ! Alas ! If I knew how to help !

Doctor Anton Bruckner »

This « communiqué » (dated **Wednesday, 4 January 1893**) may have been a telegram. It demonstrates Bruckner's grief at the illness, eventually proving fatal, that Father Loidol was experiencing.

Nevertheless, it clarifies Bruckner's feelings, thus demonstrating that, in the face of his own deteriorating health, he was even yet very much concerned about the welfare of others - especially, one who was a beloved friend.

**Tuesday, 31 January 1893** : Death of Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol in Kremsmünster Abbey of a lung disease. Father Sebastian Mayr notifies Anton Bruckner by sending him a telegram.

In his diary, Father Franz Schwab writes down an appraisal of the deceased :

« He is a pupil of the famous composer Doctor Anton Bruckner, with whom he was attached with fatherly devotion. He played the organ like the piano with true Mastery, and was a “connoisseur” of musical literature. He was a brilliant musician both as a theoretician and as a practitioner. »

Bruckner who made several visits to his sick friend enjoyed his company right until the end.

Loidol's « Festchor » (Festive chorus) written for to the inauguration of the new « Gymnasium » in Kremsmünster must be considered one of his best compositions.

**Wednesday, 1 February 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Father Sebastian Mayr (Kremsmünster) :

Condolences on the death of Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol. Greetings to the Abbot and Provincial Governor Leonhard Achleuthner and the entire chapter.

Bruckner had been sick for about 8 days. Today, for the first time, he was out of bed. Doctor Leopold Schrötter treated him.

### Back on his feet

**Friday, 24 February 1893** : The « Linzer Zeitung » reports that Bruckner's physician, Doctor Leopold Schrötter, sees an improvement in the composer's condition, and that Bruckner promised his friend « Kapellmeister » Franz Bayer to play the organ at the Steyr performance of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) on April 2nd.

### Bruckner's upper-arm dislocation

**Sunday, 12 March 1893** : Letter from August Göllerich junior to music-critic Hans Puchstein :

Bruckner asked his personal biographer to ask Puchstein to forbid Camillo Horn to talk about him (Bruckner) and his works.

If Bruckner's upper-arm dislocation is not too serious, he will come to Vienna for the performance of the Mass in F minor and stay with his cousin Doctor Nowotny.

**Monday, 13 March 1893** : Last university lecture of the Winter Semester. Due to his upper-arm dislocation, Bruckner assigns an alternate teacher who behaves more like a school Master. The audience doesn't really listen to him.

### Bruckner gives news to Kitzler

**Tuesday, 14 March 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to his former teacher Otto Kitzler :



In the middle of January, Bruckner had been assigned to bed for a water treatment, and had been placed on a strict diet by Doctor Leopold Schrötter. His life is not in danger. His obligations to the Imperial Court and the Conservatory are over. Bruckner is very upset that he is not allowed to play the organ. Attending a recital or a concert (his 4th Symphony will be performed in Brünn) could represent to much excitement for him. The premiere of the 8th Symphony is another similar case.

### WAB 26 : The Bayer-Bruckner duo

**Sunday, 2 April 1893** : Memorable performance in Steyr of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) conducted by « Kapellmeister » Franz Bayer at the old parish church (« Alte Stadtpfarrkirche ») . Bruckner was finally able to play the organ-part.

At a special reception after the performance, the delighted composer paid tribute to conductor and performers for their exemplary preparation of the work.

That same day, Bruckner became honorary member of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») .

### In bed for the next 3 weeks

**Middle of April 1893** : Anton Bruckner is (again) very sick. He has to stay in bed for the next 3 weeks.

### Bruckner gave me hell and tortured me

The reverse side of the successful composer was the ill old man. In 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 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.

**Saturday, 15 April 1893** : Letter from Josef Schalk wrote 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 ! ” »

### Meet the doctor, Thursday

**Thursday, 20 April 1893** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Thursday, Doctor (Leopold Schrötter ?) . »

### Money, meat and stationery

**Thursday, 25 May 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Bruckner sends 7 Florins to Ignaz and thanks him for the meat. Bruckner will soon buy him stationery.

### Philomena Tischler

**Thursday, 25 May 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Philomena Tischler :

House-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr as received the photography of « Fräulein » Tischler. Bruckner is pleased to invite her.

Philomena lives at « Margarethenstraße » Number 26, in Wienden (4th District of Vienna) .

### A lot to talk about

**Saturday, 27 May 1893** : Wilhelm Schmid from Tübingen visits Anton Bruckner.

The composer talks about :

Chicago, Birmingham (?) (about the « Te Deum » project - confusion with the city of Cincinnati ?) and Berlin.

His opponents Eduard Hanslick, Doctor Theodor Billroth and Josef Hellmesberger senior.

Hans Richter, Ludwig Speidel, Johannes Brahms, Hugo Wolf, the Schalk brothers and Viktor Tilgner's bust of him (Bruckner) .

Schmid mentions an article written by Josef Schalk on the 8th Symphony and published in the « Österreichischen Literaturblatt » (15 May 1893) . Bruckner immediately reports the press article to his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr then leaves to attend a doctorate ceremony.

## Johann Langthaler's horse

**Sunday, 11 June 1893** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to his brother Anton (Vienna) :

Name-Day congratulation for June 13th, 1893. Today, the sacrament of confirmation has been celebrated in St. Florian's abbey church. Greetings to house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr. Monastery's « Herr Hofmeister » Johann Langthaler has fallen from his horse.

## Mahler on Brahms and Bruckner

**Summer 1893** : Natalie Bauer-Lechner notes a conversation between Gustav Mahler and his brother Otto :

Gustav considers Johannes Brahms to be more important than Anton Bruckner.

## Mental effort is prohibited

**July 1893** : Bruckner's doctors forbid him any mental effort, including composing.

## Wedding of Karl Almeroth

Anton Bruckner becomes the accomplice of Karl Almeroth when the latter asks the hand of « Fräulein » Elizabeth Pracherstorfer (the daughter of a Master stone-mason, born on February 16, 1871) .

**Monday, 3 July 1893** : Wedding of the couple at the Municipal Evangelical Lutheran Church (« Lutherische Stadtkirche ») in Vienna, located at « Dorotheergasse » Number 18, in the 1st District. Sculptor Viktor Tilgner and wood merchant and land-owner Karl Reder attend as « best man » while Bruckner plays the organ during the ceremony (helped by Franz Urban at the registrations) .

Bruckner improvised on a theme taken from « Helgoland » (**WAB 71**) . He offered the sketch-sheet (with a very shaky signature) as a present to Urban's daughter, Hermine.

After the wedding, Bruckner decided to go to the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » run by inn-keeper Johann Benedickter, located near the Vienna General Hospital (at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schlöbelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of Josefstadt) to celebrate (alone ?) .

The Almeroths will first live in Steyr at the Villa (the former « Technische Rathaus » or Town Hall) located at « Garstnerstraße » Number 3 (now called : « Leopold Werndl Straße ») .

Later, they will move to Vienna at « Lenaugasse » Number 17, in the 8th District.

### 1893 : Mahler visits Brahms in Ischl

**July 1893** : Mahler pays a first annual visit to Johannes Brahms at his house in Ischl.

### 1893 : Bruckner goes to Bayreuth

**August 1893** : Anton Bruckner is the center of attraction at the Bayreuth Festival.

His arrival is greeted by an enthusiastic crowd composed of musicians and music-lovers. In the most total confusion, the chest containing the sketches of the 9th Symphony is lost. After endless hours of worry, Bruckner finally recuperates it at the police station.

Bruckner will make his daily pilgrimage to the grave of the « Master of all the masters » .

Paul Marsop, a Wagner's disciple and music-critic (author of several essays) , who was once a sworn enemy of Bruckner's music, reports that he saw him approaching the grave with great reverence, joining hands and praying with such fervour that tears began to run down on his face.

Perhaps, the old Bruckner felt that this visit to « Wahnfried » might prove to be his last.

Felix Weingartner recalled being soured to Bruckner at Wagner's grave, shortly after the great composer's death, due to Bruckner relating the success of his latest Symphony, in loud, seemingly disrespectful tones.

Bruckner heard only recently about Wagner's statement :

« Bruckner's thoughts reach as far as Beethoven. »

Doctor Paul Marsop (1826-1925) : German music-editor and critic from Munich. He championed Bruckner's music and praised him in his columns. He worked, « inter alia » , for the « Berliner Tagblatt » .

### Wagner's barber : Bernhard Schnappauf

Bernhard Schnappauf (1852 ? - 1904) was the personal barber and pedicurist of Richard Wagner. He also took care of the Master's abdominal difficulties and feet. His « Salon » was located on « Ochsengasse » , in Bayreuth.

Schnappauf expressed the opinion that the « great Master » would have not died had he been with him to care for his colic. He discounted the fact that death had been caused by a heart-attack by relating that Wagner had been climbing and leaping into the stage flies in his 60's, the very picture of indomitable strength.

(The death-mask of Wagner was taken by the sculptor Weißbrod, in the presence of Paul von Joukowsky and Bernhard

Schnappauf. Cosima and Schnappauf put Franz Liszt's body into the coffin.)

Even after Richard Wagner's death, Anton Bruckner, on each of his visits at Bayreuth, made a point of honour on being shaved by « Herr » Bernhard Schnappauf, the former barber of the Master.

Bruckner once told him about the successes of his 7th Symphony.

Then, he blurted out :

« So, it is true what the dead Master said ! »

« Yes, what did he say ? » , the barber asked.

Bruckner prompted with excitation :

« The Master said that my Symphonies would tell the world something else. »

Schnappauf recalled :

« A jubilant Bruckner was clapping his hands like a child. »

Then, Bruckner added, rejoicing :

« See, when you are shaving me, it's like sitting on a cloud. »

### Ignaz Putz

**Around July-August 1893** : Anton Bruckner stayed in Amstetten. Ignaz Putz, the owner of the local coffee-house, was out of town during that same period.

Putz was a cultivated man, a member of the Municipal Council, and was involved in the cultural life of the town and its surroundings. He held the position of first violin in the orchestra and was also president of the Men's Choral Society (« Männergesangsverein ») .

**Thursday, 10 August 1893** : Letter from Ignaz Putz to Anton Bruckner :

He ask Bruckner to compose a motto for the « Amstettener Liedertafel » .

« Dear “ Herr ” Bruckner !

On behalf of myself and of my bereaved family, I take the liberty of making this most important request. Please.

For the past 13 years, I have been heading the Board of the Men's Choir, which is missing a motto. I therefore dare to ask you, with the greatest of respect, to compose a song that will include this new motto which will remain in the memory of generations to come. We would be most grateful. Since we are due to participate in a Choral Festival at the end of the month, I would be very happy to have it in my possession. »

(Ignaz Putz)

Another letter will follow :

« Recently, “ Herr ” Bruckner, you came to my house when I was unfortunately away from home ! I am very sorry ! But I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you soon, again. I beg you not to be irritated about my request. I humbly offer you, with the utmost respect, the best greetings in my name and in the name of my wife. »

(Ignaz Putz)

We do not have the answer to this last letter but we know that Bruckner never met the demand of the « Amstettener Liedertafel » . Bruckner, who was very sick during that period, had to stay in bed most of the time.

Because :

« The wings of Death threatened to unfold in 1893. »

(August Göllerich junior)

**Thursday, 4 September 1924** : Article entitled « Personal memories of Bruckner » (« Persönliche Erinnerungen an Bruckner ») written by Ignaz Putz in the « Neuen Wiener Tagblatt » .

« Astra »

Anton Bruckner never wrote an Opera nor did he ever write an Oratorio. As much as he was a fan of Richard Wagner's music-dramas, he was uninterested in drama. In 1893, he thought about writing an Opera called « Astra » based on a novel by Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund.

We do not know whether Anton Bruckner ever talked to Hugo Wolf about the Opera he was planning to write. (Was a rhythm from the Finale pulsing in his mind ?) Whether his ideas materialized to the point of an actual project is not known. Maybe, he would never have thought of Opera at all, had it not been for a librettist who asked him to set a text to music.

In 1893, Bruckner received a letter from a certain Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund saying that the ordinary listener could not understand his Symphonies completely, so rich were they in ideas.

She continued :

« Even the well-educated person finds great mystery in them. You may say you are not a composer of Opera, yet, you have the gift for it as surely as Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, and Richard Wagner. In your Symphonies, there are abundant motives for Opera. I could give you a text which, in my opinion, would suit you. It is religious in character. »

Bruckner answered :

« Your magnificent letter shows me you have great genius. I would like to do a dramatic work “ à la Lohengrin ” : Romantic, religious, mysterious, and above all, free from all impurities. »

Aside from the question as to what is impure in itself, there is hardly a subject which art, especially music, cannot ennoble. First of all, music has a peculiar « veiling » quality which can transform a subject. One need not point to an extreme example, such as the Opera « Salome » , which was first rejected because of its « indecent » libretto. Even the opening scene of « Don Juan » might be considered shocking from a moralist's point of view. Yet, who could possibly feel shocked when he hears the words wrapped in Mozart's music ? Bruckner, however, never entertained such thoughts as these when he considered the question of purity. Impurity to him meant anything that might offend the religious feeling of devout Catholics. The Roman Church has good reasons, indeed, to be proud of this son of hers. It was Anton Bruckner's good luck that the negotiations with Mrs. Bollé came to nothing. He was spared the fate of many a composer who is attracted to Opera as though drawn by a magnet, be this realm of music ever so foreign to him. Bruckner had an infallible instinct in everything pertaining to his art.

**Before Tuesday, 5 September 1893** : Letter from Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (pseudonym : Elizabeth Bollé who was presumably a writer) (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner (Steyr) :

Bollé-Hellmund offers Bruckner a libretto (« Astra » , after the « Toteninsel » by Richard Voß) to compose an Opera. If Bruckner accepts her proposition, she will have to send him the manuscript under the pseudonym of a male-writer.

**Tuesday, 5 September 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (Berlin) :

Bruckner is always sick. He has to rest on orders of his doctors. He needs to work on his 9th Symphony for another 2 years. Only then, he would like to think of composing an Opera. He suggests to Bollé-Hellmund a libretto « à la Lohengrin » : Romantic, religious, misterious, and (most important) free of all impurities.

The old Master knew he was engaged in a race against time. Despite the polished tone of his letter, it is unrealistic to believe that one day he would write an Opera.

**After Tuesday, 5 September 1893** : Letter from Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner :

Gertrud reacts to Bruckner's proposition.

**Thursday, 21 September 1893** : Letter from « Kapellmeister » Franz Bayer (Steyr) to Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (Berlin) :

Bayer talks about Gertrud's Opera project (« Astra ») . From a medical point-of-view, it is forbidden for Bruckner to make any mental effort.

**After Sunday, 5 May 1895** : Letter from Anton Meißner (Vienna) to Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (Berlin) :

Anton Bruckner was still not healthy, had not worked since December 1894 and had to finish the Finale of the 9th Symphony. She could send the libretto, but the composition could not be considered for the time being.

**Before Saturday 6 July 1895** : Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund sends Anton Bruckner her Opera libretto « Astra » after the novel « Die Toteninsel » by Richard Voß.

**Saturday, 6 July 1895** : Letter from Anton Meißner (Vienna) to Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (Berlin) :

Meißner acknowledges receipt of the libretto of « Astra » and conveys Bruckner's thanks but offers little hope to the idea of making use of it. Bruckner has been living at the Upper-Belvedere since yesterday. The 9th Symphony will still take him a long time. A Catholic libretto (as in the case of Franz Liszt's « Elisabeth » or Pedro Calderón de la Barca) would probably appeal to Bruckner.

Bollé-Hellmund will continue her correspondence, intermittently, with Bruckner.

Doctor Wilhelm Altmann reports in an article published in « The Music » magazine (Volume I, Number 22) dating from 1901 :

« Elizabeth Bollé offered Anton Bruckner the libretto of “ Astra ” which is based on the novel “ Die Toteninsel ” (The Isle of the Dead) by Richard Voß which plunges us into the time of the persecution of Christians in Ancient Rome. »

« Astra » was not Bruckner's first Opera project. At least 2 others are known :

« Ekkehard » , based on the novel by Joseph Victor von Scheffel.

« Die Bürgerreuth » , based on a libretto by Franz Schumann.

According to the composer's demands, each of these projects had to include a hunting-scene and a church-scene with organ playing - and, of course, to be free from any « impurity » !



## Flowers for Irma

**Around Thursday, 7 September 1893** : Letter (presumably a business-card) from Anton Bruckner to Johanna Maria « Irma » Neweklowski :

Bruckner congratulates « Fräulein Irma » on her Name-Day. He also sends flowers.

It is possible that the letter was written at a later date since the Name-Day of « Irma » was celebrated on September 14th, 1893. However, her original first name is Johanna Maria, so that, on September 8th, the proposed dating seems plausible because of the Feast of the Marian names.

**Sunday, 10 September 1893** : Letter from Johanna Maria « Irma » Neweklowski to Anton Bruckner (probably written on September 8th, and only dated on September 10th) :

Thanks for the card received yesterday with the Name-Day greetings and the flowers. For her, it was the most beautiful Name-Day congratulations. « Irma » hopes for the promised visit by Bruckner.

Is the letter dating from September 10th ? Yesterday, the letter had not been delivered due to a mistake by the messenger. Refer to the Name-Day of « Irma » (September 14th) . If the dating is clearly readable, it probably comes from the transcript. Thus, Bruckner's letter of September 7th refers to the Name-Day of « Maria » (September 8th) . first delivery of the reply : September 9th. Final delivery : September 10th. In reference to Irma, one would have to accept a reading error in the dating. Correct dating : 16 September. Bruckner's letter of September 13th written on the Name-Day of « Irma » . 14 September : first delivery of the « thank you » letter on September 15th. Final delivery : September 16th.

## No entries in the pocket calendar

**Monday, 18 September 1893** : Presumably due to illness, Anton Bruckner interrupts noting in his prayer-notebook (until September 30th) .

## Death of Hellmesberger

**Tuesday, 24 October 1893** : Josef Hellmesberger senior dies of pneumonia in Vienna. He was 63 years old.

Hellmesberger retained his functions as director of the Vienna Conservatory and « Kapellmeister » of the Imperial Chapel until shortly before his death.

## Monday university lecture cancelled

**Monday, 30 October 1893** : Doctor Leopold Schrötter makes a medical visit to Anton Bruckner at noon time. The

Monday university lecture is cancelled.

### Severe dyspnea

**Before Monday, 6 November 1893** : Anton Bruckner suffers of severe dyspnea (shortness of breath) .

**Monday, 6 November 1893** : Doctor Leopold Schrötter makes a medical visit to Anton Bruckner during the afternoon. Because he observes a significant improvement in the health of his patient, he allows Bruckner to hold his usual Monday lecture at the University of Vienna - the first one of the 1893-1894 Winter Semester.

### Concert plans for Berlin

**Wednesday, 8 November 1893** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Siegfried Ochs (Berlin) :

Bruckner had been bed-ridden, but now, he is allowed to get-up again (but Doctor Schrötter was very strict) . Bruckner thanks Ochs for the Berlin performance plans. Besides the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) which will be sung by his favourite choir (the Philharmonic Choral Society of Berlin) , he would like to hear the 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) , which he has never heard since the concerts of March 21, 1886, and February 24, 1889, which have been horribly reviewed in the Vienna « Neue Freie Presse » by music-critic Eduard Hanslick.

### Drafting the will

**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.

The composer requests that his own patriotic Cantata, « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) (who finished second behind « Germania » at the Upper-Austrian - Salzburg Male Chorus Festival in June 1865) , be played in his memory during the funeral ceremonies.

Bruckner will make another special request to the church authorities : his coffin must be wide and his remains exposed (not buried) in the crypt of the abbey church of St. Florian (like former Dean, Jodok (« Jodocus ») Stülz, prelate of the monastery, benevolent protector and friend of Bruckner) , just below the great organ, which since bears his name :

« I demand that my remains be placed in a metal coffin that will be exposed to air (not buried) in the crypt of the

church of St. Florian, under the great organ. »

If refused, Bruckner will ask to be buried at the Steyr Parish Church (« Stadtpfarrkirche ») cemetery, and not at the Central Cemetery (« Zentralfriedhof ») among the musical giants of Vienna.

The request proves to be quite unusual since Bruckner was not an official member of the Clergy. Once approved, people from the monastery will start digging under the church. They will discover to their surprise a historical necropolis dating from the Turkish invasions (site of a battle involving the Huns) , where several thousand skulls and bones will be remove and organize in an elaborate, faintly macabre arrangement (ossuary) before which Bruckner will soon play for eternity !

The composer will leave a clear list of instructions to follow during the embalming procedure (using the newly-discovered formalin) .

Because of his degrading mental state, Bruckner will require the preservation at the Imperial and Royal Court Library (« Hofbibliothek ») of its original scores « for better times » (« für beßerre Zeit ») .

Bruckner will sign the legal papers, place them in an envelope along with the selected autograph manuscripts, then will seal the envelope himself.

### Will

« In the event of my demise, I affect after careful consideration the ensuing last-will instructions :

#### I

I request that my mortal remains be placed in a metal coffin, in the vault under the Monastery Church of the Lateran Rule and, to be sure, under the great organ ; it shall be free-standing, inside the vault, without being buried ; and I, myself, already during my lifetime, have obtained approval for this from the most reverend dignitaries of the above named monastery, the coffin designated to be kept-up by the monastery. My body is also to be interred, of which beloved act of kindness Professor Paltauf has already declared himself to be willing ; and all is arranged (first-class funeral) , thereby, to effect the transport and internment in the place of rest which has been designated by me in St. Florian, in Upper-Austria.

#### II

I prescribe that, to the aforesaid monastery St. Florian, the guarantee of the costs of the up-keep of my sarcophagus, in addition to 4 Holy-Masses ; to be sure, 3 Masses for my birthday, the anniversary of my death, and my Name-Day, and a 4th Mass for my parents and my brothers and sisters, which shall be said each year ; a designated sum of money will be given.

#### III

To my only heirs, my brother Ignaz Bruckner, in St. Florian, and my sister Rosalia Hueber (born Bruckner) , in Vöcklabruck, I convoke equal portions between them. The aforementioned, in particular, lawfully belongs to the heirs ; and, in the publishing contracts, on the part of my publishers, is covered by the stipulated promise of royalties, hopefully more abundant, will be put aside for them in the future because, during my lifetime, I myself have scarcely drawn upon the material returns from my works.

#### IV

I bequeath the original manuscripts of my compositions as follows : the Symphonies numbering 8, until now (the 9th 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 Joseph 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 » Joseph Eberle and Company, the aforesaid original manuscripts as a loan for an appropriate amount of time.

#### V

To my servant, Katharina Kachelmeier, in recognition of loyal service for many years, which she has rendered to me, I bequeath the sum of 400 Florins. In the event that she is still in my service at the time of my demise, she shall receive a further 300 Florins, so that by entry of this provision, she receives a total of 700 Florins. I request that this legacy will be paid, immediately upon my death, without any deductions.

#### VI

I appoint Doctor Theodor Reisch, Imperial Legal Advocate in Vienna XIX, Oberdöbling, as my executor, and request the aforementioned to take care of fulfillment of my final wishes. I have prepared the same in the presence of the witnesses signed in their own hand-writing.

Doctor Anton Bruckner, m.p.

Ferdinand Löwe, m.p. , as requested witness

Cyrill Hynais, m.p. , as requested witness

Doctor Theodor Reisch, m.p. , as requested witness »

The burial in St. Florian as the consent of Prelate Ferdinand Moser. The treatment of the corpse (mummification) will be executed by Professor Richard Paltauf.

**Tuesday, 25 September 1894** : Anton Bruckner makes amendments to his will drafted on November 10, 1893.

Doctor Richard Paltauf

The Austrian anatomist, pathologist and bacteriologist Richard Paltauf was born on 9 February 1858 in Judenburg, Styria ; and died on 21 April 1924 in Semmering, Lower-Austria. Richard Paltauf was the brother of Arnold Paltauf (1860-1893) , professor of forensic medicine at the German University in Prague.

In 1880, Paltauf received his medical doctorate at the University of Graz, and, from 1881 to 1883, was an assistant to pathologist Hans Kundrat (1845-1893) in Graz. Afterwards, he remained as Kundrat's assistant at the University of Vienna, where, in 1888, he obtained his habilitation in pathological anatomy. 1892 : Professor in Graz. 1893 : Prosector.

In 1892, he became an associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») of general pathology and pathological histology, and, during the following year, became head of the institute for pathological histology and bacteriology. 1898 : professor at the University of Vienna. 1907-1908 and 1913-1914 : dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Vienna.

From 1900 until his death, in 1924, he was a full-professor of general and experimental pathology.

With Anton Weichselbaum (1845-1920) , he was responsible for introducing bacteriology and serology in Vienna. Also, he founded a sero-therapeutical institute as well as an institution for vaccination against rabies. With Carl Sternberg (1872-1935) , he conducted important research of lymphogranulomatosis.

...

Richard Paltauf studied in Graz and received his doctorate there in 1880. From 1881 to 1893, he was assistant to Hans Kundrat (1845-1893) at the chair of pathological anatomy in Graz, and, in 1883, became Kundrat's assistant in Vienna.

Paltauf was habilitated for pathological anatomy at Vienna in 1888, and, in 1892, became associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») of general pathology and pathological histology. In 1893, he took-over the prosectorate at the Imperial-Royal Rudolf Foundation Hospital (« Kaiserlich-Königliche Krankenanstalt Rudolfstiftung ») located on « Böhrgasse » , and, at the same time, became head of the University institute for pathological histology and bacteriology.

In 1898, he became full-professor (« ad personam ordentlicher Professor ») of pathological histology and general pathology, and, from 1900 until his death in 1924, was full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») for general and experimental pathology.

Paltauf particularly distinguished himself as a pathological anatomist, being a Master of pathological histology. He founded a reputed pathological-anatomical school, with Carl Sternberg investigated the « lymphogranulomatosis » , the tumors of the carotid gland, with Ernst Freund (1863-1946) and Carl Sternberg (1872-1935) worked over the pathology of the blood in « Handbuch der allgemeinen Pathologie » by Krehl-Marchand, the formation of new skin in « Handbuch der Hautkrankheiten » (4 volumes, Vienna (1802-1809)) by Franz Mracek (1848-1908) , with Leo Ritter von Zumbusch (1874-) , later with Gustav Scherber (1874-) findings in « Mycosis fungoides » , and, with Eugen von

Bamberger (1858-1921) , he investigated the osteoplastic carcinoma. He also wrote an outstanding chapter on agglutination in « Handbuch der pathogenen Mikroorganismen » (Jena, 1902-1909) by Wilhelm Kolle (1868-1935) and August Paul von Wassermann (1866-1925) .

Paltauf's greatest achievement, however, was, with Anton Weichselbaum (1845-1920) , the introduction of bacteriology and serology at Vienna. Thanks to him, Vienna had an institution for vaccination against rabies and a sero-therapeutical institute. From 1905, he was head of the State institute for the production of diphtheria serum.

...

Doktor Richard Paltauf, Pathologe : geboren 9. Februar 1858 in Judenburg (Steiermark) ; gestorben 21. April 1924 in Semmering (Niederösterreich) . Bruder des Vorigen ; studiert 1875-1880 an der Universität Graz Medizin, 1880 Doktor der Medizin ; war 1881-1883 Assistent am Pathologischen-anatomischen Institut bei Hans Eppinger senior und Hans Kundrat, dem er 1883 nach Wien folgte. 1888 Privat-Dozent (1892 titel außerordentlicher Professor) , übernahm er nebenamtlich den Aufbau des Pathologischen-anatomischen Institut der Wiener Poliklinik und setzte dort gleichrangig neben den Prosekturbetrieb ein Histologische-bakteriologische Institut 1893 wurde er Prosektor der Krankenanstalt Rudolfstiftung und gleichzeitig Vorstand des Universität Institut für pathologische Histologie und Bakteriologie 1894 gründete er die Schutzimpfungsanstalt gegen Rotz. 1898 wurde Paltauf « ad personam » oder Professor der pathologischen Histologie und allgemeine Pathologie, 1900 oder Professor der allgemeine und experimentellen Pathologie. 1908 etablierte sich diese Disziplin, verbunden mit dem staatlichen Serotherapeutisches Institut, das Paltauf zur Gewinnung von Diphtherieheilserum geschaffen hatte, im neuen Hygieneinst, der Universität ; 1914 General-Stabsarzt auf Kriegsdauer. Paltauf zeichnete sich vor allem auf dem Gebiet der pathologischen Histologie aus, erwarb aber auch durch die Einführung und Weiterentwicklung der Bakteriologie und Serologie in Wien große Verdienste. Er erkannte die Hadernkrankheit als Milzbrand. Das maligne Lymphogranulom trägt den Namen Hodgkin-Paltauf-Sternbergsche Krankheit : nach der Erstbeschreibung durch Hodgkin (1832) erfolgte durch Paltauf und seinen Schüler Sternberg 1897 eine grundlegende Bearbeitung der pathologischen Anatomie dieser Krankheit. Paltauf stand Edmund von Neusser bei dessen Untersuchungen über die Genese der Pellagra als Bakteriologe zur Seite und konnte den Bacillus maidis als Erreger dieser Krankheit ausschließen. 1912 korrektur, 1921 w. Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

...

Als Sohn des Judenburger Bezirksarztes wurde Richard Paltauf am 9. Februar 1858 geboren, absolvierte das Gymnasium in Graz, wandte sich dort den medizinischen Studien zu und wurde am Weihnachtstag des Jahres 1880 zum Doktor der gesamten Heilkunde promoviert. 1892 wurde er in Wien zum Extraordinarius für Pathologische Anatomie ernannt, ein Jahr später übernahm er die Leitung der Prosektur des Rudolfspitals und auch die des Institutes für Pathologische Histologie und Bakteriologie. Es bedarf keiner besonderen Betonung, daß Paltauf in den verschiedenen fachwissenschaftlichen Vereinen, wie der Österreichischen Krebshilfe und vielen anderen eine führende Rolle zufallen mußte. Gewissenhafte Arbeit und Streben nach Wahrheit zeichneten den ernsten und vornehmen Mann aus, der mit diesen seinen Eigenschaften fast durch vier Jahrzehnte die Wiener medizinische Schule und durch diese einen großen Teil der Ärzteschaft Österreichs beeinflusste.

...

Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts tötete der « Würgeengel der Kinder » (die Diphtherie) fast jedes zweite daran erkrankte Kind. Auf der 60. Versammlung Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte im Jahr 1894 in Wien berichtete Emil von Behring (1854-1917) über die sensationellen Erfolge seines von ihm entwickelten Heilserums. Mit diesem Diphtherie-Serum konnte erstmals die dramatische, auch « Krupp » genannte Infektion der oberen Atemwege wirksam behandelt werden.

### Bedeutung erkannt

Richard Paltauf (1858-1924), der Prosektor des Rudolf-Spitals in Wien, erkannte sofort die Bedeutung dieser bisher in Österreich nicht verwendeten Heilmethode. Es sei ein « Gebot nicht nur der Humanität, sondern der Staatshygiene diese therapeutische Maßnahme auch in Österreich einzuführen », forderte Paltauf von den zuständigen Ministerien. Im Sommer 1894 hatte er bereits eine Impfanstalt gegen Tollwut eingerichtet und konnte nun dem Ministerium mehr oder weniger aus dem Stegreif Vorschläge für den Aufbau eines Instituts zur Gewinnung von Diphtherie-Heilserum machen. Trotz Geldmangels stellte das Kriegsministerium Paltauf im Kaiserlich und Königlich Tierärzteinstitut Pferde zur Herstellung von Serum zur Verfügung. Bereits am 3. Oktober 1894 begann er hier mit dem Immunisieren des 1. Pferdes. Das Pferd hieß Fanny.

Über die Erzeugung des « so wohltätig wirkenden Diphtherieserums » berichtete der Volksschuldirektor Klemens Dorn im Heimatbuch des 10. Wiener Gemeindebezirkes :

« Die Erzeugung beginnt damit, daß ein Pferd mit kleinen Dosen von Diphtheriegift gegen diese Krankheit immun gemacht wird. Dann wird dem Pferde durch eine Kanüle aus der Halsschlagader eine Menge von etwa sechs Liter Blut abgezogen und durch einen Schlauch in eine Flasche geleitet. Läßt man das Blut dann abstocken, so sondert sich oben eine klare Flüssigkeit aus, das Serum, das hierauf konzentriert, filtriert und auf seinen Heilstoffgehalt untersucht wird. Dann wird das Serum in winzige Glasphiolen gefüllt. Im ganzen werden (im Institut an der Triesterstraße, Anmerkung) etwa sechzig verschiedene Heilstoffe erzeugt, darunter die gegen Cholera, Milzbrand, Pest, Typhus, Starrkrampf und so weiter Gegen die Basedowsche Krankheit wird Serum von Ziegen gewonnen. »

### Unterstützung für das Institut

Unterstützung für die Gründung einer staatlichen Anstalt zur Herstellung von Heilserum gegen Diphtherie bekam Paltauf von Hermann von Widerhofer (1832-1901). Der Vorstand des St. Anna Kinderspitals und I. Universitätsprofessor für Kinderheilkunde in Österreich trat bereits sehr früh für die Serumbehandlung bei Diphtherie ein. Widerhofer, der bedeutendste Pädiater der Monarchie, nützte seinen Einfluß als Leibarzt des Kaiserhauses und überzeugte auch die Politik von Paltaufs Projekt. Das Parlament bewilligte schließlich einen Kredit, und der Wiener Krankenanstaltenfonds beauftragte Paltauf mit der Einrichtung von Instituten zur Heilserengewinnung in der Kaiserliche und Königl. Rudolfstiftung und im Kaiser-Franz-Josefs-Spital.

Da es im Bereich der Rudolfstiftung keinen Platz für den Bau der benötigten Pferdeställe gab, wurden die bereits bestehenden Stallungen im Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Spital dafür verwendet. Hier wurden die Pferde immunisiert und Räume für

die Herstellung von Diphtherietoxin eingerichtet. Bereits am 21. Oktober 1894 konnte das Institut dem St. Anna Kinderspital 20 Flaschen Serum übergeben. Der rasch wachsende Bedarf erforderte aber bald Zubauten und Erweiterungen auf dem Areal des Kaiser-Franz-Josefs-Spitals. Ende 1895 lieferten die 46 Pferde in den Stallungen an der Triesterstraße 9.236 Dosen Diphtherietoxin. Vier Jahre später waren es bereits 41.662. Der Verkauf des Diphtherieserums erfolgte über die Kaiserliche und Königliche Hofapotheke in Wien. In der alten Hofapotheke ist heute das Lipizzaner-Museum untergebracht.

### Großer Bedarf an Seren

Die enorm steigende Nachfrage machte bald einen Neubau an der Triesterstraße notwendig. Fertig gestellt wurde die neue Produktionsanstalt im Jahr 1899. Um die Jahrhundertwende produzierte das Institut auch Tetanustoxin, Seren gegen Strepto-, Staphylo- und Meningokokken, Milzbrand und Rotlaufbakterien. Daneben stellte das staatliche Serotherapeutische Institut auch diagnostische Seren für Thyphus, Cholera und ein Serum zum forensischen Nachweis von Blut her. Ebenfalls durchgeführt wurden hier Immunisierungsversuche mit Pestbakterien. Paltauf berichtete darüber in einer Sitzung der Gesellschaft der Ärzte in Wien. Nach einer schwerwiegenden Komplikation (über die tragischen Laborpestfälle im Jahr 1898 in Wien berichteten wir bereits) in einem anderen Labor mußten die Arbeiten mit Pestbazillen aber eingestellt werden.

Das Heimatbuch des 10. Wiener Gemeindebezirkes informierte den Leser über das Institut an der Triesterstraße so :  
« Es dürfte wohl den wenigsten Favoritnern bekannt sein, daß in dem bescheidenen Gebäude Triesterstraße 50, welches dem ausgedehnten Triester Spital angegliedert ist, eine der größten Gifffabriken Europas sich befindet. Hier werden Reinkulturen der gefährlichen, mikroskopisch kleinen Erreger aller möglichen ansteckenden Krankheiten gezüchtet. (...) Eine eigene Köchin bereitet diesen bösartigen Feinden der Menschheit jene Speisen (Fleischbrühen, Kartoffelscheiben, Nährgelatine) , auf denen sie am besten gedeihen. »

### Export in alle Welt

Aus dieser so unscheinbaren und dabei einzig dastehenden Serumfabrik werden die Erzeugnisse in mehreren hunderttausend Glasphiolen alljährlich in die ganze Welt hinaus versandt. Bezeichnend für den Absatz ist, daß die Etikettierung der Serumfläschchen in sechs Sprachen erfolgt. Einige dieser Glasröhrchen wären imstande, durch ihren Inhalt bei ungeschickter oder böswilliger Verwendung die Einwohner ganzer Städte und Länder hinzumorden. In der fachkundigen Hand des Arztes bringen sie jedoch Heil und Gesundheit für viele Kranke, für die es in früheren Zeiten keine Hilfe gab.

Im Jahr 1908 wurde das Serotherapeutischen Institut mit dem Institut für allgemeine und experimentelle Pathologie im neu errichtete Gebäude des Kaiserliche und Königliche Hygiene Universitätsinstitut in der Kinderspitalgasse 15 zusammengelegt. Die von Paltauf eingeführte Serologie und Bakteriologie führte zu einer Blütezeit der experimentellen Medizin in Wien. Das Serotherapeutische Institut an der Triesterstraße war einer der Pfeiler auf der der klinische Pathologe Paltauf sein, wie Georg Dohm es in seiner Geschichte der Histopathologie nennt, « Königreich der experimentellen Medizin » begründete.



## Werke

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Zur Ätiologie der Hadernkrankheit, in : Fortschritte der Medizin, Band 6 (1888) .

Der Bacillus maidis (Cuboni) und seine Beziehungen zur Pellagra, in : Medizin Jahrbucher (1888) .

Die Errichtung der Anstalt für Wutschutzimpfung in der Kaiserlich-Königliche Krankenanstalt Rudolfstiftung, in : Jahrbuch der Wiener kaiserlich-königlichen Kranken-Anstalten (1894) .

Das staatliche Institut für Herstellung von Diphtherie-Heilserum in Wien, in : Jahrbuch der Wiener kaiserlich-königlichen Kranken-Anstalten (1895) .

Lymphosarkom (Lymphosarkomatose, Pseudoleukämie, Myelom, Chlorom) , in : Ergebnisse der Allgemeinen Pathologie und pathologischen Anatomie des Menschen und der Tiere, Band 3 (1897) .

Eine Beschreibung des neu eröffneten Institut für experimentelle Pathologie mit Abbildung und Lageskizzen, in : Wiener klinische Wochenschrift, Jahrgang 21 (1908) .

Die lymphatischen Erkrankungen und Neubildungen der Haut, in : Handbuch der Hautkrankheiten, herausgeber von Franz Mraček, Band 4, Teil 2 (1909) .

Mykosis fungoides, herausgeber von Franz Mraček, Band 4, Teil 2 (1909) .

Die Pathologie des Blutes, gemäß mit Ernst Freund und Carl Sternberg, in : Handbuch der allgemeine Pathologie, herausgeber von L. Krehl und F. Marchand, Band 2/1 (1912) .

Die Agglutination, in : Handbuch der pathologische Mikroorganismen, Band 2/1 (1913) .

## Cultures of death and politics of corpse supply

### Anatomy in Vienna (1848-1914)

19th Century Vienna is well-known to medical historians as a leading centre of medical research and education, offering easy access to patients and corpses to students from all over the world. This article seeks to explain how this enviable supply with cadavers was achieved, why it provoked so little opposition at a time when Britain and the United States saw widespread protests against dissection, and how it was threatened from mid-Century. To understand permissive Viennese attitudes, we need to place them in a « longue durée » history of death and dissection, and to pay close attention to the city's political geography as it was transformed into a major Imperial capital. The tolerant stance of the Roman Catholic Church, strong links to Southern Europe and the weak position of individuals in the absolutist State all contributed to an idiosyncratic anatomical culture. But as the fame of the Vienna Medical School

peaked in the later 1800's, the increased demand created by rising student numbers combined with intensified interdisciplinary competition to produce a shortfall that professors found increasingly difficult to meet. Around 1900, new religious groups and mass political Parties challenged the long-standing anatomical practice by refusing to supply cadavers and making dissection into an instrument of political struggle. This study of the material pre-conditions for anatomy at one of Europe's most influential medical schools provides a contrast to the dominant Anglo-American histories of death and dissection.

The politics of the transition from the bodies of executed criminals, the main-source of anatomical material in medieval and early modern Europe, to pauper cadavers around 1800 took diverse paths in different countries. (1) In Britain, a period of indiscriminate grave robbing ended with the 1832 Anatomy Act, which gave anatomists almost unrestricted access to the work-house poor, in exchange for not touching the middle- and upper-class dead. (2) In the United States, where the anatomical divide cut along lines not just of class but also of race, violent protests in the turbulent decades around the American Civil War delayed anatomical acts until the end of the 19th Century. (3) Yet, British and American medical students travelled to continental European centres where the transition from the criminal to the pauper body occurred earlier and seemingly more smoothly. In ancien « régime » Paris, the cadavers of paupers who died in hospitals were used extensively in research and education. (4) In 1798, the new Republican government named the « Hôtel-Dieu » and « La Charité » official providers to the medical school and ordered other hospitals to give its needs priority. (5) In the German lands, the economics of free burial provision and the prevailing moral code overcame considerable popular resistance to facilitate a gradual expansion of the pool from which anatomical cadavers were recruited to include unwed mothers, illegitimate children, suicide victims, prisoners, beggars, alms-house inmates and others dependent on municipal funds. (6)

As the leading European centre of clinical education, Paris was from the 1850's succeeded by the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy, Vienna. (7) The General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») housed thousands of patients in specialist wards and served as the base for University teaching as well as short courses for foreign visitors, which offered clinical instruction on live and dissection on dead bodies. (8) Around 1850, the main Viennese medical journal « Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift » boasted that the General Hospital alone supplied the medical faculty with 2,000 corpses per year for dissection « for educational purposes », allegedly more than the other German medical schools received altogether. (9) Vienna was an essential stop on the educational tours of foreign, largely American and German, students because it offered easy access to clinical and anatomical « material ». (10) Cadavers were also used as raw material for the production of objects that spread the fame of Viennese anatomy world-wide. Josef Hyrtl's exquisite specimens occupy pride of place in many anatomical and natural history collections. (11) Eduard Pernkopf's anatomical atlas, celebrated for its art but notorious for using the cadavers of victims of the fascist regime in the 1930's and 1940's, was the last in a tradition that went-back to the 19th Century. (12)

This article aims to explain why access to bodies in Vienna was easier and the attitude towards dissection more permissive than in Britain, the United States or even other German States. The most prominent recent literature on corpse supply to 19th Century anatomy has rightly emphasized strong popular opposition towards dissection. (13) This resistance is usually seen as based in deep-seated beliefs about the cadaver that persisted well into the 19th Century and were widely prevalent in popular culture. Yet, anthropologists have shown that, instead of assuming that death

cultures were homogenous Europe-wide, we should take national and regional differences seriously. (14) So, the first section identifies various long-term sources of Viennese attitudes towards death and dissection. An idiosyncratic culture formed under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and utilitarian absolutist monarchs. The Church and the State continued to play key-roles into the second half of the 19th Century, as I will show for the examples of access to city cadavers and debates about friendly societies and cremation. Within this culture and in contact with Italian centres, from the Middle-Ages, and then Paris, in the 19th Century, medicine was strongly centred on the cadaver as the central teaching and research resource.

The second section, set in the 1850's, shows how the specific disciplinary organization of the Vienna School of Medicine moved the main competition for dissectible cadavers into the faculty, rather than between anatomists and authorities, or the State and the poor. While I focus on normal anatomy, the discipline most closely associated with the practice of dissection, I show that pathological anatomists controlled the distribution of bodies. (15) Clinical and anatomical chairs competed for cadavers for research and to attract students from abroad. The idiosyncratic, highly-fragmented disciplinary world of the Vienna School of Medicine may be explained by the school's status as the central educational institution of the Habsburg Monarchy and part of the largest German-speaking university. The third section describes how, in the 1880's, anatomists recruited government ministers to gain access to cadavers in other cities. The success of this project crucially depended on Vienna's central position in the Imperial railway, cultural and economic networks. To understand how the context of an expanding capital of a multi-ethnic Empire informed anatomical practices, I draw on recent work on science and the city. (16) In history of medicine, studies on the making of public health have explored how scientific expertise both reformed the body and changed the urban environment. (17) Closely related are histories of diseases with a strong cultural impact (such as major epidemics) which historians have used as « sampling probes » to assess social changes. (18) Recently, several studies have shown how specific urban environments shaped particular disciplines. (19) Here, I focus on the single highly-important practice of body supply to anatomy in order to reveal the relevant changes as Vienna was transformed into a major cultural and intellectual metropolis. (20) In addition to the religious culture and communication networks, change encompassed the urban space, population size and composition, and (the subject of the 4th and final section) the rise of anti-Semitism.

This is, then, a study of cultures of death, medical disciplines and a city, but primarily a contribution to histories of 19th Century medical education in anatomy. Studying Vienna, an educational and cultural centre that crucially shaped modern medicine, should help redress the privileging of Anglo-American narratives. While we lack records of corpse supply (« Leichenbücher »), other documents (ministry and faculty reports, newspaper articles and text-books) provide sufficient information to reconstruct trends in the numbers and provenance of cadavers. (21) The resulting account of how anatomy professors secured the material basis for their world-renowned courses, atlases and specimens should complement stories of largely American and German students and doctors in pursuit of knowledge and status. Above all, it suggests that we should not assume that the transition from the criminal to the pauper body was universally contested ; given the number of students who received some training in Vienna, it may not even have been dominant.

### Dissection and cultures of death

In medieval Europe, the first medico-legal and anatomical dissections were performed in North Italian cities around

1300. (22) Bodies were cut open to determine the cause of death, to prepare for embalming, to inspect for stigmata in canonization procedures and to teach students of medicine and surgery. (23) Across Europe, the timing and the extent of dissection depended on local attitudes towards death and the corpse. In this section, I situate the history of anatomical dissection in Vienna within the medical and death culture strongly shaped by Roman Catholicism, cultural connections with Italian centres, and the vision of society advanced by absolutist monarchs.

The historian of dissection in the Italian Renaissance, Katharine Park, proposed the existence of a North-South divide in attitudes towards death and the corpse. (24) For Italians (South), death was a quick and radical separation of the soul from the body, while in England, Germany and France (North), it was perceived as a slow and gradual process. Consequently, in the South, the body became inert almost immediately after death, as opposed to the North where it passed through a liminal period during which it remained semi-animate and in possession of magical powers. These differences, Park argued, strongly influenced the history of anatomical dissection across Europe. (25)

Vienna straddles the imaginary North-South divide. In the late-13th Century, the German house of Habsburg had seized the throne of the Holy Roman Empire and brought Northern burial rituals. (26) After a brief flirtation of the nobility with Protestantism, by the 17th Century, the dynasty and the country settled for Roman Catholicism, strengthened by religious orders imported from Italy. Their legacy was a visually elaborate Baroque culture, with churches adorned with images of death: paintings, wax « tableaux », skeletons and mummified bodies. (27) Some were relics that reputedly exhibited miraculous powers, but their main-role was to remind the people of the transitoriness of life and importance of a good death. Like the pope in Rome, the Habsburgs were embalmed, and then, buried in 3 different places: hearts in the Church of Augustinian Friars (« Augustinerkirche »), intestines in the catacombs of St. Stephen's cathedral (« Stephansdom »), and the rest in the Imperial Vault of the Church of Capuchin Friars (« Kapuzinerkirche »). (28) Every 2 November, All Souls Day, the Vault was opened for the Viennese to view the embalmed royals. (29)

Medical practice and education in Vienna closely followed the example set by the Italian centres where many of the Viennese practitioners were educated. There is evidence that from the mid-16th Century the poor in the Citizens' Hospital (« Bürgerspital ») were autopsied to establish the cause of death. (30) Vienna was the site of the earliest recorded anatomical dissection outside the Mediterranean, preceding cities in today's Germany and Switzerland by almost a Century. (31) In Vienna, anatomies were performed first every several years and from 1537 annually, by a faculty member in the Citizens' Hospital and in the presence of medical students, doctors, apothecaries, surgeons and learned men from the faculty of arts. (32)

It has been suggested that dissection was part of the punishment imposed on those who transgressed social rules. (33) This argument does not hold here, because, if there was more than one candidate, anatomists, not the legal authorities, selected the cadaver. (34) In contrast to the English law, Continental legal theoreticians could draw on the Roman law postulating that « the crime ends with death » (« crimen morte finitur »). (35) In Vienna, dissection was a solemn event in which the key-role was played by a lay brotherhood specialized in the funerals of the executed (« Gottleichnambruderschaft »). Its members consoled the condemned on the way to the execution and, after dissection, buried the remains in consecrated ground. (36) The event ended with Mass attended by the faculty and students. Park, describing the tradition south of the « anatomical divide », argued that the purpose of the Mass, the Christian burial,

and the consolation of the confraternity was to reconcile the criminal with the community. (37) To compare, in Tübingen (a Southern German university town that would become Protestant and so may be seen as a borderline case) , in 1497, the medical faculty prescribed burial and Mass for the soul of the dissected in the presence of students, physicians and surgeons. Yet, by 1763, the ceremony no longer took place, and, when the new cemetery opened in 1829, anatomical cadavers were buried outside its walls. (38) The sometimes founded fear that the body would not be buried after dissection was an important reason for opposition to dissection in many German cities. (39) By contrast, it seems that in Vienna dissected bodies were always buried, at hospital and then at community cemeteries. (40)

In the 17th Century, the Padua- and Leiden-educated medical faculty sought to replace demonstrations with practical, « hands-on » , instruction, so, in 1672, Johann Greißl, « professor anatomicus » , gained permission to dissect the bodies of the deceased in hospitals, because the number of those executed was too small. (41) This unusually early precedent was transformed into a law under the Empress Maria Theresa, at the same time as other German-speaking cities began to recruit pauper patients as anatomical corpses. (42) In 1749, she decreed that bodies of women who died in St. Marx, a lying-in hospital, be delivered to the surgeon who trained mid-wives and their assistants. (43) In the same year, a new order followed, specifying that, because in the previous year, only 3 people were executed, professors of anatomy were authorized to use the bodies of those dying in local hospitals. (44)

Provisions for dissection complied with the utilitarian view of practically and surgically-oriented medical education promoted by Maria Theresa's son and heir, Josef II. (45) In 1784, he founded the General Hospital, hailed as the largest medical institution in Europe. (46) The hospital accommodated thousands of sick poor, whose bodies lay open to inspection, palpation, percussion, auscultation, and, after death, dissection by the medical faculty of the University of Vienna. Josef saw the use of patients' bodies in medical education as a fair re-payment for the free medical care they had received in the hospital. In addition to the smaller and more remote Hospital of Merciful Brothers, the General Hospital would remain the main-supplier of cadavers to the school into the second half of the 19th Century. This centralization worked to the advantage of Vienna's medics, compared to the Parisian institutions that were much larger, well-supplied but geographically scattered and over-crowded. (47)

Historians mention no protests against dissection. This stands in striking contrast to the public response to Josef's attempt to reduce funeral costs by replacing the customary wooden coffins with cheap linen sacks. (48) Public outrage forced the Emperor to revoke the orders enacted in August and September 1784 within 5 months. Josef had more success with the second part of the reform, in which, for sanitary reasons, medieval grave-yards in the walled Inner-City were closed and burials moved to rural settlements just outside greater Vienna. The religious ceremony that remained in the city churches was, thus, physically separated from the act of burial, now bereft of any pomp. The reform created favourable conditions for grave-diggers to trade in bodies and body-parts. (49) Skulls acquired at Viennese suburban cemeteries in the post-reform period became the basis of Franz-Josef Gall's famous collection. (50)

Further reforms were cut short by Josef's premature death, followed by the French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, 30 years of political and social stagnation post-1815, the failed Revolution of 1848-1849 and the reactionary neo-absolutism of the 1850's. Reforms of burial practices continued in the period of economic growth, after the

establishment of a constitutional monarchy and the Liberal accession to power in 1860. In 1867, the first professional funeral company in Vienna replaced the traditional services of church sextons. (51) Its French name, « Entreprise des pompes funèbres » , promised elegant funerals that appealed to the æsthetic taste and hygienic standards of the new middle-classes. (52)

Immigration and the incorporation of suburban settlements increased the urban population. Yet, many inhabitants could hardly afford even modest burials. Recent immigrants without family graves or community strongholds in the city faced a particularly grave situation when, in the wake of 1873 cholera epidemic, the Ministry of Internal Affairs prohibited long-distance travel of cadavers from the place of death to the burial site. (53) For the Viennese poor, the solution frequently lay in friendly societies. These continued the medieval confraternal tradition of « Leichenbrüderschaften » , community-based citizen associations that covered the hospital and burial costs of their fee-paying members and, as an act of charity, provided for the destitute as well. (54) But in the 1850's, the society of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, named after the Biblical character who buried the body of Christ after crucifixion, instituted a new form of assistance. Not confined to a city-District or parish, it buried persons without family in Vienna. (55) A decent funeral was provided in exchange for the modest monthly membership fee of 10 Kreuzer, (56) while the more distinguished members, clergymen and wealthy noble-women, paid higher-fees and used the society as a vehicle for charitable activity. Importantly, St Joseph of Arimathæa organized and paid for the burial of dissected cadavers from the anatomical institute. Aiming to bring the funerals of dissected remains up to the socially accepted standard, they replaced linen bags, in which the remains had traditionally been buried, with wooden coffins. (57) Between 1857 and its dissolution in 1917, the Arimathæa became such an integral part of anatomy that anatomical cadavers became known as « Arimathæaleichen » (Arimathæa corpses) , in addition to the older names of « Gratisleichen » (free of charge corpses) or « durchgefallene Leichen » (failed corpses) and the official term « Studienleichen » (study corpses) . (58) This integration of a friendly society into anatomy stands in sharp contrast with German cities where such associations provided burials precisely to save the poor from dissection. (59)

Around 1870, the 18th Century cemeteries in the districts beyond the Linie, now integrated into the city, were closed to be replaced with a large, centralized site in the south-eastern plains. (60) The new cemetery was still under discussion when, in the summer of 1873 and in the middle of the World Exhibition in Vienna, a cholera epidemic ignited a debate on how to dispose of cadavers hygienically. At the exhibition, the German innovator Werner Siemens displayed his cremation apparatus, a novelty that rapidly gained supporters throughout Europe who urged its sanitary and utilitarian advantages (61) . The argument that appealed to the Viennese municipal authorities was that cremation saved scarce burial ground. (62) For Liberal newspapers, cremation symbolized progress : chemically equal to putrefaction, it was also much quicker and cleaner, and so more befitting a civilised person. They argued that cremation posed no obstacles to the traditional Christian funeral ritual, yet, the Church disagreed and the new cemetery opened in the autumn of 1874 without cremation facilities. (63) The first European crematorium was erected in Milan in 1876, the first in a German-speaking country in Gotha in 1878, and Britain passed a Cremation Act in 1902. But in Austria, the Church and conservative political Parties firmly opposed cremation. (64) It was legalised only in 1923, after a prolonged struggle and under Social-Democrat rule in the city. (65)

No evidence of how the poor thought about dissection has hitherto been found. So this section attempted to

reconstruct the history of dissecting at the medical faculty in the context of the local culture of death created by a combination of actors and influences : German princes, Padua-educated doctors and the Roman Catholic Church, supported post-Reformation by Italian religious orders. The already favourable atmosphere received a strong boost under the 18th Century absolutist monarchs, for whom the surgical approach suited their vision of medicine, and the use of pauper bodies in medical education their idea of a society founded on utilitarian principles. The Roman Catholic Church and conservative circles did not object to dissection but to failure to bury the body in accordance with the prescribed ritual : with Mass, in consecrated ground, ideally in a wooden coffin. This conclusion is supported first by the unusually strong reaction to « Josephinian coffins » and, second, by the contrast between the strong resistance to cremation and the simultaneous support, through the St. Joseph of Arimathæa society, of anatomical dissection. How far can we generalize the permissive attitude of the Roman Catholic Church ? In Würzburg, a predominantly Roman Catholic city in Bavaria in 1837, the Evangelical Church protested to the Ministry of Internal Affairs against the use of pauper cadavers in anatomy, while the Catholic authorities had no complaints. At the same time, the whole city rose against grave-diggers transporting corpses to the anatomical institute covered with nothing but a piece of white cloth, and the careless attitude of medics towards dissected remains, allegedly discarded in the streets after use. (66) Yet, in the 18th Century, Göttingen protestant pastors supported dissection to save their parishes from paying for the pauper burials, while the Catholic Munich in 1848 saw protests against dissection. (67) More comparative research of « longue durée » anatomical traditions across Europe (especially hitherto less studied Roman Catholic parts) is needed to demonstrate with certainty a confessional (or geographical) divide in the attitudes towards dissection.

From the 1830's, the intellectual leadership of the Vienna School of Medicine was assumed by a group of young clinicians around the pathological anatomist Carl Rokitansky. They would become famous as the « Second Vienna School » (68) and attract a considerable international following. (69) Simultaneously, economic growth, urbanization and the political liberalization of the 1860's and 1870's raised the number of students from the Habsburg Monarchy. Normal and pathological anatomists, general surgeons, ophthalmologists and gynæcologists all requested their share of corpses for research and instruction, so the General Hospital and the smaller and more remote Hospital of Merciful Brothers could no longer fulfil their demands. Such professorial competition over cadavers emerged elsewhere too, as surgery and obstetrics gained independence from anatomy and forensic medicine started to use dissection on a regular basis, but, in Vienna, more participants were involved and the position of pathological anatomy was exceptionally strong. (70) In 1840, William Wilde, a young Irish physician and the future father of playwright Oscar, wrote from Vienna :

« There are many opportunities to gain knowledge in this area (anatomy) as the supply with dissectible bodies is plentiful. » (71)

Yet, in 1852, the professor of anatomy Josef Hyrtl complained to the medical faculty of corpses that he received from the General Hospital that, in 3 months, from 1 October to the second half of December, only 6 of the most wretched women in child-bed, suitable neither for the surgery course, nor for skeleton preparation, nor for other purposes, so that sooner or later anatomical practical exercises will have to be conducted on animal carcasses. (72)

Indeed, the professor, hailed as the best anatomist in the Empire and renowned for his inspiring lectures, was in an awkward position. He was pleased to see his lecture and dissection halls over-filled with both matriculated students

and foreign doctors on their educational tours. At the same time, the institute, which between 1849 and 1886 had no building of its own but was accommodated in make-shift premises, could not cope with the continually growing student population. By the early 1860's, the number of students taking the anatomical course exceeded 300 a year. **(73)** Students normally dissected one cadaver per group of 4 and a variable number of body-parts (extremities, heads and trunks) . The institute had no cold cellar to store the bodies so they were left in the dissection hall over night. Since chemical preservation of cadavers came into general use only at the end of the 19th Century, with the introduction of formaldehyde into anatomical practice, the turn-over had to be quick and dissection limited to the Winter Semester, from October to April. **(74)** Corpses were also used for the preparation of anatomical specimens, which were then displayed in the institute museum as teaching-aids, used in research and exhibited at public exhibitions. Those considered to be of poorer quality were skeletonized by institute attendants and sold to students and doctors for study or for display in their offices.

To increase the number of cadavers, Josef Hyrtl turned to the Ministry of Religion and Education (« Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht ») . He asked for access to the provincial prison (« Provinzial Strafhaus ») , prison hospital (« Inquisitenspital im Criminalgebäude ») , as well as the hospital in the District of Wieden (« Wiedner-Spital ») , but his petition achieved little success. **(75)** A prolonged correspondence between the Ministry of Religion and Education, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Affairs resulted in full-access only to the « Wiedner-Spital » , which, in the academic year 1852-1853, yielded not more than 3 « unclaimed » bodies. **(76)** The Ministries of Justice and of Internal Affairs were reluctant to agree to the use of prisoners' bodies. **(77)** The unsatisfactory yield at relatively distant suburban hospitals made daily transport economically unviable, so bodies reached anatomy half-decayed. The ideal source was still the General Hospital, around the corner from the anatomical institute. Between 1851 and 1854, it admitted 78,353 patients, of whom 11,458 or 13.4 % died during their stay. **(78)**

But the Master of dead bodies in the General Hospital was the immensely influential professor of pathological anatomy and chief hospital pathologist, Carl Rokitansky (1804-1878) . **(79)** In comparison to other German-speaking universities, pathological anatomy was institutionalized in Vienna unusually early : it rose from an un-salaried prosectorship at the General Hospital (1796) to an extraordinary professorship (1821) . **(80)** From 1818, the prosector performed not just all post-mortems in the hospital, but also, unusually, all forensic autopsies in the city. **(81)** This disciplinary setting helped Rokitansky, full-professor from 1844, make pathological anatomy the axis of clinical research in Vienna and secure its independence not only from the clinic but also from new approaches, such as experimental pathological physiology, cell and tissue research. **(82)** This independent pathological anatomy constructed the sequence of reasoning at autopsy and the understanding of pathological changes inside the body differently from the French school. **(83)** Paris clinicians described and classified diseases as collections of signs and external manifestations of processes in the body, hidden during life but observable on the autopsy table. By contrast, Rokitansky would also start from the corpse, but then, thought in terms of physiological and physical processes in the living body, rather than patients' symptoms and signs. His method was enthusiastically accepted by the circle of young physicians around him, the « Second Vienna School » : most famously, Josef Škoda experimented on cadavers and patients to construct a classification of chest sounds more robust and ultimately more successful than that proposed by Laënnec. **(84)** Post-1848, Rokitansky's power spread from the General Hospital : he became the dean of the medical faculty (1849-1850, 1856-1857, 1859-1860) , the first freely elected university rector (1852-1853) , president of the Society of Physicians (1850-1878) , president of



the Academy of Sciences (1869-1878) , and expert advisor to the Schmerling government of 1863. (85) His influence may be compared only to that of his younger Berlin colleague, Rudolf Virchow.

Rokitansky oversaw all General Hospital as well as all forensic post-mortems in Vienna. (86) But his authority over Viennese cadavers stretched even further than « unclaimed » cadavers in the hospital and victims of accidents, suicides and homicides. A letter kept in the University Archives in Vienna, to my knowledge hitherto un-noticed, shows that Rokitansky enjoyed a secret privilege to claim any body buried in Vienna. That letter was written by Rokitansky to the Ministry of Religion and Education on 15 February 1867, in response to a request from the Government of Saxony, which planned to reform its anatomical legislation and inquired after Austrian experiences. Rokitansky, the government-selected respondent, explained that for him to obtain a part or all of any body buried in Vienna, it sufficed to inform the chief municipal public health official (« Stadtphysikus ») , who would then instruct the grave-digger to bury the body shallowly and, thus, easily accessible for exhumation. In the evening, the institute attendant would collect the desired body or body-part from the grave-yard. There was no danger of protests from the families of the deceased because the grave-diggers were bound by an oath of silence. (87)

This secretive use of cemetery cadavers went-back to the 18th Century separation of the ceremony and the physical burial. Here, it is evident that this was condoned by the city and the State although no trace of a written permission survives. (88) Rokitansky's successors, however, did not enjoy this privilege : when, in the early-20th Century, the neurologist Moritz Benedikt mentioned it at a faculty meeting, professors were surprised and outraged. The only person to remember the privilege was the anatomist Emil Zuckerkandl who briefly worked under Rokitansky in the early-1870's. (89) In the 1850's, however, part of the influence and power that Carl Rokitansky wielded within the medical faculty was due to his command over dissectible bodies. Pathological anatomy enjoyed an enviable position as the first port of call for cadavers. Pathologists dissected the majority of those who died in the General Hospital, but their autopsies were usually limited to diseased parts and often left limbs untouched. These partially dissected bodies, as well as the « whole » bodies that were of no interest to pathologists, were distributed further - not just to anatomy, but also to clinical departments. Strongly influenced by the pathological-anatomical approach, clinical chairs (in particular general surgery, gynæcology with obstetrics, and ophthalmology) also required human corpses for teaching and research.

How many cadavers should each of the interested parties receive ? Provoked by the, in their view, privileged position of anatomy, in the late 1850's, a committee of professors headed by 2 surgeons, Franz Schuh and Johann von Dumreicher, opened an enquiry into the supply of corpses, demanding a fairer distribution. They claimed that anatomy was receiving a disproportionately large number, in some years more than half, of the dissectible corpses. (90) The reproach was potentially dangerous to anatomy, because, according to surgeons, higher-year students profited more from surgical exercises (« Operationsübungen ») than extensive anatomical dissections. And, while general surgery was a major competitor, other smaller and more specialised chairs, such as ophthalmology and obstetrics, requested their share of bodies and body-parts (eyes, heads and pelvises) too. (91)

The enquiry ended with a formal decision to distribute bodies equally between anatomy and the 2 surgical chairs, a third of the available corpses to each ; to exercise strict book-keeping ; and to present records of the comings and

goings of bodies to the medical faculty at the end of each month. The actual impact of this investigation on the supply of bodies was minimal, but it still threatened anatomy. Without bodies, anatomy could not claim the right to organize courses in dissection, and surgeons who had closer connections to hospitals were also in a better position to access the « teaching material » .

Particularly dangerous for anatomy were short, usually 6 week courses organized for wealthy American and German visitors : highly-profitable to clinical lecturers, they encroached upon resources for matriculated Austrian students. (92) In 1865, anatomists complained to the faculty about a surgical resident and former anatomical demonstrator who organised dissection courses at the General Hospital surgical department and diverted available cadavers from the anatomical institute. From the extant sources, it appears that the faculty took no action and that the courses continued to run un-disturbed. (93)

The foundation of a second anatomical department in 1870 introduced changes in the cadaver supply. (94) The senior professor, Josef Hyrtl, refused to share his sources (the General Hospital, Hospital of Merciful Brothers, and Wieden Hospital) with the newly-appointed head of the second department, Carl Langer. Langer's quest for his own suppliers took him into outlying, still largely rural Viennese districts and hospitals founded after 1848 in response to the population growth caused by industrialization and subsequent immigration. Unfortunately for anatomy, they were small and yielded few corpses. In his first report, Langer wrote about the pitiful number and condition of the bodies. For the class of almost 100 students, in the period from 1 October to 18 November, he obtained « one whole and 4 corpses that had previously undergone autopsy » from the Rudolf Hospital (« Rudolfspital ») and « 3 corpses of old women, of which 2 disfigured through ulcers on their backs, thus only one fully-usable » , from the poor-house. (95) He tried his luck with a hospital in the suburb of Sechshaus, southwest of the Linie, founded in 1857 and enlarged in 1867 and 1872 to reach, at the time of Langer's application, 320 beds. (96) This rural community, unused to dealings with anatomists, did not easily come to terms with surrendering their dead for dissection. (97) They assigned great importance to discreet transport of corpses, which was conducted after nightfall in a vehicle that did not look like a hearse. (98)

In the second half of the 1870's, the issue of cadaver supply temporarily faded into the background. After Hyrtl's retirement in 1874, Langer inherited his sources, while Hyrtl's successor to the first chair, Christian August Voigt, was given access to the Military Hospital bodies. (99) Voigt retired in 1878 and the first anatomical chair was not immediately filled, leaving all of the bodies for Langer. While supplying anatomy for the moment did not seem to be a problem, the university « body market » was transforming. Although with the introduction of antiseptics surgeons, the anatomists' chief competitors in the 1850's, were gradually abandoning encounters with dead bodies, short surgical courses on cadavers remained a lucrative field for both surgeons and anatomists. (100) Furthermore, forensic medicine, a field that had been bound with hygiene into « State medicine » (« Staatsmedizin ») , gained independence in 1875. (101) Previously dominated by pathological anatomy, under the new professor Eduard Hoffmann, it became a discipline relying equally on autopsy and on physical and chemical methods of inquiry. Consequently, it claimed corpses for its instruction.

Although it is often assumed that anatomists were the chief or the only « consumers » of dissectible bodies at

medical schools, this section has shown that cadavers constituted research and educational tools for a variety of practices other than anatomical dissection and were in great demand from other departments. The unusually segmented world of Viennese medicine, characteristically dominated by pathological anatomy, offers a particularly persuasive case. Foreign visitors were not a passive and temporary element in the institutional history, but an important factor influencing the internal market in teaching resources. The share that a discipline received can tell us much about its standing within the school's internal hierarchy. The right of anatomists to bodies was not denied, yet, their power was nowhere near Rokitansky's. For that reason, « normal » anatomists had to leave Vienna to find bodies. In 1884, plans to build a new anatomical institute were confirmed and Carl Toldt was appointed to the Second Anatomical Chair, which had been vacant for 6 years. The institute opened in 1886. Toldt and Langer concurred that Vienna could not supply enough corpses to meet the needs of 2 departments. A solution had to be found elsewhere. (102) Other universities were already using the railway to widen « the catchment area » so, as this section will show, the Viennese anatomists started to negotiate with State and local bodies to extend their supply network along the tracks deep into the Empire. (103)

The first stop in the anatomical quest was the General Hospital in the Moravian capital Brünn (Brno) . This growing industrial centre without a medical school of its own seemed a perfect choice. The impact of a long journey on decaying flesh, a major argument against the import of bodies in the earlier period, was now, with the establishment of railway lines between Vienna and Brünn, significantly reduced.

Yet, new problems appeared.

First, the supply of cadavers was uneven through the year. In Vienna, the relative lack of cadavers was particularly critical in the Winter Semester (October to December) , not only because of the increased demand during the main dissection season, but also because of the lower mortality in the period when summer epidemics abated and temperatures were still mild. Unfortunately for anatomists, Brünn shared the same seasonal mortality pattern. Of 111 persons who died in Brünn General Hospital during the dissection season of 1885-1886 (1 October 1885 to 31 March 1886) , only 38 died from the beginning of October to the end of December. (104)

Second, Moravian bodies were expensive. While in Vienna the cost of a « free » corpse was around 1 Florin and 50 Kreuzer (the only substantial expense being the 600 Florin annual lump sum to the funerary company Concordia for the transport of cadavers) , in Brünn the calculation was much more complicated. (105) The railway charged 8 Kreuzer per corpse per kilometre or, for 38 corpses and 144 kilometres, 11 Florins and 52 Kreuzer. After adding the transport costs in Brünn and Vienna, the total rose to 18 Florins and 2 Kreuzer per corpse. In addition, the Brünn hospital prosector had to be rewarded for selecting and preserving corpses with 200 to 300 Florins per year and the attendant received 50 Florins for handling and chemical preservatives. The total cost of 24 florins per body was exorbitant for the Viennese anatomists used to cheap and abundant corpses. To put this in context, the annual budget of each of the 2 departments was 2,000 Florins, from which all of the research and teaching expenses had to be paid. (106)

Third, decaying corpses were a potential public health hazard so they had to be transported in double coffins, enclosed

in wooden chests to prevent the escape of toxic gases. Rapidly decomposing cadavers, as well as bodies of those who had died of an infectious disease, were supposed to be excluded from the transport.

Finally, the authorities could not agree if the « imported » bodies should be buried with the « local » dissected corpses, at the anatomy lot within the Viennese Central Cemetery, or if a new lot should be purchased for non-Viennese cadavers. They furthermore debated who should pay for it and whether or not the bodies should be transported back to Brünn.

The issue of Moravian corpses brought together several administrative bodies, each viewing the anatomical traffic from a different perspective. The Ministry of Religion and Education mediated between universities and the State administrative bodies such as other ministries and the offices of provincial governors : it saw bodies as expensive but vital teaching and learning aids. For the Ministry of Internal Affairs, this was a matter of public safety, as bodies were potential disease carriers travelling between 2 densely populated cities. Finally, the Ministry of Trade, which, at the same time, represented the Imperial and Royal Ferdinand Northern Railway (« Kaiserlich-Königliche Ferdinand Nordbahn ») , saw bodies as importable goods, potentially profitable for the railway but, at the same time, as difficult to fit into existing classifications. (107)

The negotiations over cadavers dragged on for several years. Although the Ministry of Internal Affairs agreed to subsidize sanitary police examinations of corpses in the Brünn General Hospital and the railway acceded to a freight reduction, calculating the price per wagon rather than per body, by 1889, the Moravian plan was still at a standstill. (108) The number of cadavers reaching the Anatomical Institute from Vienna hospitals continued to drop : in 1886, the 2 anatomical chairs together received 845 cadavers ; in 1887, 765 ; and in 1888, 771. (109) At the same time, student numbers and demand continued to increase.

Anatomists attempted to fill the perceived gap in other ways : by obtaining more whole bodies from Wieden Hospital, the Hospital of the Merciful Brothers, and from District physicians in large suburbs during the months of October and November when « the popularity of the course is greatest and the majority of practical examinations in surgery and anatomy take place » . (110) The results were disappointing. (111) Storing bodies collected during summer was not an option because the institute had no facilities for their long-term preservation. New refrigeration technologies were available, but the prohibitive cost of around 20,000 Florins persuaded anatomists, architects and the authorities to settle for the cheaper immersion of body-parts in carbolic acid solution. 2 marble immersion basins cost 2,000 Florins, which approximately equalled the cost of 1 year's cadaver supply from Brünn. (112) But as these basins could hold only parts of bodies or children's corpses, the question of body-supply remained open into the 1890's. (113)

Simultaneously, the quest for cadavers outside Vienna continued. After the Brünn fiasco, it focused on the province of Lower-Austria, in which Vienna is situated. There half of the communities declined to deliver their « unclaimed » bodies to anatomy but the remaining nine (St. Pölten, Mistelbach, Korneuburg, Baden, Oberhollabrun, Waidhofen-an-der-Thaya, Klosterneuburg, Mödling and Melk) promised more than 130 a year. (114) But 2 years later, the number of cadavers was still absolutely and relatively decreasing. In 1914, a report composed by Ferdinand Hochstetter, the second chair after Carl Toldt's retirement, and Julius Tandler, who now held the First Anatomical Chair, described a situation in which

no student in Vienna had the opportunity to dissect the « usual » regions of the body at least once. (115) The consequences, argued the anatomists, were already evident at examinations where students were not capable of fulfilling the requirements. It was not the job of anatomists, they wrote, but of the State to secure enough bodies. Ironically, as a positive example they mentioned the Saxon anatomical law, once modelled after the Viennese experiences.

Unsure if Vienna would supply enough cadavers for the expanding medical school, in their search for new suppliers anatomists, then, ventured far from the city : from the small towns of Lower-Austria, to urban centres with sizeable indigenous populations and no medical schools of their own, such as the Moravian industrial hub Brünn and the North Adriatic port, Trieste. Relying on Vienna's central position in the Imperial transport and intellectual networks, the plan seemed to have a good chance of success. Yet, in the end, it fell victim to the entangled system of State administration, where the import of bodies was situated at the intersection of several ministries' domains, each supporting different interests and none wanting the responsibility. While previously the State guaranteed the success of the anatomical project, now, with its enlarged, slow, bureaucratized apparatus, it risked causing its failure.

### Anatomy and Anti-Semitic Politics

Around 1890, anatomists proposed another way of obtaining more hospital corpses, by replacing the 18th Century anatomical decrees with a modern law. While Maria Theresa's provisions had assumed that hospital patients came almost exclusively from the lowest social strata, new regulations were supposed to suit the situation in which the hospital was the central site of medical treatment for all. To make sure no « candidate » slipped through the cracks of inadequate legislation, the wording had to be precise and collaboration perfect among the various institutions and actors in the supply chain, from junior doctors to grave-diggers. But that, it soon turned-out, was not easily achieved. The economic and social insecurity in the 1880's and 1890's gave rise to ethnic conflicts, most prominently to anti-Semitism, which emerged in the aftermath of the stock-market crash of 1873. It was amidst these tensions, exploited by new mass political Parties vying for supporters, that the cadaver was used as an instrument of political manipulation.

The new regulations, or « Provisional instructions », were first published in 1892, and then, revised in 1898 and 1902. (116) They specified that corpses of those who had died in one of the Viennese State-funded hospitals, for whom no one had paid the church tax (« Stolgebühren ») , or for the coffin, the grave and transport to the cemetery, must be used for dissection, as « Studienleichen » . (117) The provisions excluded those who died of certain contagious diseases. They further stipulated that the body should stay in the hospital mortuary for 48 hours, to give the family the opportunity to pay the fees and collect it.

Implementation, however, encountered difficulties, as manifest from the case of the unemployed coach-man Franz Hubeny, who complained to the director of the Franz-Josef Hospital in Vienna :

« My son, Georg Hubeny, was in the care of the Royal and Imperial Emperor Franz-Josef Hospital in Vienna and died on 25 March 1908. I was informed about his death. The body was autopsied, consecrated, and should have been buried

at the Central Cemetery. I could not pay for the burial or the church-tax since I have been ill and unemployed for months. Instead of the funeral taking place on 27 March 1908, the body allegedly arrived at the cemetery for burial only on 31 March 1908. As I found-out, against my will, the body had been transferred to the anatomical institute to be used for study purposes. I am complaining because the child was used for study purposes against my will and without asking me. » (118)

The municipal authorities forwarded the complaint to the Governor of Lower-Austria and to the Ministry of Religion and Education. The city administration supported Hubeny and accused the 2 administrative bodies of forcing the staffs of Viennese hospitals and the municipal cemetery to lie to patients' families on anatomists' behalf. (119)

« This procedure is wholly unworthy of a modern administration » , complained the city officials « and conflicts with all principles of humanity » . (120)

No one seemed to recall the clandestine arrangements for exhumation of « interesting » corpses that several decades before involved a cross-section of municipal officials, from grave-diggers to the « Stadtphysicus » .

The key-factor to cause the radical change in the morality of the municipal officials was the 1897 accession to power of the first Austrian mass political Party, the Christian-Socials, under the leadership of the charismatic Karl Lueger. (121) Their rhetoric was populist and anti-Semitic and their values conservative. Once in power, their programme focused on improving the living-conditions of the lower-classes, by building affordable housing and improving municipal infrastructure, but their oppositional radicalism survived in the fervent attacks on Jews and intellectuals, now in parliament.

Dissection might have well remained beyond the Christian-Social notice if all denominational groups had contributed equal proportions of cadavers to the medical school. But they did not. The politically and socio-economically tumultuous 1860's and 1870's radically changed the ethnic and religious make-up of the city. (122) Among the numerous immigrants flocking to the capital from all corners of the Empire in search of work and education, one of the largest and arguably the most prominent group were Jews, whose share in the Viennese population increased from 6.6 % in 1869 to 12 % in 1890 (or around 9 % in 1890 if new districts, 11th to 20th, are included in the calculation) . (123) While the new immigrants engaged in trade or business, the second generation chose the route to integration that went through the University, with medicine one of the most popular choices. By the early 1880's, around 55 % of medical students were Jewish. (124)

From the isolation of the Eastern European ghettos, Jews brought to Vienna Centuries-old traditions around important moments in individual life, including death. Burial normally took-place on the day of death and, ideally, before sunset. (125) This rule was based on the belief that the immortal soul continued to linger longer if the body was not covered by earth. Even after burial, the soul remained partly attached to the body for 12 months after death. During this liminal period, the dead still possessed a certain type of consciousness and could even feel the pain of bodily decay. Any interference with the body, such as exhumation, embalming, autopsy or dissection, would further increase the pain, extend this transitional stage, and was thus strictly prohibited.

But with the expansion of civil rights granted to Jews in the Enlightenment and their gradual integration into Central European urban communities, their traditions came into contact, and then, conflict with the dominant culture and burial regulations. (126) The fear of being buried alive that spread through Europe in the 18th and early-19th Centuries extended the interval from death to burial to a minimum of 2 to 3 days. (127) In 1756, Maria Theresa decreed that burial must wait at least 48 hours after death, except in the case of epidemics. (128) This obviously collided with the Jewish custom. Moreover, it was precisely in that period that autopsy and anatomical dissection became part of medical practice, research and education. They conflicted with the traditional tenet of not allowing profit to be derived from the dead body, even if this profit could not be expressed in monetary terms. The 18th and 19th Century rabbinic responsa, written to provide guidance to Jews increasingly inhabiting predominantly Christian communities, permitted autopsy only if it benefited an existing patient, and not if it just contributed to medical knowledge. (129)

In Vienna, Jews were largely spared autopsy and dissection for most of the 19th Century because they were treated in the privately-funded and governed Jewish Hospital. (130) But towards 1900, as their number exceeded 100,000, they were increasingly hospitalized in the State medical institutions, and thus, subject to the same regulations as others. Yet, with the tacit approval of the State authorities, Jewish patients managed to evade these regulations that conflicted with their burial traditions, from the length of the interval between death and burial to dissection.

When the Christian-Socials came to power in Vienna, they not only refused to extend special treatment to Jews, but also used the apparent anatomical inequality in their campaign against the supposed Jewish domination of Viennese medicine. (131) The attack culminated on 20 October 1903, at the Lower-Austrian Diet discussion of the budget of medical institutions. (132) The meeting lasted for days and escalated into accusations against the medical profession, from negligence via malpractice to sacrilege. The Christian-Social politician and Karl Lueger's close friend Leopold Steiner first identified vivisection as an element of the medical curriculum that turned students into inhumane doctors ; a practice not only innately immoral but also capable of making doctors insensitive to patients' suffering. (133) From vivisection, attention quickly moved to human cadavers. The preparation of anatomical and pathological specimens was termed « defilement of the corpse » (« Leichenschändung ») .

The attacks that connected vivisection, dissection and the supposed immorality of the Jews were not entirely new : they built upon the medieval myths of Jewish ritual murders for magical practices. (134) Yet, this time, they accompanied the new form of anti-Jewish stance, racial anti-Semitism, which emerged in the last decades of the 19th Century. (135) The Viennese medical public was appalled by the level of the discussion, although perhaps, more by the ignorance and arrogant anti-intellectualism displayed by Christian-Socials than by their anti-Semitism. (136) Soon, however, it became evident that the goal of the attack, orchestrated simultaneously from the parliamentary benches and the Right-wing press, was not to ban vivisection and dissection, but to exploit them for political purposes : the accusers focused on the use of Jewish bodies for anatomy, spared, in their view, by (implicitly Jewish) hospital managers to the detriment of impoverished Christians.

Karl Lueger said :

« When, at last, Jewish corpses are dissected, perhaps the doctors will then learn still more than they can from dissecting ours ... the medical school in Vienna won world-fame at a time when only Christian professors ... a Škoda, Oppolzer, or however they were called, laid the foundation for the medical school's fame of the University of Vienna. But, as soon as the Jews got in, the fame of this school in Vienna sank low (cry :“ So it is ! ”) and, when the accusation is made that we're opponents of science, then I say no, we're not opponents of science, but we do oppose science being misused merely for the advantage of isolated brutish, dissolute and brutalized individuals. The medical school will only thrive again and the hospitals once more become places of refuge, whether for rich or poor, when the principle (out with the Jews from the university and the hospitals) is enforced, so that we Christians can be humanely treated. (hearty applause) » (137)

The Liberal intelligentsia understood that the main-point of the sweeping attack on Viennese medicine was to attack Jews, as captured in the writing of the Viennese publicist and assimilated Jew, Karl Kraus :

« But the excess of amateurish lack of judgement, which passes itself off as humaneness, had to go further ; after the living the “ beautiful corpse ” had to find the protection of the Christian-Socials, and autopsy, which in the well-known terminology may perhaps be described as “ vivisectionist dealings with corpses ”, was subjected to harsh criticism. It remained incomprehensible why only the poor-house corpses, of which, according to “ Herr ” Steiner's assurance, only “ the forefeet were left ”, should in future remain untouched. It remained unclear whether the horror of medical “ defilement of the corpse ” must lead (if autopsy by the prosecutors of the Institute of Pathological Anatomy will be allowed in important cases) at least to the prohibition of the use of so-to-speak “ healthy ” corpses in normal anatomy. One was already prepared to hear the opinion that the anatomical course in Vienna should in future be conducted without corpses, and it was almost a relief, when, in the end, the whole fuss amounted to 2 Christian-Social agenda items : Jews should, in anatomy, be equal to Christians, that is, they should be dissected just like Christians ; but for this equality, which is granted to them as objects of medical studies, they should lose equality as subjects of medical study and be driven from the university and hospitals. » (138)

Yet, even after the 1903 parliamentary discussion, Jewish bodies remained out of anatomical reach. The persisting « anatomical inequality » was discussed in a report by the chief-pathologist of the new and prestigious Rudolf Hospital, Richard Paltauf. (139) He stated that, in the period from 1901 to 1906, 1,735 out of 7,757 deceased in his hospital, or 22 % , were delivered to anatomy. At the same time, none of the 179 Protestant, 1 Greek and 218 Jewish who died was among this contingent. When families did not provide for the funeral, religious communities buried their members - but, in the case of Roman Catholics and their charitable burial society of St. Joseph von Arimathæa, only after anatomical dissection. Paltauf protested against the supposedly preferential treatment : whilst he did admit the existence of cultural differences, he questioned the right of patients to be treated at the expense of the sickness insurance fund (« Krankenfond ») if unwilling to give their bodies for dissection in the case of death.

To convince the Jewish community to give-up its bodies, the medical faculty recruited Jewish anatomists as negotiators. Both Zuckerkandl and his assistant Tandler belonged to the assimilated, secularized Jewry that had exchanged Jewish traditions for the dominant Christian culture. (140) But, around 1900, Judaism, so easily cast-off just one generation before, was revived by the Viennese journalist Theodor Herzl, whose Zionist movement emerged in response to the



rampant anti-Semitism. (141) As Tandler explained at the meeting that brought together parties involved in provision and use of cadavers, the Viennese Jewish community was divided into 2 main-currents : the old, largely assimilated Liberals and the young Radicals or Zionists. (142) The former would have complied with the requests of the State authorities, but feared that they would anger the latter. One could, proposed Tandler, inform the Jewish community about the death of a Jew only after a certain interval ; that way anatomists would reach the body first. He expected little protest because the majority of those buried at the community expense were new-comers with no family to complain, and furthermore stated that burial customs would pose no obstacle. Yet, Tandler failed to convince. The share of Jewish bodies in the total supply remained low into the 1920's. (143)

In the volatile, tense atmosphere around 1900, dissection became a weapon in political struggle. Although Jewish communities and their traditions had started to integrate into the predominantly Christian society from the late-18th Century, Jewish cadavers remained untouched. The Habsburg dynasty and Imperial administration relied on conservative groups and religious communities to support the old order and the geographical integrity of the country against disruptive nationalists. Moreover, rapid assimilation entailed replacement of Jewish traditions, including burials, with those practised by the Christian majority. But, for the Christian-Socials, funerary customs that placed Christians in an allegedly inferior position were the perfect weapon in the anti-Semitic propaganda. As Kraus accurately noticed, they never intended to ban dissection, but to instrumentalize it for their political goals. Yet, it is important to stress that their attack would not have been possible, indeed would not have found some acceptance even within the Jewish medical community, had it not been for 2 socio-cultural characteristics. One was the long-standing position of dissection as a key-stone of medical training and research. The other was the wide currency of the Enlightenment utilitarian idea that State provided medical treatment should be paid for with one's own (otherwise useless) dead body.

## Conclusion

This article has been about the material basis for Vienna's wide appeal as a medical educational centre in the mid- to late-19th Century. I have argued that, to understand why the supply of cadavers in the heyday of the Vienna School of Medicine was plentiful enough to attract students from all over the world, we need to place it in a « longue durée » history of death and dissection from the late- Middle-Ages. Among German-speaking cities Vienna consistently had the most permissive attitude towards dissection, with the earliest recorded anatomical dissection, annual dissections from the early-16th Century, transition to cadavers of hospital patients several decades before other centres and lack of recorded public dissent until the end of the 19th Century. The comparison with protests against « Josephinian coffins » in 1784, and opposition to cremation, between 1873 and 1923, shows that burial in a coffin and in consecrated ground was more important to the wider-public than whether or not the body had been dissected. That the Roman Catholic authorities supported this stance can be seen from the firm integration of the St. Joseph of Arimathea burial society into the day-to-day operation of the anatomical institute.

How to explain this culture ? It has been argued that Southern Europe, which in the mid-16th Century religious and cultural schism sided with Rome, had a more tolerant attitude to dissection. The case of Vienna seems to confirm this hypothesis, yet, more comparative research into the social history of anatomy Europe-wide is needed before any

definitive statement could be made. The absence of recorded protests against dissection may be attributed to the permissive attitudes but also to the lack of voice of the lower social classes in an absolutist State. Josef's utilitarian management of the General Hospital's patients and Rokitansky's access to the corpses buried in city cemeteries show how cavalierly the State could deal with citizens' bodies. We can thus also understand why, in the changed political environment of the late-19th Century limited dissent emerged. New religious groups and mass political Parties, which gained numbers and influence in the city after the constitutional innovations of the 1860's, challenged the old order and anatomical dissection with it. The increasing weakness of the highly-bureaucratized State is also evident in its failure to complete the project of cadaver transport by railway.

The supply of cadavers, while abundant, hardly met the ever increasing demands created by the school's popularity with domestic and international students. While I started from the claim that Vienna was famous because it was well-supplied with cadavers, I finish by suggesting that the school was well-supplied because it was famous : professors could count on high student numbers to support their repeated applications to ministries controlling the access to hospitals. Many disciplines wanted their share in these both necessary and lucrative teaching tools. Historical studies often blur the distinction between « anatomy » as a discipline and dissection as a practice. This is partly because, today, cadavers are used primarily to teach normal anatomy, and partly because disciplinary development in the United States, Britain, and even France and Germany followed a different route. Early independence and centrality of pathological anatomy as well as the relatively easy rise of new fields to the status of teaching disciplines and finally university chairs place Vienna at the other end of the spectrum from Britain and the United States. In these countries, neither autonomous pathological anatomy nor disciplinary fragmentation may be found in the 19th Century. The disciplinary competitions I described throw into relief the centrality of the cadaver as a teaching and research object through the 19th Century. As 21st Century medical education increasingly moves away from dead bodies as teaching tools, we need to remind ourselves of the various ways they were used and the prominent place they occupied in operating theatres and in lecture halls.

This account complements those provided by historians of medical education who have followed itinerant students. In their memoirs, Vienna, a mandatory stop on medical grand tours, is rarely depicted as more than the picturesque home to the General Hospital, dissection halls, lively « cafés » and theatres. In this article, I have shown that the city was much more than a colourful background. The urban culture and society gave its medicine the distinctive features that would make it renowned and influential world-wide, and their transformation strongly informed the disciplinary development.

## Notes

(1) Ruth Richardson. *Death, dissection and the destitute*, Phoenix Press, London (2001) - around 1988. Karin Stukenbrock. « Der zerstückte Körper » : zur Sozialgeschichte der anatomischen Sektionen in der frühen Neuzeit (1650-1800) , Franz Steiner, Stuttgart (2001) . [PubMed] Silke Wagener. « ... wenigstens im Tode der Welt noch nützlich und brauchbar » . *Die Göttinger Anatomie und ihre Leichen*, Göttinger Jahrbuch (1995) , Number 43, pages 63-90. Werner Piechocki. *Zur Leichenversorgung der halleischen Anatomie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Acta Historica Leopoldina (1965) , Number 2, pages 67-105. Helen MacDonald. *Dissection and its histories*. Yale University Press, New Haven

(2006) . The transition and the supply of cadavers are also discussed in the histories of anatomy at German universities. Wolfgang Bargmann. Zur Geschichte der Anatomie in Königsberg (Pr.) bis zum Jahre 1860, *Anatomischer Anzeiger* (1943) , Number 94, pages 161-208. Paul A. Jaensch. Beiträge zur Geschichte des anatomischen Unterrichts an der Universität Marburg, *Ergebnisse der Anatomie und Entwicklungsgeschichte* (1924) , Number 25, pages 772-823. Hermann Koller. Das anatomische Institut der Universität Zürich, Orell Füssli, Zürich (1926) . Klaus D. Mörke. Geschichte der Tübinger Anatomie, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) , Tübingen (1988) . Gert-Horst Schumacher, Heinzgünther Wischhusen. *Anatomia Rostochiensis : die Geschichte der Anatomie an der 550 Jahre alten Universität Rostock*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin (1970) .

(2) Ruth Richardson. Death, dissection and the destitute. (n. 1) See further : Elizabeth Hurren. A pauper dead-house : the expansion of the Cambridge anatomical teaching school under the late Victorian poor law, 1870-1914, *Medical History* (2000) , Number 48, pages 699-714. [PubMed]

(3) Michael Sappol. *A traffic of dead bodies : anatomy and embodied social identity in 19th Century America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (2002) . [PubMed]

(4) Toby Gelfand. The « Paris manner » of dissection : student anatomical dissection in early 18th Century Paris, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (1972) , Number 46, pages 99-130. [PubMed]

(5) Dora B. Weiner. *The citizen-patient in revolutionary and Imperial Paris*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore (1993) , pages 181-183.

(6) Silke Wagener. Die Göttinger Anatomie. (n. 1) Karen Stukenbrock. Der zerstückte Körper, especially pages 26-78. (n. 1) Karen Stukenbrock. Unter dem Primat der Ökonomie ? Soziale und wirtschaftliche Aspekte der Leichenbeschaffung für die Anatomie, in : Jürgen Helm, Karin Stukenbrock, editors. *Anatomie : Sektionen einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart (2004) , pages 227-239.

(7) On how and why Vienna succeeded Paris, see : John Harley Warner. *Against the spirit of system : the French impulse in 19th Century American medicine*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1998) , pages 297-314. And : Thomas N. Bonner. *Becoming a physician : medical education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750-1945*, Oxford University Press, New York (1995) , pages 191-192.

(8) Erna Lesky. *Die Wiener medizinische Schule im 19. Jahrhundert*, Hermann Böhlau Nachfrage, Graz (1965) .

(9) *Lehr- und Lernfreiheit der Medizin*. *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (1853) , Number 3, pages 491-493.

(10) Thomas N. Bonner attributed Vienna's success to several equally significant factors, from training in medical specialties to access to patients : Thomas N. Bonner. *American doctors and German universities. A chapter in international intellectual relations, 1870-1914*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln (1963) , pages 30-31, 69-82. And : *Becoming a physician*, pages 248-349. (n. 7) By contrast, John Harley Warner singled-out the availability of human bodies (patients and dissectible corpses) as the most important element : *Against the Spirit of System*, pages 297-314.

(n. 7)

(11) Reinhard Hildebrand. Mikroskopische Anatomie mit den Augen des makroskopischen Anatomen : Der Wiener Anatom Josef Hyrtl und seine mikroskopischen Injektionspräparate, *Sudhoffs Archiv* (1992) , Number 76, pages 203-213.

[PubMed] Gretchen Worden. Mütter Museum of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Blast Books, New York (2002) , pages 178-180.

(12) On the Pernkopf atlas, see especially : David Williams. The History of Eduard Pernkopf's *Topographische Anatomie des Menschen*, *Journal of Biocommunication* (1988) , Number 15 (2) , pages 2-12. [PubMed] Michael Hubenstorf.

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: the fiction of « pure science » *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* (1998) , Number 110, pages 193-201. [PubMed]

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(13) See, for example : Sean Burrell, Geoffrey Gill. The Liverpool cholera epidemic of 1832 and anatomical dissection : medical mistrust and civil unrest. *Jahrbuch Historischen Medizinischen Allgemeinen Science* (2005) , Number 60, pages 478-498. [PubMed] E.T. Hurren. A pauper dead-house. (n. 2) Ruth Richardson. Death, dissection and the destitute. (n. 1)

Michael Sappol. A traffic of dead bodies. (n. 3) Silke Wagener. *Die Göttinger Anatomie*. (n. 1)

(14) For a comparative anthropological perspective on funerary traditions in the West, see : Jack Goody, Cesare Poppi.

*Flowers and bones : approaches to the dead in Anglo-American and Italian cemeteries. Comparative Studies in History and Society* (1994) , Number 36, pages 146-175. For a historical-anthropological view on differences in the attitudes to

dissection between Northern and Southern Europe, see : Katharine Park's work cited in the first section after introduction.

(15) In the text, « anatomy » designates the discipline of normal human anatomy, and « pathological anatomy » the discipline of morbid or pathological anatomy.

(16) On the need to pay more attention to the city as the socio-political setting of knowledge production and to strengthen ties between urban history and history of science, see : Sven Dierig, et al. Introduction : toward an urban

history of science. *Osiris (Science and the City)* (2003) , Number 18, pages 1-19. Much of the literature on science and the city has hitherto focused on the relationship between scientific expertise and the entrepreneurial culture of

industrial British urban centres. See : Robert H. Kargon. *Science in Victorian Manchester : enterprise and expertise*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore (1977) . Ian Inkster, Jack Morrell, editors. *Metropolis and province : science in*

*British culture, 1780-1850*, Hutchinson, London (1983) . [PubMed] Ian Inkster. *Scientific Culture and Urbanisation in Industrialising Britain*, Ashgate Variorum, Aldershot (1997) . For science in the culture of a German city-state, see :

Ayako Sakurai. *Science, identity and urban re-invention in a mercantile city-state : the associational culture of 19th Century Frankfurt-am-Main*, Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge (2006) . On science and medicine in the Viennese urban culture, see : Maria Rentetzi. *The city as a context for scientific activity : creating the Mediziner-Viertel in « fin-*

de-siècle » Vienna, *Endeavour* (2004) , Number 28, pages 39-44. [PubMed] Idem. Gender, politics, and radioactivity research in inter-War Vienna, *Isis* (2004) , Number 95, pages 359-393. [PubMed] And : Deborah R. Coen. A lens of many facets : science through a family's Eyes, *Isis* (2006) , Number 97, pages 395-419. [PubMed]

(17) See, for instance : Anne Hardy. *The epidemic streets : infectious disease and the rise of preventive medicine, 1856-1900*, Clarendon, Oxford (1993) . For a sociologist's view of the city as an expression of culturally contingent bodily perception, see : Richard Sennett. *Flesh and stone : the body and the city in Western civilization*, Penguin, London (2002) - around 1994.

(18) Charles Rosenberg. *The cholera years : the United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866*, Chicago University Press, Chicago (1962) . Richard J. Evans. *Death in Hamburg : society and politics in the cholera years, 1830-1910*, Clarendon, Oxford (1987) . Keith Wailoo. *Dying in the city of blues : sickle cell anaemia and the politics of race and health*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill (2001) .

(19) See : Cay-Rüdiger Prüll. *Medizin am Toten oder am Lebenden ? Pathologie in Berlin und in London, 1900-1945*, Schwabe, Basel (2003) . And : Sven Dierig on physiology in Berlin : *Engines for Experiment : Laboratory Revolution and Industrial Labour in the 19th Century City*, *Osiris (Science and the City)* (2003) Number 18, pages 116-134. [PubMed]

(20) The large literature has started with Carl Schorske's pioneering work in the 1960's and 1970's, later published as a collection of essays : Carl E. Schorske. « fin-de-siècle » Vienna : politics and culture, Vintage Books, New York (1981) - around 1980. Attributing the development of an idiosyncratic « ahistoric » Viennese culture to a reaction against nationalist politics of the 1880's and 1890's. See also : William M. Johnston. *The Austrian mind : an intellectual and social history, 1848-1938*, University of California Press, Berkeley (1972) . Allan Janik, Stephen E. Toulmin. *Wittgenstein's Vienna*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1973) . William J. McGrath. *Dionysian art and populist politics in Austria*, Yale University Press, New Haven (1974) . Jacques le Rider. *Modernite « viennoise et crises de l'identité »* , Presses universitaires de France, Paris (1990) . And : Moritz Csáky. *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne : ein kulturhistorischer Essay zur österreichischen Identität*, Böhlau, Wien (1996) . For an overview of critiques of Schorske's approach, see : Steven Beller, editor. *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Berghahn Books, New York (2001) .

(21) Some of the documentation disappeared during the Allied bombing in 1945, which heavily damaged the anatomical institute.

(22) Nancy Siraisi. *Medieval and early Renaissance medicine : an introduction to knowledge and practice*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1990) , page 86. Andrea Carlino. *Books of the body : anatomical ritual and renaissance learning*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1999) , pages 178-179. [PubMed]

(23) Katharine Park. *The criminal and the saintly body : autopsy and dissection in Renaissance Italy*, *Renaissance Quarterly* (1994) , Number 47, pages 1-33. [PubMed]

(24) Ibid. Katharine Park. *The life of the corpse : division and dissection in late medieval Europe*, *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* (1995) ; Number 50, pages 111-132. [PubMed]

(25) Katharine Park. *The Life of the Corpse*, page 115. (n. 24)

(26) Sonia Horn. *Vom Leichenöffnen. Beobachtungen zum Umgang mit pathologischen und anatomischen Sektionen in Wien vor 1800*, *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* (2004) , Nummer 116, pages 792-803. [PubMed]

(27) Rupert Feuchtmüller, Elisabeth Kovács, editors. *Welt des Barock*, Herder, Wien (1986) .

(28) Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water. *Die Kapuzinergruft : Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien*, 2nd edition, Herder, Wien (1993) , page 33.

(29) Anonymous. *Acht Tage in Wien : Ein treuer Führer zu den Merkwürdigkeiten der Kaiserstadt und ein freundlicher Wegweiser in die reizendsten Umgebungen derselben*, Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien (1849) , pages 118-126.

(30) Sonia Horn. *Vom Leichenöffnen*, page 798. (n. 26)

(31) After Cremona and Bologna around 1300, anatomical dissections were first performed in Padua (1341) and Montpellier (1376) ; Vienna was closely followed by Siena (1427) and Prague (1448) . See : Karin Stukenbrock. *Der zerstückte Körper*, page 13. (n. 1) , note 22. In German-speaking regions, in Tübingen, the first anatomical dissection probably took-place sometime between 1497 and 1536. Klaus D. Mörke. *Geschichte der Tübinger Anatomie*, pages 15-17. (n. 1) . In Marburg after 1536 : Paul A. Jaensch. *Universität Marburg*, page 776. (n. 1) . In Rostock around 1567 : Gert-Horst Schumacher, Heinzgünther Wischhusen, *Anatomia Rostochiensis*, page 178. (n. 1) . In Helmstedt sometime before 1576 : Karin Stukenbrock. *Der zerstückte Körper*, page 26. (n. 1) . In Königsberg in the early-17th Century : Wolfgang Bargmann. *Zur Geschichte der Anatomie in Königsberg*, page 163. (n. 1) . In Kiel by 1666 : Karin Stukenbrock. *Der zerstückte Körper*, page 26. (n. 1) . In Zürich after 1677 : Hermann Koller. *Das anatomische Institut der Universität Zürich*, pages 7-8. (n. 1) The pace differed from one city to the next and periods of years and decades without a dissection were not rare.

(32) Sonia Horn. « ... ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum » . *Anatomischer Unterricht für nichtakademische Heilkundige an der Wiener Medizinischen Fakultät im 18. Jahrhundert*, in : Jürgen Helm, Karin Stukenbrock, editors. *Anatomie : Sektionen einer medizinischer Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart (2004) , pages 189-212, see especially : pages 198-201.

(33) Ruth Richardson. *Death, dissection and the destitute*, pages 32-34. (n. 1)

(34) Sonia Horn. « ... ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum » , page 199. (n. 32)

(35) See : Josef Pauser. *Sektion als Strafe ?* , in : Norbert Stefenelli, editor. *Körper ohne Leben. Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten*, Böhlau, Wien (1998) , pages 527-535, especially : page 529.

(36) Sonia Horn. *Sektion und Obduktion in Ländern ohne erforderliche Zustimmung Hinterbliebener - Unterschiede des*

Umgangen mit Toten. Versuch einer historischen Annäherung am Beispiel Wien, in : Norbert Stefanelli, editor. Körper ohne Leben. Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten, Böhlau, Wien (1998) , pages 596-603, especially : page 598.

(37) Katharine Park. The criminal and the saintly body, page 23. (n. 23) [PubMed]

(38) Klaus D. Mörike. Geschichte der Tübinger Anatomie, pages 16, 39, 47. (n. 1)

(39) Karin Stukenbrock. Der zerstückte Körper, pages 154-162. (n. 1) Silke Wagener. Die Göttinger Anatomie, pages 76-77. (n. 1)

(40) The history of anatomical burial in Vienna remains to be written. Recent archival and archaeological research indicates that the bodies were buried first at hospital cemeteries (Holy Ghost hospital and Citizens' Hospital, followed by St. Marx cemetery and General Hospital cemeteries) , from where they moved to community cemeteries on « Währingerstraße » , in the 19th Century, and the Central Cemetery, from 1874 (personal communication, Sonia Horn) . On anatomical burial at the Währinger cemetery, see also : Universitätsarchiv (UA) , Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 582 (1871-1872) .

(41) Sonia Horn. « ... ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum » , page 201. (n. 32)

(42) So, for instance, supply of anatomy with hospital cadavers (in addition to executed criminals) was first allowed in Königsberg in 1737, with the decree re-newed in 1777 : Wolfgang Bargmann. Zur Geschichte der Anatomie in Königsberg, page 177. (n. 1) . In Göttingen in 1737 and 1738 : Silke Wagener. Die Göttinger Anatomie, page 64. (n. 1) In Würzburg in 1749 : Mirjam Elze. Die Geschichte des anatomischen Institutes in Würzburg von 1582 bis 1849, Medizin dissertation, Julius Maximilian University of Würzburg (1990) , page 143.

(43) Thomas Pöck, editor. Codex Austriacus, Volume 4 (1740-1758) , Trattner, Wien (1777) . Todter Körperabgebung zur Anatomie (1749) , page 468.

(44) Todter Körperabgebung zur Anatomie (1749) , page 475, in *ibid.*

(45) Timothy Charles William Blanning. Josef II and enlightened despotism. Longman, London (1970) , page 68. On the military medical academy « Josephinum » as an embodiment of Josef's ideas of medical education, see : Erna Lesky. Österreichisches Gesundheitswesen im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte (1959) , Number 122, pages 1-228. With an emphasis on the uses of « Josephinum's » collection of anatomical models : Anna Märker. Model experts : the production and uses of anatomical models at La Specola, Florence, and the « Josephinum » , Vienna, 1775-1814, Ph.D dissertation, Cornell University (2005) , Chapter 5.

(46) Helmut Wyklicky. 200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus, 2nd edition, Facultas, Wien (1993) .

(47) On the advantages of a geographically centralized medical education from the perspective of American and French students in Vienna, see : Thomas N. Bonner, page 31, (n. 10) and Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, page 295.

(n. 8)

(48) Franz Knispel. Bestattungsmuseum Wien : Führer durch die Sammlung, Wiener Stadtwerke-Bestattung Wien, Wien (1997) , page 97. Hilde Schmolzer. A schöne Leich : der Wiener und sein Tod, Kremayr & Scheriau, Wien (1980) , pages 58-61.

(49) Johannes Wimmer. Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod im Zeitalter der Aufklärung : Fallstudien aus den habsburgischen Erbländern, Böhlau, Wien (1991) , pages 176-202.

(50) Michael Hagner. Geniale Gehirne : Zur Geschichte der Elitegehirnforschung, Wallstein, Göttingen (2004) , page 62.

(51) Franz Knispel. Bestattungsmuseum Wien, pages 8-9. (n. 48)

(52) The sextons quickly regrouped and founded a second funeral company, Pietät, soon followed by a number of competitors, headed by Concordia (1870) . The latter took-over the transport of corpses to and from the anatomical institute that, until then, had had its own hearse : Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 808, Zahl 15064 (1882) . In 1907, the Viennese municipal council purchased the « Enterprise des pompes funèbres » and Concordia to merge them into a new Gemeinde Wien-Städtische Bestattungsanstalt. See : Franz Knispel. Bestattungsmuseum Wien, page 9. (n. 48)

(53) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium des Innern, Allgemeine Reihe, 36/8 Leichentransport gen. 1870-1899, Karton 1153, Zahl 1325 (1872) .

(54) In 1856, there were as many as 112 societies for support of the sick with 15,400 members ; 19 burial societies with 186,500 members ; and 34 that combined these 2 services, with 23,900 members. See : Leopold Wittelshöfer. Wiens Heil- und Humanitäts-Anstalten, ihre Geschichte, Organisation und Statistik, L.W. Seidel, Wien (1856) , pages 392-394. In the late-19th Century, many societies of this kind were concentrated in and around the proletarian districts in southwest Vienna : Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium des Innern : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , I/7 Gesamt-Inventar, V. Teil Inventar, Vereinsakten 1870-1899.

(55) St. Josef von Arimathæa Verein. Dreiäiögster Jahres-Bericht des Vereines vom Heiligen Josef von Arimathæa in Wien, für das Jahr vom 1. Jänner bis Ende December 1886, St. Josef von Arimathæa Verein, Wien (1887) .

(56) Until 1892, the currency in the Habsburg Empire was the Florin, which was equal in value to Guildens (or Guilders) . 1 Florin contained 60 Kreuzer. The currency reform of 1892 substituted 1 Florin for 2 Kronen, where 1 Krone contained 100 Heller.

(57) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 290 (1866-1867) . Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 18565 (1908) .



- (58) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 13034 (1899) .
- (59) See, for instance, the case of early-19th Century Halle, where citizens were warned against such collective schemes of saving for burial expenses as a form of begging that should not be supported. Werner Piechocki. Zur Leichenversorgung, page 76. (n. 1)
- (60) Hilde Schmölder. A schöne Leich, pages 58-59. (n. 48) Peter Pleyel. Friedhöfe in Wien : vom Mittelalter bis heute, Pichler Edition, Wien (1999) .
- (61) Franz Knispel. Bestattungsmuseum Wien, pages 105-106, 110-111. (n. 48)
- (62) Doktor Andreas Witlaci. Über Leichenverbrennung II. Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift (1874) , Number 24, pages 479-480.
- (63) Ibid. Über Leichenverbrennung I. Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift (1874) , Number 24, pages 455-456.
- (64) Pat Jalland. Death in the Victorian family, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1996) , pages 203-209. Franz Knispel. Bestattungsmuseum Wien, pages 13-14. (n. 48)
- (65) Paulau Ebner. Der Streit um die Feuerbestattung zwischen katolische Kirche und Sozialdemokratie. Eine Studie zum Kulturkampf in der I. Republik, Diploma dissertation, University of Vienna (1989) .
- (66) Curt Elze. Die Geschichte des anatomischen Institutes in Würzburg, pages 144-149. (n. 42)
- (67) Silke Wagener. Die Göttinger Anatomie. (n. 1) Nick Hopwood. Artists versus anatomist, models against dissection : Paul Zeiller of Munich and the Revolution of 1848, Medical History (2007) , Number 51, pages 279-308. [PubMed]
- (68) Carl August Wunderlich (1815-1877) was, in 1841, the first to use the term « young Vienna school » . See : C.A. Wunderlich. Aus C.A. Wunderlichs Schrift « Wien und Paris » , in : Max Neuburger, editor. Die Wiener Medizinische Schule in Vormärz, Rikola, Wien (1921) , pages 223-245. The term remained in use until the medical historian Theodor Puschmann replaced it with « the newer Vienna Medical School » in 1884. Finally, Erna Lesky introduced the term « the Second Vienna Medical School » in 1965, to distinguish the school from van Gerard van Swieten's « First Vienna Medical School » of the second half of the 18th Century. See : Roland Sedivy. Rokitsansky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule : Von der Naturphilosophie zur Naturwissenschaft, Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift (2004) , Number 154, pages 443-453. [PubMed]
- (69) See : John Harley Warner. Against the Spirit of System. (n. 7) Thomas N. Bonner. American doctors and German universities. (n. 10) Wilhelm His. Lebenserinnerungen von Wilhelm His senior, als Manuskript gedruckt, Leipzig (1903) , pages 40-47. Ernst Hæckel. Die Wiener medizinische Fakultät um 1857. Ein Brief Ernst Hæckels an seine Eltern, Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift (1928) , Number 75, pages 2019-2020.

(70) On the development of the competition and the proposed solutions at late-18th Century German universities, see : Karin Stukenbrock. *Der zerstückte Körper*, pages 137-149. (n. 1) On the competition in 18th Century Göttingen, see : Silke Wagener. *Die Göttinger Anatomie*, page 76. (n. 1) , and in 19th Century : Feser Georg Würzburg. *Das anatomische Institut in Würzburg, 1847-1903*, Medizin dissertation, Julius Maximilian University of Würzburg (1977) , pages 20-21.

(71) Irene Montjoye, editor. *Oscar Wildes Vater über Metternichs Österreich : William Wilde - ein irischer Augenarzt über Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt-am-Main (1989) , page 67.

(72) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät. Zahl 324 (1852/3) .

(73) There were 400 students and visitors taking the dissection course in the Winter Semester of 1862-1863, while 310 attended anatomical lectures, of whom 170 were first year students and the remaining 140 either students of higher-years or graduate physicians. See UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 169 (1862-1863) . The number of matriculated students grew from 718 in 1860 to 1,653 in 1871. See : Gary B. Cohen. *Die Studenten der Wiener Universität von 1860 bis 1900 : ein soziales und geographisches Profil*, in : Richard G. Plaschka, Karlheinz Mack, editors. *Wegenetz Europäisches Geistes II. Universitäten und Studenten : die Bedeutung studentischer Migration in Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Wien, pages 290-316, 292.

(74) Josef Hyrtl. *Handbuch der praktischen Zergliederungskunst als Anleitung zu den Sectionsübungen und zur Ausarbeitung anatomischer Präparate*, Braumüller, Wien (1860) . Rüdiger Schultka, Luminita Göbbel *Präparationstechniken und Präparate im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert, dargestellt an Beispielen aus den anatomischen Sammlungen zu Halle (Saale)* , in : Helm Jürgen, Karin Stukenbrock, editors. *Anatomie : Sektionen einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden (2004) , pages 49-81. On the history of formaldehyde, see : Frederic J. Walker. *Formaldehyde*, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, New York (1944) , pages 1-9.

(75) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 808, Zahl 8242/641 (1852) .

(76) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 324 (1852-1853) .

(77) This was granted only in 1928 : Kurt Mühlberger. *Regelungen und Massnahmen bezüglich der Beschaffung von Leichen für das anatomische Institut*, in : Akademischen Senat der Universität Wien, editor. *Untersuchungen zur Anatomischen Wissenschaft in Wien 1938-1945*, University of Vienna, Vienna (1998) , unpublished manuscript.

(78) Leopold Wittelshöfer. *Wiens Heil- und Humanitäts-Anstalten*, page 90. (n. 54)

(79) See : Erna Lesky. *Die Wiener medizinische Schule*, pages 129-141. (n. 8)

(80) Straßburg did get a chair in pathological anatomy before Vienna, in 1819, but professor Johann Lobstein taught 2 more subjects, obstetrics and internal medicine. See : Hans-Heinz Eulner. *Die Entwicklung der medizinischen Spezialfächer an den Universitäten des deutschen Sprachgebietes*, Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart (1970) , pages 102-103.

(81) Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, page 99. (n. 8)

(82) On the differences in disciplinary development of pathology in Europe, especially between London and Berlin, see : Cay-Rüdiger Prüll. Medizin am Toten oder am Lebenden ? (n. 19) , and : Cay-Rüdiger Prüll, editor. Pathology in the 19th and 20th Centuries : the relationship between theory and practice, EAHHM, Sheffield (1998) . In contrast to Germany, at Habsburg universities pathological anatomy remained independent, with newer approaches institutionalized at separate chairs. See : Hans-Heinz Eulner, pages 506, 641-649. (n. 80)

(83) Robert J. Miciotto. Carl Rokitansky : a re-assessment of the hematomal theory of disease, Bulletin of History of Medicine (1978) , Number 52, pages 183-199. [PubMed]

(84) Jens Lachmund. Der abgehörchte Körper. Zur historischen Soziologie der medizinischen Untersuchung, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen (1997) . For a condensed English version of the argument, see : Making sense of sound : auscultation and lung sound codification in 19th Century French and German medicine, Science, Technology and Human Values (1999) , Number 24, pages 419-450.

(85) For biographical information on Rokitansky, see : Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, pages 129-141. (n. 8)

(86) The General Hospital had 2,000 autopsies a year, all performed by Rokitansky and his team. In addition to that, he conducted 25,000 forensic autopsies in his career. See : Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, page 137. (n. 8)

(87) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 290 (1866-1867) .

(88) My discussion of Rokitansky's privilege is based on his letter (n. 87) and the memoirs of Benedikt Moritz. Aus meinem Leben : Erinnerungen und Erörterungen, Carl Konegen, Wien (1906) . Although, at first glance, it may seem that a strong claim is based on modest evidence, it must be stressed that 1) this was a secret privilege and, therefore, unlikely to have been discussed frequently or publicly ; and 2) Rokitansky's letter has the weight of an official document, because it was written at the request of the Austrian authorities for the Saxon government.

(89) Moritz Benedikt. Aus meinem Leben, pages 66-67. (n. 88)

(90) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 36, 90, 150, 361, 458, 506 (1858-1859) .

(91) Ibid.

(92) Rudolf Virchow, who visited Vienna in 1846, wrote that Vienna did not lack corpses for pathological-anatomical exercises, but home students had less chance to perform an autopsy than foreign visitors. See : Rudolph Virchow. Ein alter Bericht über die Gestaltung der pathologischen Anatomie in Deutschland, wie sie ist und wie sie werden muß, Virchows Archiv (1900) , Number 159, pages 24-39, 34.

(93) UA, Personalakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Anton Friedlowsky, Zahl 526 (1864-1865) .

(94) Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, page 297. (n. 81)

(95) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 81 (1871-1872) .

(96) Edgar Weyrich, editor. Rudolfsheim und Fünfhaus : Ein Heimatbuch. Heimatausschuß der Lehrerschaft im VI. Wiener Inspektionsbezirke, Wien (1922) .

(97) Understanding differences in attitudes towards dissection between rural and urban communities would require more research. It is, however, clear that Viennese anatomists used rural cadavers rarely (this is the only case in this period) not because of protests, but because transporting small numbers of corpses was un-economical.

(98) UA, Dekanatsakten der Medizinischen Fakultät, Zahl 81, 175, 186, 198, 228, 296, 304, 582 (1871-1872) .

(99) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 808, Zahl 15408 (1873) , 18266-18988 (1878) .

(100) For the content of such a surgical course, advertised in Vorlesungen-Verzeichnis der Universität Wien für 1881-1882, Universität Wien, Wien (1881) . See : Moritz Holl. Die Operationen an der Leiche : die Leitfaden für Operationsübungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anatomie, Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart (1883) .

(101) Erna Lesky. Die Wiener medizinische Schule, pages 605-608. (n. 8)

(102) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 808, Zahl 10291 (1885) .

(103) For instance, the railway was used in Tübingen between 1861 and 1927, when it was replaced with a car, to access bodies from other towns in Württemberg : Klaus D. Mörke. Geschichte der Tübinger Anatomie, pages 62-63, 98 (n. 1)

(104) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 808, Zahl 17731 (1885) .

(105) Ibid.

(106) Ibid. Zahl 9304 (1884) , Zahl 15288 (1886) , Zahl 1790 (1887) .

(107) Ibid. Zahl 17731 (1885) , Zahl 4541 (1886) , Zahl 8096 (1886) .

(108) Ibid. Zahl 1271 (1886) , 4541 (1886) , 4821 (1887) , 22272 (1889) .

(109) Ibid. Zahl 22272 (1889) .

(110) Ibid.

(111) Ibid. Zahl 4821 (1887) .

(112) Ibid. Zahl 14856 (1890) .

(113) Smaller universities that were not as well supplied as Vienna started experimenting with preservation earlier, although it came into common use only with formaldehyde, around 1900. See, for instance : Gert-Horst Schumacher, Heinzgünther Wischhusen. *Anatomia Rostochiensis*, page 178. (n. 1)

(114) Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 55656 (1912) .

(115) Ibid. Zahl 8433 (1914) .

(116) Ibid. Zahl 3308 (1898) , 17790 (1902) .

(117) Ibid.

(118) This is, to my knowledge, the first recorded protest against anatomy in the study period, 1848-1914 : Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 18565 (1908) .

(119) Ibid.

(120) Ibid.

(121) The Party had won the Vienna municipal elections in 1895, but the Emperor Franz-Josef refused to accept their victory until he was forced by the government crisis to recruit their support. See : John W. Boyer. *Political radicalism in late-Imperial Vienna : origins of the Christian-Social Movement 1848-1897*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1981) . Idem. *Culture and political crisis in Vienna : Christian-Socialism in power, 1897-1918*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1995) .

(122) These changes include the end of the neo-absolutism and the constitutions of 1860 and 1867, administrative re-organization of the country in 1867, and the economic boom of the 1860's ending with the stock-market crash of 1873. See, for example, Helmut Rumpler. *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa : bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie*, Überreuter, Wien (1997) . Alan J. P. Taylor. *The Habsburg monarchy 1809-1918 : a history of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*, Penguin, Harmondworth (1981) - around 1941.

(123) Steven Beller. *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938 : a cultural history*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1989) , page 44.

(124) Gary B. Cohen. *Die Studenten der Wiener Universität*, page 297. (n. 73)

(125) Thomas Schlich. *Der lebende und der tote Körper*, in : Sander L. Gilman, Robert Jütte, Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz, editors. « Der schejne Jid » : *Das Bild des « jüdischen Körpers » in Mythos und Ritual*, Picus, Wien (1998) , pages 145-157.

(126) Fred Rosner. *Modern medicine and Jewish ethics*, 2nd edition, Ktav Publishing House, Yeshiva University Press, Hoboken, New Jersey, New York (1991) , page 315. Mordechai Breuer. *Modernity within tradition : the social history of orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany*, Columbia University Press, New York (1992) , page 257. Thomas Schlich. *Der lebende und der tote Körper*. (n. 128)

(127) Tankred Koch. *Lebendig begraben : Geschichte und Geschichten vom Scheintod*, Edition Leipzig, Leipzig (1990) .

(128) Franz Knispel. *Bestattungsmuseum Wien*, pages 18-19, 36-37. (n. 48) Gert Baumgart, Hagen Schaub. *Der ewige Leib : Mumien in österreichischen Sammlungen und Gräften*, Verlagshaus der Ärzte, Wien (2003) , pages 55-56.

(129) Thomas Schlich. *Der lebende und der tote Körper*. (n. 125)

(130) *The new hospital, financed by the Rothschilds, was opened in 1873 to replace the old institution established in 1698*. See : Ruth Koblizek, Michael Heindl, editors. *125 Jahre Rothschild Spital, Dagobert, Donnerskirchen* (1998) .

(131) *On Jews in Viennese medicine*, see : Gary B. Cohen. *Die Studenten der Wiener Universität*. (n. 73) Steven Beller. *Vienna and the Jews*, pages 37-38. (n. 126) Klaus Hödl. *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers. Antisemitismus, Geschlecht und Medizin im « fin-de-siècle »* , Picus, Wien (1997) .

(132) Richard S. Geehr. *Karl Lueger : mayor of « fin-de-siècle » Vienna*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit (1990) , pages 185-188.

(133) *The same arguments about materialism and the de-humanization of medicine caused by an increasing share of Jewish physicians were made in Germany*. See : Ulrich Tröhler, Andreas-Holger Maehle. *Anti-vivisection in 19th Century Germany and Switzerland : motives and methods*, in : Nicolaas A. Rupke, editor. *Vivisection in historical perspective*, Croom Helm, London (1987) , pages 149-187, especially pages 177-178. Paul J. Weindling. *Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870-1945*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1989) , page 170.

(134) *So, Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (1884) , Number 34, page 1269, reported on the anti-vivisectionist Ernst Heinrich von Weber, who in the journal that he edited, *Der Tier- und Menschenfreund*, falsely reported on a case of human vivisection performed by a Jewish physician in Osnabrück.

(135) See : Peter Pulzer. *The rise of political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, Wiley, New York (1964) .

(136) Der Kampf gegen die Ärzte, Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift (1903) , Number 53, pages 2133-2134.

(137) I quote the English translation of the speech, held at the Lower-Austrian Diet on 4 November 1903, from Richard S. Geehr. Karl Lueger, page 187. (n. 132)

(138) Die Fackel (1903) , Number 5, pages 5-7.

(139) The report, written in 1907, is placed in : Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 8433 (1914) .

(140) On the assimilation of Jews in Vienna, see : Marsha L. Rozenblit. The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914 : assimilation and identity, State University of New York Press, Albany (1983) . I could find no indication that any of the many Jewish medical students and doctors opposed dissection. Arthur Schnitzler, a Jewish medical student in the 1880's, and later a famous playwright, expressed his distaste for other students' disrespectful treatment of cadavers but that probably had more to do with his personal sensibility than religious feelings : Therese Nickl, Hermann Schnitzler, editors. Jugend in Wien : eine Autobiographie / Arthur Schnitzler, Fritz Molden, Wien (1968) , page 127. To my knowledge, no Jewish medical students or doctors in this period bequeathed their bodies for posthumous dissection or other research use, but then, neither did Christian professors.

(141) Jacques Kornberg. Theodor Herzl : from assimilation to Zionism, Indiana University Press, Bloomington (1993) .

(142) The meeting took-place in the offices of the Lower-Austrian provincial government on 16 October 1907 and brought together representatives of anatomy, pathological anatomy, Viennese hospitals and Lower-Austrian authorities. See : Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht : Allgemeine Reihe (1848-1914) , Universität Wien, Sig. 4 Med. , Anatomisches Institut, Faszikel 809, Zahl 8433 (1914) .

(143) Karl Sablik. Julius Tandler, Mediziner und Sozialreformer : eine Biographie, A. Schendl, Wien (1983) , page 45.

### Last university lectures

**Monday, 20 November 1893** : Anton Bruckner holds his Monday lecture at the University of Vienna.

**Monday, 27 November 1893** : University student Ernst Schwanzara reports that Anton Bruckner held his last university lecture for the year 1893. Bruckner will continue his lectures until Monday, 29 October 1894.

From the French music-magazine « Le Ménestrel » :

« On écrit de Vienne qu'une place importante est réservée à la musique dans la distribution des différents cours de l'Université de Vienne. Les étudiants en musique auront par semaine : 3 cours sur le " Classicisme moderne " ; 2 sur le " Chant gégorien " ; 1 sur les " Méthodes nouvelles pour l'étude de l'harmonie " ; 2 " Cours de chant pour les commerçants, avec enseignement des connaissances musicales élémentaires pour le chant d'ensemble " ; 1 cours d' "

Harmonie ». Les chargés de ces différents cours (dont la fréquentation est absolument gratuite) sont choisis parmi les meilleurs théoriciens et musicographes autrichiens ; le vieux professeur Bruckner fera le cours d'harmonie. »

(Vienna : An important place is given to music in the distribution of the various courses at the University of Vienna. Music-students will have weekly : 3 courses on « Modern Classicism » ; 2 on the « Gregorian Chant » ; 1 on the « New methods in studying Harmony » ; 2 « Singing lessons for tradesmen, with teaching of basic musical knowledge for choir signing » ; 1 class of « Harmony » . These different lecturers (whose attendance is absolutely free) are chosen from the best Austrian theorists and musicographers ; the old Professor Bruckner will give the course on harmony.)

### Doctor Schrötter's visits

**Thursday, 30 November 1893** : Doctor Leopold Schrötter makes a medical visit to Anton Bruckner in the morning.

**Friday, 1 December 1893** : Doctor Leopold Schrötter makes a medical visit to Anton Bruckner at noon time. The same day, Bruckner receives a certificate of the consecration of a crucifix.

### Heading for Klosterneuburg

**Before Christmas Eve 1893** : Bruckner's physicians discourage him to go to St. Florian for the holidays. Instead, he heads for Klosterneuburg (on the Danube River, immediately north of Vienna) at the instigation of Josef Kluger, the Provost of the abbey.

**Sunday, 24 December 1893** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Holy Evening »

(No prayers are listed for December 25th and 26th.)

### Ignaz comes to Vienna for the holidays

**End of 1893 - beginning of 1894** : Ignaz Bruckner visited his brother in Vienna.

### A strict nurse for Bruckner

**Tuesday, 2 January 1894** : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :  
Bruckner is doing better. Professor Schrötter had appointed a strict nurse. In addition, Ignaz Bruckner from St. Florian is currently in Vienna.

### Doctor Schrötter and the Berlin trip

**Wednesday, 3 January 1894** : Doctor Leopold Schrötter writes :



Bruckner needs to be careful in his physical and psychological activities.

**Wednesday evening** : As part of a journey of several days (Bruckner's second one in the German city) , the old Master wearing his big woolen cloak leaves for Berlin by train. He is accompanied by his supporter Hugo Wolf and art-critic Prince Bojidar Karageorgevitch who also knows the young composer. Bruckner and Wolf will fully enjoy concerts dedicated to their respective music.

Wolf had debated for some time whether he should go to Venice or to Berlin. He finally decided on Berlin, where a concert had been arranged by Siegfried Ochs for the **8 January 1894** at which Wolf's choral ballads, « Der Feuerreiter » and « Elfenlied » were to be given, « Fräulein » de Jong taking the solo-part in the latter work. The previous success in Berlin of Bruckner's « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) is responsible for its return.

### Prince Bojidar Karageorgevitch

The Serbian artist, art-writer and world-traveller, Prince Bojidar Karageorgevitch was born on 11 January 1862 and died on 2 April 1908 at Versailles, France. He was a member of the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty. He gave singing and drawing lessons, and later, earned his living as an art-critic and translator. He was a contributor to the « Encyclopædia Britannica » , « Le Figaro » , « La Revue de Paris » , « Revue des Revues » , the « Magazine of Art » , and other publications.

During one of his trips abroad, he travelled extensively around India, visiting 38 cities. He wrote a book about his experiences called « Enchanted India » in which he offered an account of the Indian people, their religious rites, and other ceremonies. He also provided detailed descriptions of the Indian landscape and buildings. He also translated works of Leo Tolstoy and Hungarian dramatist Mór Jókai.

Taking an interest in art, he visited Munich, Dresden, and Berlin and spent some months in Italy ; afterwards, he settled at Paris. There, he regularly contributed articles to « Le Figaro » , « La Revue de Paris » , the « Magazine of Art » (Ilya Repin, Jules Bastien-Lepage) , including a biography of Marie Bashkirtseff in the « Encyclopædia Britannica » (11th Edition, Volume III) . Like all journalists, he was drawn to the cabarets of Montmartre, the haunt of artists, writers, poets, philosophers. It was there he met and befriended French stage-actress Sarah Bernhardt, pioneer of modern dance ; Loïe Fuller, French poet and novelist ; and noted orientalist Judith Gautier ; Suzanne Meyer-Zundel ; Hugo Wolf ; painter and illustrator Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec ; and the founder of the « Ballets Russes » , Sergei Diaghilev. Biographer Stevan K. Pavlowitch claims that the Prince was openly gay and had no relationship with women except purely platonic.

In his later years, Prince Karadjordjevitch turned his attention in decoration, and executed panels and medallions for a Paris « atelier » (work-shop) as a designer, sculptor, painter and silver-smith, and often spent time with Georges Lacombe, Émile Bernard, Paul Sérusier and other members of « Les Nabis » . Karageorgevitch's paintings, illustrations, water-colours and silver-smith works were first exhibited in Belgrade in 1908.

As a journalist and a publicist, he advocated the emancipation of all Slavs and Romanians under the Habsburg Monarchy. He also favoured the emancipation of the small States in the south-east of Europe, particularly Serbian lands, from Turkish supremacy. Prince Karadjordjevitich, who is known to a wider circle as a friend of writer Pierre Loti and the great Russian artist Marie Bashkirtseff, published some reminiscences, « La Vie Multiple » , and « Notes sur L'Inde » , both issued posthumously. Marie Bashkirtseff's friend since adolescence, Karadjordjevitich stood by her side during her last days and he was present at her death-bed. She was only 25 when she died, a victim of tuberculosis, in 1884.

On the 20th anniversary of her death, in 1904, Karadjordjevitich would describe Bashkirtseff's last moments in the January edition of « Revue des Revues » :

« Marie rises a bit, releases a soft sigh, the sigh of tiny children when waking, and 2 thick tears roll-down her cheek (...) then, her head falls again into the pillow. »

### The Berlin Trip (1894)

**Thursday, 4 January 1894** : Anton Bruckner stops making entries in his pocket calendar until 13 April 1894.

The « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » Number 1 (on page 4) , the « Deutsches Volksblatt » Number 1798 (on page 7) , Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 3 (on page 11) and « Das Vaterland » Number 3 (on page 6) all report about the trip.

Vienna's « Neue Freie Presse » Number 10548, on page 6 :

« Vienna, January 3rd.

(...)

On **Friday, January 5**, Anton Bruckner, accompanied by his pupil and Prince Bojidar Karageorgievich, will arrive in Berlin to attend a cycle of his works.

On **Saturday, January 6**, his 7th Symphony (**WAB 107**) will be performed by “ Hofkapellmeister ” Karl Muck at the Royal Court Opera House.

On **Sunday, January 8**, the “ Te Deum ” (**WAB 45**) by will be performed by Doctor Siegfried Ochs at the “ Philharmonie ”.

On **Tuesday, January 10**, the String Quartet in F major will be performed.

On **Wednesday, January 11**, a rehearsal of the “ Te Deum ” will take place. »

The morning edition of the « Vossischen Zeitung » Number 4, Section I, announces the **January 8th** concert and the programmed work : the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) .

The morning-evening edition of the « Neuen Preußischen Zeitung » Number 4-5 advertises and writes about the performance of the 7th Symphony on the **6th**.

**Between Friday, 5 and Monday, 15 January 1894** : (Berlin)

Anton Bruckner is still engaged in an epistolary relationship with Ida Buhz. He visits Ida and her parents.

The firm Bote & Bock offers to publish Bruckner's works.

Bruckner asks Lilli Wolff, the 4 year old daughter of the German concert-agent, journalist, and impresario Hermann Wolff, about Hans von Bülow's health-condition. (Bülow's death the same year was a bitter blow for Wolff, but he rallied his spirits and set about looking for someone worthy of succeeding Bülow at the helm of the Berlin Philharmonic.)

Very soon after Adolf Hitler came to power in January 1933, it became clear that the days of the concert-agency founded by Hermann Wolff were numbered. Thus, the Nazi government prohibited Bruno Walter from conducting a scheduled concert with the Berlin Philharmonic. Shortly afterwards, Louise Wolff's associate, Erich Sachs, emigrated from Germany, and the firm again came to be known by the old name of « Concert Direction Hermann Wolff » . But already by the end of 1934, Louise had decided to dissolve the agency, since she realized that her daughters, Edith and Lili, on account of their Jewish ancestry, would not be allowed to carry-on their work for the family firm undisturbed. When she announced her decision in April 1935, many famous musicians wrote to Louise to express their sadness over the loss of this institution. A few weeks later, on 25 June 1935, Louise herself died. Edith and Lilli Wolff remained proprietors of the Bechstein Hall built by their father, but the Nazis forced them to remove the busts of Anton Rubinstein and Josef Joachim from the « foyer » (they had been erected there by Hermann Wolff alongside those of Hans von Bülow and Johannes Brahms, to commemorate the 4 great musicians who inaugurated the concert-hall in 1892) . Detectives sent by the « Reichsmusikkammer » ransacked the offices of Edith and Lili in 1936, and carried away many valuable documents (letters, autographs, programme-notes) in which the whole fruitful history of the « Concert Direction Hermann Wolff » was reflected. In 1942, Edith was interned in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt (Terezín) , but, unlike some of her friends who were later deported to Auschwitz, she survived the War.

Richard Strauß, the acting director of the Philharmonic, is determined to propose Bruckner's music to the Berlin public with a series of special concerts to be held at the « Alte Philharmonie » . Strauß plans to begin with Symphony No. 1 (**WAB 101**) .

Bruckner meets conductor and composer August Scharrer.

Bruckner receives Siegfried Ochs and Walter Damrosch at the Hotel « Kaiserhof » .

Count Hochberg, intendant and artistic director of the Court Opera proposes Bruckner to move to Berlin.

**Friday, 5 January 1894** : Bruckner, Wolf and Prince Karageorgevitch arrive at noon in Berlin. They are met at the train-station by Richard Sternfeld, Siegfried Ochs and Karl Muck (Wolf's old associate at Salzburg) who is now stationed in Berlin as a conductor.

Muck accompanies Bruckner to his usual hotel : the « Kaiserhof » .

(Bruckner is said to have brought Muck the score of the 9th Symphony for safe-keeping. This could possibly be the first movement !)

Wolf is the guest of his friend Baron Franz-Josef von Lipperheide at his home on « Potsdamerstraße » .

**Saturday, 6 January 1894 (Epiphany Day)** :

Brief introductory article in the « Vossischen Zeitung » Number 9 (section 1, page 3) about the **January 8th** concert. Hugo Wolf is mentioned but not of Anton Bruckner.

The « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » Number 2, page 4, reports on the Berlin trip.

Short article in the « Steyrer Zeitung » .

**11:00 am** : Main-rehearsal of the 7th Symphony at the Royal Court Opera House with « Hofkapellmeister » Muck.

Short message from Karl Muck to Anton Bruckner written on an official « Kaiserhof » headed letter :

« Dear friend !

I regret not being able to see you. Enclosed are your seat-tickets. Good luck for tonight ! After the concert, do we stay together a little ?

Greeting and hand-shake !

Muck »

Hugo Wolf was introduced by Siegfried Ochs to Ernst Otto Nodnagel, the song-composer, who sincerely admired Wolf, studied his songs attentively, sang them in public for a time, and wrote helpful critical articles upon them. Nodnagel has related how excited Wolf was at the rehearsal, for he felt that a great deal depended on the success of this concert. All went well until « Anakreons Grab » was given ; the singer performed the usual stupid singer's trick of finishing-up on a high-note, and Wolf, says Nodnagel, positively howled with rage.

Evening concert at the Royal Court Opera House under the direction of « Hofkapellmeister » Karl Muck.

On the programme :

Works by Felix Mendelssohn, Anton Bruckner (7th Symphony) , Franz-Josef Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

Bruckner, wearing a big woolen cloak, receives an enthusiastic acclaim on the part of the audience.

Ida Buhz and Bruckner sit together in a box. Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund could not attend due to illness.

Siegfried Ochs told a delightful little story about the old Master's gratitude, which was so heartfelt that he said he would give every woman in the choir a kiss. Bruckner posted himself next to the stairway by which the ladies left the platform and he started kissing them one after the other. After he had demonstrated his thanks 8 or 9 times, he was approached by a girl whose charms had long since withered ...

She was ready to receive her big reward when Bruckner turned abruptly and proclaimed loudly :

« No, this one doesn't appeal to me ! »

Then, Bruckner offered Ochs a 20 Mark gold piece but he refused. Bruckner told him to give the coin to the tympanist.

**Letter 95** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Vienna) :

« To Vienna.

Berlin, on the day of Epiphany, 1894.

Most honoured gracious lady !

My trip went very well. For a while, I even travelled all by myself in the compartment, then with a military officer and, finally, from Dresden on, with an elderly lady. I arrived in Berlin punctually at 1:45 pm, took a first-class carriage to " Potsdamerstraße " Number 38, where I was received most cordially by the house-keeper. The cold weather is considerably worse here than in Vienna. One freezes miserably here. The Lipperheides aren't coming to Berlin until the end of January. I've been given a very attractive bedroom and an elegant salon. After a thorough freshening-up, I went off to visit (Siegfried) Ochs. He lives a few hundred steps away from my lodging on the opposite side of the street. Ochs wasn't at home, but had just gone to the rehearsal of the Philharmonic. I took a carriage immediately, rode-back to my flat, picked-up my scores of the " Feuerreiter " and " Elfenlied " and told the coach-man to drive to the Philharmonic. I arrived there just as (Eugène) d'Albert was conducting his " trash ". I hadn't sat long as a listener in the concert-hall before Ochs came-over to me. Our greeting was extremely cordial. He was over-joyed at my

appearance. “ Fräulein ” Corver was also present ; I conveyed greetings from you and the girls, which she cordially returns. (Richard) Sternfeld was there, too, and extremely pleased to see me. Ochs really is charming. He, himself, is inconsolable about the omission of “ Mignon ”, but thinks I’ll still hear the piece here anyway - i.e. , with orchestra.

Then, the time came for my things, first the “ Feuerreiter ” and, then, the “ Elfenlied ”. Sternfeld, who was following the original score with me, was truly stricken with St. Vitus’ dance in his delight over the effect of the (orchestral) sounds. Although the pieces were only being rehearsed for the first time, it went quite marvelously. I was congratulated from all sides. The chorus is exceptionally well-prepared and the orchestra plays extremely well. The colourful instrumentation and the originality of my sonorities received praise from all around me. The “ Elfenlied ”, too, which simply sparkles and flashes in its instrumental garb, had an electrifying effect.

In short, I’m happy about the enthusiastic cooperation on the part of the conductor as well as the chorus and orchestra personnel. Both pieces were played through a number of times. Incidentally, there will still be rehearsals on Sunday and Monday morning. “ Gesang Margit ” and “ Anakreon ” were not played through, due to lack of time. Tomorrow, I’ll go through “ Margit ” with “ Fräulein ” Corver, who also lives on “ Potsdamerstraße ” ; a tenor is singing “ Anakreon ”. “ Fräulein ” de Jong sings “ absolutely delightfully ” ; you can’t imagine the solo in “ Elfenlied ” performed any better. After the rehearsal, around 6:00 pm, I was invited to supper by Ochs, together with Bruckner, the royal travel companion Karageorgievich, and, unfortunately, also the agent Leßmann (a colossal idiot ! ) ... »

...

Wolf became the guest of Baron Franz-Josef von Lipperheide at « Potsdamerstraße » . He was very pleased with the way « Der Feuerreiter » and « Elfenlied » went at rehearsal the next day ; it was the first time he had heard the works, and he was especially glad to find that the orchestration came-out as he had intended. He was put a little out of tune on learning that the great « Mignon » ballad had been taken-out of the programme, and « Anakreons Grab » and « Margits Gesang » (from « Der Fest auf Solhaug ») substituted for it. It only needed a very little spark to set him on fire when he fell into a mood like this. The spark was not long in coming. The singer took « Margits Gesang » in a rather slow tempo ; in reply to Wolf’s angry protest, Siegfried Ochs, who was conducting, gently pointed-out that he and the singer were merely following Wolf’s own tempo mark, the only effect of which was a still more furious outburst from Wolf. In the end, however, peace and good feeling were restored.

**Sunday, 7 January 1894** : The « Vossische Zeitung » announces the **January 8th** concert and the **January 11th** charity-concert in the presence of the Empress. Advertisement (section 7, page 9) including tomorrow’s programme.

Review of the 7th Symphony in the Berlin « Börsen-Courier » , signed « O.E. » (music-critic Otto Eichberg ?) .

In the morning, Anton Bruckner, Hugo Wolf and Ernst Otto Nodnagel attend the main-rehearsal for tomorrow’s concert (« Te Deum ») .

Bruckner and Wolf have lunch with Karl Muck at his home. Then, the two attend the afternoon concert featuring the

Berlin Philharmonic Choir.

In the evening, Bruckner, Wolf and Prince Karageorgevitch attend the performance of Richard Wagner's « Der fliegende Holländer » at the Royal Court Opera House. Also, the subject of engagement with Ida Buhz took place in the family's circle.

**Monday, 8 January 1894 :**

**Letter 96** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Vienna) :

« ... from the bottom of my heart. “ How nice ”, one wants to say along with Ilse, Hilde, and Irmina. In one volume of his debauched compositions is the dedication : to Hugo Wolf, the great, the would-be-great ; in the other : to the highly-gifted poet of sound Hugo Wolf in respectful admiration. To think that an honest man must put-up with such abuse !

Yesterday, I renewed my acquaintance with “ Kapellmeister ” Muck. We greeted each other most cordially and feel the strongest sympathy for each other. He's acquainted with most of my things and recognizes their value. The performance of Bruckner's 7th Symphony was a masterful accomplishment of Muck. The first 2 movements rather fell by the way-side. Bruckner was only called after the Scherzo and Finale and, then, appeared on the podium at the conclusion as well. Bruckner was very happy about his success. We were invited to Muck's at noon-time yesterday - bad feed but good conversation. In the evening, Bruckner, the prince (Karageorgievich) , and I went to “ fliegender Holländer ”, the 50th anniversary of the first performance. Muck got the seats. The performance was excellent, but the scenery was extraordinary, incomparably more beautiful and effective than in Vienna.

Tonight is the concert. “ Margits Gesang ” went very badly at yesterday's rehearsal. “ Fräulein ” Corver sang uncertainly and also recited very badly. The piece will fall short. “ Anakreon's Grab ” won't have any effect either. But Ochs concerned himself too little with the orchestra. The attacks are sloppy and the detail is binned. I'm very dissatisfied. Not to mention the tenor, who screams-out the tender song to the audience like a bullfighter. “ Elfenlied ” and “ Feuerreiter ” still went the best. I was so depressed at yesterday's rehearsal of “ Margits Gesang ” and “ Anakreon ” that I wanted to leave Berlin on the spot. Bruckner and Muck had their hands full to calm me down and convince me to set foot in the concert-hall again. God knows how it will go tonight.

I hope to prevail upon Lilli Lehmann for a “ Liederabend ” here. Lehmann is a better drawing-card for Berlin than Herzog is. This is the general view. I would be guaranteed a full, completely packed hall if Lehmann participates - i.e. , Lehmann by herself. (Fritz) Mauthner is supposed to convince Lehmann to do this. It will be decided in the next few days. Baroness (Frieda) Lipperheide wrote me such a kind, heartfelt letter from Matzen today that I shed tears over it. Write one like this once too to him who sends sincerest greetings,

Hugo Wolf.

Best greetings to Heinrich and the children. »

Review of the 7th Symphony in the evening edition of the « Vossischen Zeitung » , page 3, signed « n. » :

The work was applauded but Muck seemed to have been hissed.

**8:00 pm** : Second evening concert featuring the Philharmonic Choir under the direction of Siegfried Ochs at the Berlin « Alte Philharmonie » .

On the programme :

Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata in D minor. Organist : Doctor Heinrich Reimann.

Eugène d'Albert : 6 part chorus « Der Mensch und das Leben » .

Hugo Wolf : « Fest auf Solhaug » , « Anakreons Grab » , « Elfenlied » , « Der Feuerreiter » . Soloist : Anna Corver.

Vicente Martín y Soler : Trio in canon from the Opera « Una cosa rara, ossia Bellezza ed onestà » (A Rare Thing, or Beauty and Honesty) .

Luigi Cherubini : « Blanche de Provence » , chorus arranged for 3 female voices with organ accompaniment.

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for mixed vocal quartet (SATB) , mixed-choir (SATB) , orchestra, and organ « ad libitum » . Soloists : Jeanette de Jong, soprano ; Marie Snyders, alto ; Georg Ritter, tenor ; Bruno Lurgenstein, bass. At the organ : Doctor Heinrich Reimann.

The 24 page programme offers biographical texts on Wolf and Bruckner. Illustrations of the scores are also included. The main-themes of the « Te Deum » are presented in 8-note examples. The text points out the harmonious boldness of the « Æterna fac » and the development of the themes.

Ida Buhz and Bruckner sit together in the same box. Also attending : Richard Sternfeld, Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund (and a sick Hans von Bülow ?) .

After Johann Sebastian Bach's D minor Toccata, played by Doctor Reimann, and Eugène d'Albert's 6 part chorus « Der Mensch und das Leben » , came « Anakreons Grab » and « Margits Gesang » . Both the songs fell flat. The 2 choral works, however, were splendidly rendered both by chorus and by orchestra, and received with the greatest enthusiasm ; the « Elfenlied » on which, said Wolf in his letter to Emil Kauffmann, the audience fell like the bear on the honey had to be repeated. There were loud cries for the composer, but he declined to appear ; he had walked away and hidden himself at the back of the hall. He returned to his box when the tumult had subsided, was at once recognized, and had to bow his acknowledgments right and left. Altogether, in spite of the failure of the 2 songs, Wolf had every



reason to be pleased with the results of the concert.

The « Te Deum » (WAB 45) is highly-successful.

Bruckner meets Siegfried Ochs after the concert (Ida is not present) .

The music-critics were mostly very appreciative, and the success of « Elfenlied » caused the publishers Ries and Erler to make Wolf an offer for it. The negotiations with them fell through, but the score was ultimately bought by Fürstner for 300 Marks.

**Letter 97** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Vienna) :

« Berlin, January 8 evening, 1894.

Most honoured gracious lady !

I've come into my flat sad and depressed from an ear-doctor and found your cordial lines and a letter from Selzam, the first lieutenant. The cause of my distress was an ear-doctor Ochs recommended to me, whom I consulted and who, for a consultation of 5 minutes, made me about 20 Marks, let's say 20 Marks lighter. Such a scoundrel ! 20 Marks to clean-out my ears 3 times with warm water ! Have you ever heard of such a thing ? But I have to tell you the whole story from beginning to end. The direct railway coach Vienna - Berlin must have been a particularly ailing one. There was a squeaking and grinding and sawing that simply became unbearable after a while, at least for me. To my horror, I discovered too late that I'd forgotten to bring along cotton wads. Unfortunately (although at the time I considered it fortunate) , it occurred to me that I could use the (bakery) rolls I'd been given as a substitute for the missing cotton wads and I cheerfully stuffed the soft dough of the rolls into my ears. It helped. But the dough in my left ear, on which side I slept, pushed in somewhat too deeply, so that it could no longer be gotten-out with my finger. Meanwhile, since it seemed not to affect my hearing in the least, I consoled myself with the assumption that the remaining little piece wouldn't create any further disturbances, when suddenly today the thing caused me some discomfort. I told Ochs about it and he recommended an ear-doctor by the name of Schwabach. This " filou " (rogue) examined the situation, said it wasn't anything serious, blew water 3 times through a little tube, and impudently demanded 20 Marks. The shock over this left me completely speechless, and sighing. I handed the ear extortionist what he asked for secretly wishing him to all the devils. That damnable roll has cost me a pretty penny.

I won't tell Ochs the story until after the concert, since I'm not going to see him beforehand. The concert begins in an hour. I've invited the Lipperheides' house-keeper (an elderly but very good-hearted spinster) to make use of my second seat. We're also going together to the concert. In the evening after the concert, there's a big party at Ochs's. Bruckner and the prince are going too, of course. Ochs is really a nice fellow. This morning, he told me that he hadn't been able to sleep the whole night because he had learned of my dissatisfaction and had greatly reproached himself. We're again on the best of terms. I visited " Frau " Herzog today, but spoke only with her husband. She would have liked to participate, but the implacable theater manager would not allow it. A shame, just a shame. But must close

now. I have to dress and write in the diary. With warmth and affection from your very best greeting.

Hugo Wolf. »

**Tuesday, 9 January 1894 :**

Telegramm from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Theodor Helm :

Bruckner reports on his Berlin successes.

Article on the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) in the Berlin « Börsen-Courier » (by music-critic Otto Eichberg ?) .

A reference to the Berlin performance of the String Quintet (**WAB 112**) is reported in the « Steyrer Zeitung » .

**Letter 98** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Vienna) :

« Berlin, January 9, 1894.

Honoured gracious lady !

My head is still reeling at the moment from the excitement of last evening. I can definitely say that I had a significant success and that the audience received me warmly without any doubt. But, compared to the homage given Bruckner (apart from the orchestral fanfare and laurel wreaths) , I can hardly claim a noteworthy success. The words of the Old Testament kept ringing in my ears : “ Saul slew 1,000, but David more than 10,000. ” As I had correctly suspected from the beginning, I was only there to act as a foil for Bruckner. I’m really too good for that, with all due respect and admiration for Bruckner. Not that I envy Bruckner his success (let him be worshipped like a “ Vitzli-putzli ”) but to saw away forever on second fiddle “ ad majorem Bruckneri gloriam ” (to the greater glory of Bruckner) when I’m used to playing first violin in my own way, I’ve had enough of that forever.

But I owe you a report on the actual concert. So, here goes. “ Margits Gesang ” and “ Anacreons Grab ” got practically no applause. Performances of both pieces were extremely flawed in terms of the orchestra and soloists. The rhythmic accents in “ Margits Gesang ” were executed in a really alarmingly sloppy and wishy-washy manner, making the already mist-enshrouded mood in the character of the piece even more nebulous. “ Anacreons Grab ” was simply hurried through, especially by the singer who couldn’t wait for it to be over. The situation changed abruptly, however, during the performance of “ Elfenlied ”. Orchestra, soloist (de Jong) , and chorus performed at their peak. The effect of the sound was even more crystalline than at the dress-rehearsal, a moonlit kind of atmosphere seemed to hover over everything, and it was easy to imagine hearing the little silver bells of the elves, their dainty laughter, their comical leaps ... in short, it was really wonderful. “ The piece had to be repeated. ” The phantasmagoria of the “ Feuerreiter ” had an even greater effect on the audience. Everyone followed the story in breathless anticipation and broke-out in stormy applause at the end. They wanted the piece played-over again, but since Ochs had left the podium to look for

me in the house, there was no repetition. Meanwhile, the applause went on and on, stopped, then, began again with increased vigour, because they wanted to see the composer above all. But I had entrenched myself un-noticed in the standing-room section and didn't budge an inch. After the applause had died down, I re-appeared at my seat, which Ochs had assigned to me in a balcony loge. I had hardly come into view when the orchestra and chorus began applauding madly. The entire audience stood-up " en masse " and applauded me in the loge. I was completely dumb-founded, but I collected myself and bowed from my loge about a dozen times. And so, the eventful evening came to an end. This morning, I received the following note from the publishing-house Ries & Erler :

" Should the ' Elfenlied ' performed last night not yet be published, and should you be inclined to have our publishing-house do so, we ask that you pay us a visit during the morning hours between 10:00 and 1:00. "

Finally a publisher who is inviting me ! Of course, I'm prepared to sell him the piece, given the offer of a suitable honorarium. I haven't seen any reviews yet. As soon as I get around to it, I'll send you a few. This evening, I'm going to " Tristan " with (Richard) Sternfeld. Muck is conducting an un-cut performance. Tomorrow, I'm going to Mauthner's in Grunewald with Sternfeld.

Sternfeld is my most ardent admirer. He says, " hinterm Berg, hinterm Berg brennt es in der Mühle " (" Der Feuerreiter ") will become a by-word in Berlin. Ochs has assured me he's going to incorporate the " Elfenlied " and " Feuerreiter " into his repertoire.

A visitor's coming and I have to break-off. I'll write again soon. With very best and sincerest wishes to you, Heinrich, and the children. Forever your grateful,

Hugo Wolf. »

Wolf would have liked to have given a concert of his own in Berlin with " Frau " Herzog, but it could not be arranged. He called upon her, and, in the course of the visit, Richard Strauß entered ; he had come to show « Frau » Herzog his latest song. Doctor Heinrich Welti introduced the 2 composers to each other, but no conversation took place between them. Wolf then had hopes of interesting Lilli Lehmann in his work sufficiently to induce her to give a « Liederabend » with him, but as he was informed that it was useless to call on her for this purpose, the idea of the visit was abandoned. No concert being possible in Berlin, Wolf gave himself up to the joys of social inter-course, met all kinds of men and women, behaved as usual like a bear to the mere society people he did not like, and showed himself charming, humorous, and talkative with those he did. A little circle calling itself the « Zwanglosen » had been in the habit of assembling each Friday in a certain « Bierlokal » .

**Monday, 15 January 1894** : Letter from Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund to Franz Bayer (9 days after another performance of Bruckner's 7th Symphony in Berlin) :

Gertrud sends to Bayer music-review articles of the Berlin concerts. She says she did not attend the January 6th performance of the 7th Symphony due to illness ; that evening, the hissing was not directed to Bruckner but to Karl

Muck.

She reports the misunderstanding of the Berlin public :

« Bruckner received an enthusiastic response from all pro-Germans. »

The response of the other listeners was not worth mentioning.

There seemed to be a recognition, however, that Bruckner had not attained the position of pre-eminence he deserved :

« I saw ladies weeping because they thought he had reached old age “ without being discovered ”. »

At the end of her letter, Bollé advises Bayer that Bruckner should give-up all his teaching duties and concentrate on composing :

« He still possesses a youthful, almost super-abundant creative power, and under no circumstances should this outpouring be disturbed. Because of this, we want to form a Bruckner Society of understanding Brucknerians. »

Gertrud personally witnessed the success of the « Te Deum » . A sick Hans von Bülow thanked Bruckner with a speech ; Bruckner (who was also a sick man) only responded with gestures. Johann Herbeck should have brought Bruckner's genius closer to the audience. Comments about Hugo Wolf.

**Tuesday, 16 January 1894** : Letter from Mrs. Gertrud Bollé-Hellmund to Anton Bruckner (Berlin) :

Gertrud asks Bruckner if she could come to visit him at the « Kaiserhof » or if he would be able to visit her before leaving.

Bruckner (accompanied by Prince Karageorgevitch ?) leaves Berlin for Vienna - making a stop in Dresden.

### Hugo Wolf Society : 10th anniversary

**Sunday, 21 January 1894** : 10th anniversary of the founding of the Wolf Society. A special evening was made of it, and Hugo Wolf and several ladies were invited. Wolf took some time to come-out of his shell, but, afterwards, was a very merry companion. From 9:00 pm to 1:00 am, says Doctor Ernst Décsey, he was scarcely noticed by anyone ; from 1:00 am to 4:00 am, he was the centre of the gathering.

Among the old Berlin acquaintances whom he met again on this visit was the author Fritz Mauthner. Wolf had been struck with a short novel of his and thought it would make a good I Act Opera. Mauthner, who was by way of being a bit of a musician himself, accommodatingly offered not only to arrange the libretto but to supply Wolf with a number of old Bohemian and other melodies for the Opera, a suggestion which was of course enough to make Wolf

close the subject abruptly.

### At the grave of Heinrich von Kleist

**Wednesday, 24 January 1894** : Just before Hugo Wolf left Berlin, he went with Richard Sternfeld to Wannsee, near Potsdam, to see the grave of one of his favourite poets, the unfortunate Heinrich von Kleist, the author of « Penthesilea » .

**Thursday, 25 January 1894** : Hugo Wolf departed for Darmstadt, where the local « Wagner-Verein » was to hold a Wagner-evening. His travelling companion was Fritz Mauthner.

### Margarethe Boucher

**Before Tuesday, 30 January 1894 (?)** : Anton Bruckner sends a photograph of him to Margarethe Boucher in Berlin.

**Tuesday, 30 January 1894** : Anton Bruckner receives a photograph of Margarethe Boucher from Berlin.

### Death of Theodor Billroth

**Monday, 5 February 1894** :

### Obituary

Theodor Billroth, M.D. - Surgery has lost one of its greatest exponents in the death of Theodor Billroth, professor of surgery in the University of Vienna, which took place at Abbazia, from disease of the heart, on February 5th.

He was born at Bergen in 1829, and graduated in medicine from the University of Berlin in 1852, becoming « Privat-docent » in the same university in 1856. In 1860, he was called to Zürich as professor of clinical surgery, and, in 1867, succeeded Franz Schuh as professor of surgery in Vienna. Here, it was that most of his work was done. Here, he first excised the larynx for cancer. Here, he resected the stomach for the same disease. Students from all parts made pilgrimages to his operating-room to see the Master at work. But not only as an operator was he known ; while perfecting the art, he by no means neglected the science. His « Lectures on surgical pathology » are well-known to English readers, having been published by the Sydenham Society in 1877-1878. His contributions to the literature of general surgery are numerous, the books and papers published by him amounting in all to about 140. He did much work in the hospitals during the Franco-German War, and, ever after, laboured to improve the methods of caring for the wounded. He was also interested in nursing, being the founder of the training-school for nurses in Vienna.

While engaged so continuously in his labours for the relief of suffering humanity, he still had time to cultivate the gentle art of music. Many of his intimates were musicians, and he himself was no mean performer upon the violin. At the time of his death, he was engaged on a work on the physiology of music.

Latterly, his health had become much impaired, and he had been obliged to leave his work and retire to the quiet shores of the Adriatic, there, to search in vain for the health and strength he had lost. There, he passed-away quietly in the 65th year of his age.

His work is his best monument.

### Margarethe wants a reply from Bruckner

**Tuesday, 20 February 1894** : Letter from Margarethe Boucher to Anton Bruckner :

Bruckner had not yet confirmed receiving Margarethe's picture (which occurred on 30 January 1894) . She wants to hear from him.

### Increased honorary fee

**Tuesday, 19 February 1894** : Letter from the Rector of the University of Vienna, Gustav Tschermak von Seysenegg, to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Theodor Escherich :

On **November 13, 1891**, the Academic Senate had decided to accept the dedication of the 1st Symphony (**WAB 101**) , which Anton Bruckner had recently handed-over. Instead of the remuneration of 800 Florins agreed on November 28, 1880, a request has been made on December 16, 1880, for increasing the annual honorary subsidy to 1,200 Florins. This needs the approval of the Faculty. Waiting for your answer on the Bruckner « dossier » .

**Saturday, 24 February 1894** : Dean Theodor Escherich informs the Teaching Committee of the Faculty of Philosophy that Rector Gustav Tschermak von Seysenegg has proposed an annual honorary subsidy for Anton Bruckner. The decision is unanimously welcomed (Eduard Hanslick was on leave at that time ...) .

**Thursday, 1 March 1894** : The « Linzer Tages-Post » reports that the University of Vienna has applied for a subsidy to Anton Bruckner from the Ministry of Education.

**Friday, 2 March 1894** : Letter from the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Arts to the Academic Senate of the University :

Responding to the February 19th request, Dean Theodor Escherich has informed the Teaching Committee that, starting February 24, 1894, Rector Gustav Tschermak von Seysenegg (1893-1894) will receive an annual honorary grant of 1,200 Florins (instead of the current 800 Florins) for composer Anton Bruckner. This decision was unanimously approved.

Letter from the Lower-Austrian Chancellery addressed to the Ministry of Culture and Education, in reference to the letter dated end of March 1894 (request for a grant of honour from the University of Vienna) :

« Considering the difficult financial condition, the poor health, and the outstanding achievements of the artist (...) The request is warmly granted by the Rectorate. »

### Doctor Theodor Escherich

The German-Austrian pediatrician Theodor Escherich was born on 29 November 1857 in Ansbach, Mittelfranken, Germany ; and died on 15 February 1911 in Vienna, Austria. He was a professor at the universities of Graz and Vienna. He discovered the bacterium *Escherichia coli*, which was named after him in 1919, and determined its properties.

He was the younger son of the Medical District Councillor (« Kreismedizinalrat ») Ferdinand Escherich (1810-1888) , a medical statistician, and his second wife, Maria Sophie Frederike von Stromer, daughter of a Bavarian army colonel. When Theodor Escherich was 5 years old, his mother died, and 5 years later, Ferdinand Escherich moved to Würzburg to take-up his former position as « Kreismedizinalrat » and married his third wife. When Theodor was aged 12, he was sent to the « Stella Matutina » boarding-school run by Jesuits in Feldkirch, Austria, for 3 years. Later, he finished secondary education in Würzburg, where he attended a « Gymnasium » (Classical language high-school) and took his « Abitur » examination in 1876.

After a half-year military service in Straßburg, Escherich took-up his studies of medicine at the University of Würzburg in the Winter Semester of 1876. Later, he attended the universities of Kiel and Berlin, and returned to Würzburg before passing his medical examination with excellence in December 1881.

After an 18 month service in a military hospital in Munich, Escherich returned to Würzburg in 1882 to become second and later first assistant to the internist Carl Jakob Adolf Christian Gerhardt in the medical clinic of the Julius Hospital in Würzburg. Gerhardt became Escherich's doctoral advisor and suggested the topic of his thesis. On 27 October 1882, Escherich was awarded his medical doctorate. In the following 2 years, he attended lectures in Vienna (with Hermann von Widerhofer and Alois Monti) and did bacteriological research work at the St. Anna Children's Clinic. In August 1884, he continued his research work in Munich, where pediatrics had been established as a department of the medical faculty. In October 1884, the Bavarian authorities sent Escherich to Naples to do research work in the actual cholera epidemic. He also travelled to Paris, where he heard lectures by Jean-Martin Charcot, the renowned neurologist. In 1886, after intensive laboratory investigations, Escherich published a monograph on the relationship of intestinal bacteria to the physiology of digestion in the infant. This work, presented to the medical faculty in Munich, and published in 1886 in Stuttgart, « Die Darmbakterien des Säuglings und ihre Beziehungen zur Physiologie der Verdauung » (Enterobacteria of infants and their relation to digestion physiology) was to become his habilitation treatise and established him as the leading bacteriologist in the field of pædiatrics.

It was also the publication where Escherich described a bacterium which he called « bacterium coli commune » and which was later to be called « *Escherichia coli* ». For the next 4 years, Escherich worked as first assistant to Heinrich von Ranke at the Hauner Children Hospital (in honour of August von Hauner, 1811-1884) in Munich.

In 1890, Escherich succeeded Rudolf von Jaksch, who had been called to Prague, as associate-professor (« Professor

extraordinarius ») of pediatrics and director of the St. Anna Children's Clinic in Graz, where he became full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») 4 years later. While working in Graz, he married Margarethe Pfaundler (1890-1946), daughter of the physicist Leopold Pfaundler. They had a son Leopold (born in 1893), who died at age 10, and a daughter Charlotte (called « Sonny ») (born in 1895), who survived to the 1980's.

Escherich made the Graz Pediatric Hospital one of the best-known institutions in Europe.

In 1902, Escherich succeeded Hermann Widerhofer as full-professor of pediatrics in Vienna, where he directed the St. Anna Children's Hospital (« St.-Anna-Kinderspital »).

Escherich became renowned in 1903 when he founded the Infant Defence Society (« Säuglingsschutz ») and started a high-profile campaign for breast-feeding.

...

The career of Theodor Escherich qualifies him as the first pediatric infectious diseases physician. His landmark bacteriologic studies identified the common colon bacillus (now known as « Escherichia coli »), and he was very committed to pediatrics, serving as chairman of several prominent departments of pediatrics, including the Department of Pediatrics at the University of Vienna and St. Anna's Children's Hospital (« St.-Anna-Kinderspital ») in Vienna, arguably Europe's most prestigious pediatric position.

Until at least the 20th Century, the history of pediatric infectious diseases closely paralleled the history of its parent specialty, pediatrics, because infectious disorders comprised the major causes of childhood morbidity and mortality, as they do in the developing world today. Thus, many early descriptions of childhood illnesses by the ancient Greeks and Romans and by the Arabic physicians of the 10th and 11th Centuries were of tuberculosis, acute exanthems, ear-infections, diphtheria, and helminthic infestations.

Therefore, it may be somewhat arbitrary to identify a specific individual to be considered to be the first « bona fide » pediatric infectious diseases physician.

The son of Doctor Ferdinand Escherich (1810-1880), the district medical officer of health and a noted medical statistician, and his third wife, Maria Sophie Frieder, daughter of a Bavarian army colonel. Doctor Ferdinand Escherich was concerned about high neonatal mortality rates, as well as health-care for the poor, about which Theodor also became concerned. Theodor's mother died when he was 5 years of age, and the family moved to Würzburg, Germany. It is said that Theodor was a prankster and, thus, was sent to the Jesuit school « Stella Matutina » in Feldkirch, Austria. After completing his basic education and a 6 month military service in Straßburg, Austria, Escherich began his medical studies in Würzburg in 1876, and then (as was the German custom), continued his studies in several medical centers, including in Straßburg, Austria, and Berlin, Munich, and Kiel, Germany. In 1881, Escherich qualified to practice medicine with top-grades. After 6 months in the military at the garrison hospital in Munich-Oberwiesenfeld, Germany, Escherich became first assistant to Professor Carl Jakob Adolf Christian Gerhardt (1833-1902) in the Department of



Internal Medicine at the « Juliusspital » in Würzburg in July 1882. Although he was trained as an internist, Gerhardt was very interested in pediatric medicine, serving as editor of the first German « Hand-book of Pediatrics », a 16 volume work published during the period 1877 to 1893. Under Gerhardt's influence, Escherich developed a great interest in pediatrics and, in October 1882, wrote a doctoral thesis, « Marantic Thrombosinosis in Cholera Infantum », under Gerhardt's supervision ; this was Escherich's first publication. In 1883, Escherich published 6 articles on clinical (non-pediatric) topics. During October-November 1884, Gerhardt facilitated Escherich's interest in both pediatrics and the emerging science of bacteriology by selecting him to travel for 2 weeks as a scientific assistant to study the large cholera epidemic in Naples, Italy, with Rudolf Emmerich from Munich. Apparently, Escherich quickly became adept with bacteriologic techniques and readily observed « *Vibrio cholerae* » in fecal samples from affected individuals - more readily, in fact, than the more senior Emmerich. Escherich gave a presentation on cholera in Naples on 3 December 1884 in Munich, and the report was published the same year.

Because pediatrics was not yet fully-developed in Germany, in 1884, Escherich studied for a semester in Vienna, Austria, at the well-respected St. Anna Children's Hospital (« St.-Anna-Kinderspital ») and attended the popular lectures of Hermann von Widerhofer (1832-1901) . Von Widerhofer was the first Chair of Pediatrics at the University of Vienna and a highly-renowned pediatrician who was considered to be the first full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») of the Diseases of Childhood. St. Anna Children's Hospital, founded in 1837, was the third oldest children's hospital, behind the hospitals in Paris, France, and St. Petersburg, Russia. Escherich's experiences in Vienna convinced him to devote his career to pediatric medicine, and he also began bacteriologic studies of the flora of mother's milk and of intestinal micro-flora at the Vienna Pathological Institute, where Heinrich von Bamberger was director. After the period he spent in Vienna, Escherich attended lectures by Jean Charcot (1825-1893) at the « Salpêtrière » in Paris.

After moving to Munich in August 1884 to obtain his « habilitation » (a post-doctoral qualification required to lecture at a German university) , Escherich focused his research on 3 related issues : defining the normal bacterial flora of the infant intestinal tract and its changes immediately after birth, assessing the role of bacteria in the physiology of digestion, and characterizing the relation of these findings to pathologic conditions in infants.

In Munich, Escherich had access to Max von Pettenkofer's (1818-1901) hygienic institute, Otto von Bollinger's (1843-1909) bacteriology laboratory, Karl von Voit's (1831-1908) physiological institute, and Franz von Soxhlet's (1848-1926) dairy facilities. Escherich learned the very new basic techniques of pure culture and bacterial characterization from Wilhelm Frobenius, a physician who had learned bacteriology from Robert Koch during 3 short visits to Koch's laboratory in Berlin. Frobenius made no other contributions to science, and in 1888, he became a medical missionary in the East-Indies and German East Asian colonies. Escherich knew of only one study involving micro-biologic examination of infant fecal samples (the one by Julius Uffelmann in 1881) and very few such studies involving attempts to cultivate bacteria from fecal samples from adults using Koch's new methods. Escherich demonstrated that meconium was sterile and that bacterial intestinal colonization is attributable to the infant's environment (including milk) within 3 to 24 hours after birth, with a variety of bacteria present by 24 hours (although not as diverse as in adults) . Although Uffelmann observed only 2 different bacteria in infant stool samples microscopically, Escherich isolated 19 different bacteria, including « bacilli » and « cocci » . These included campylobacter and « enterococci » , as well as, probably, « *Bacillus subtilis* » and pseudomonas. Escherich used Christian Gram's new staining technique

and was among several investigators, including Hans Buchner, who developed anaerobic culture methods. In these studies (which were performed over 15 months), Escherich described in detail « *Bacterium coli commune* » (the common colon bacillus now known as « *Escherichia coli* ») and « *Bacterium lactis aërogenes* » (now known as *Klebsiella pneumoniae*). He demonstrated their fermentation characteristics and the nature of the gas produced during fermentation, and he showed that, under anaerobic conditions, growth was totally dependent on carbohydrate fermentation. Breaking with dogma, Escherich concluded that any role of the intestinal flora in nutrition was minor at best.

On 17 December 1884, the 27 year old Escherich lectured in Munich to the Society for Morphology and Physiology about his bacteriologic methods, and on 14 July 1885, he presented his findings on « *B. coli commune* » to the same society in Munich. In 1886, Escherich published his 177 page post-doctoral thesis as a monograph entitled, « The Intestinal Bacteria of the Infant and Their Relation to the Physiology of Digestion ». He acknowledged his clinical training under Karl Gerhardt by noting on the title-page that he was former assistant doctor at the Medical Clinic in Würzburg. This work was also published in « *Fortschritte der Medicin* » and was reprinted in English in « *Reviews of Infectious Diseases* » in 1988 and 1989. These studies clearly established Escherich as the foremost expert on bacteriology in pediatrics.

By March 1886, Escherich resumed his clinical work and became a clinical assistant in Munich at the Children's Polyclinic of the « *Reisingerianum* » and the Hauner Children's Hospital (in honour of August von Hauner, 1811-1884) under Heinrich von Ranke (1830-1909). The following year, he became Lecturer in Pediatrics at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. Clearly, Escherich was able to balance his scientific studies and his clinical work. Angelo Ballabriga pointed-out that the bacterial era of the study of nutritional disturbances was initiated by Escherich, who recognized that the anatomic doctrine was insufficient to explain many digestive tract disturbances.

In Munich, Escherich continued studies of infant nutrition, identified the hazard of the high sodium content of cow's milk, emphasized the value of breast-feeding, and developed the volumetric system of infant feeding that involved the weighing of infants before and after nursing.

Escherich's most prominent work on infant fecal flora was performed before his 30th birthday. He continued his work in Munich until 1890, and at 33 years of age, he was selected by the Austrian Ministry of Education to succeed Rudolf von Jaksch (1855-1947) as « *Professeur Extraordinaire* » (non-tenured Professor) of Pediatrics and Director of the St. Anna Children's Hospital founded in 1843 in Graz. His years in Graz have been described as his happiest. In 1892, he married Margarete von Pfaundler, daughter of a renowned physicist, and their children Leo and Charlotte-Sonja were born in 1893 and 1895, respectively. Escherich's student and brother-in-law Meinhard von Pfaundler later became Chair of Pediatrics in Graz and, then, Professor of Children's Diseases and Director of the Children's Clinic at the University of Munich. He co-edited a multi-volume text, « *Handbuch der Kinderheilkunde* » (1906). In 1894, Escherich was appointed Professor (Chair) and Examiner at Graz after he declined the professorship in Leipzig, Germany. In this role, Escherich demonstrated remarkable organizational and administrative ability; the Children's Hospital was renovated and modernized, incubator-rooms were created, and laboratories and a lecture-theatre were built - changes that led to massive increases in inpatients and outpatients.

Escherich was also involved in several important research activities during this time, including investigations of the etiology and pathogenesis of diphtheria. By 1893, Escherich and Rudolf Klemensiewicz had demonstrated the presence of diphtheria antitoxin in serum samples from children convalescing from diphtheria. Despite considerable opposition, in 1894, Escherich helped to establish the role of Emil von Behring's diphtheria antitoxin for the treatment of children with diphtheria, and in 1895, he wrote a book on diphtheria and serum therapy. In addition, Escherich described the clinical signs of idiopathic infantile tetany (in 1890), including what has been termed « Escherich's reflex ». This is pouting of the lips after stimulating the labial mucosa by tapping the lips - often called the snout reflex. Escherich concluded that hypo-parathyroidism played a role in tetany, and in 1909, he wrote a monograph on the subject. Continuing his interest in intestinal bacteria, Escherich found that coliforms were associated with acute, contagious intestinal infections in infants, and he described « colicystitis », noting the frequency of isolation of « B. coli commune » from urine samples from symptomatic young girls, thus, recognizing the significance of urinary tract infections. He also studied the cutaneous reaction to tuberculin. Shortly after Wilhelm Roentgen's discovery of X-rays, Escherich obtained funds to purchase an X-ray apparatus.

Escherich's fame as an outstanding teacher, clinician, and researcher attracted several young, brilliant students to pediatrics. Both Clemens von Pirquet (1874-1929), who studied serum sickness and founded and named the field of allergy, and Bela Schick (1877-1967), who developed the Schick test to assess immunity to diphtheria, made outstanding contributions to pediatrics. Both von Pirquet and Schick came to America, the former as Chair of Pediatrics at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, and the latter as Professor of Pediatrics at Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York.

In 1902, Escherich's brilliant success in leading the pediatric department at Graz to prominence led him to be nominated unanimously as Chair of Pediatrics at the University of Vienna and Director of the St. Anna Children's Hospital in Vienna, succeeding Hermann von Widerhofer. This was the institution where Escherich studied 20 years earlier, and the position was one of the most prestigious in Europe. In these new roles, Escherich again demonstrated outstanding leadership and administrative abilities, modernizing the hospital and clinics, building laboratories, establishing a school for training nurses in infant care and to provide nursing care for children with tuberculosis, founding an Infant Welfare Society (« Säuglingsschutz »), co-founding the Austrian Society for Children's Research, establishing the Association of Pediatricians in Vienna, and organizing a pediatric advisory service for the obstetrical clinics of Vienna. Escherich pioneered the use of X-rays as a diagnostic tool in children. He was a Master clinician and teacher; he championed the importance of prevention in pediatrics and played an active, supportive role in the research of his pupils and faculty, including both von Pirquet and Schick, who moved with him from Graz. Another well-known student was Ernst Moro (1874-1951), who described the neo-natal reflex, studied cutaneous tuberculin reactions, and discovered « bacillus acidophilus ». Escherich's academic interests in Vienna included scarlet fever, tuberculosis, dysentery, and allergy, and he remained the leading pediatric bacteriologist. In 1904, Escherich was the only European pediatrician invited to address the International Congress of Arts and Sciences (19-25 September) at the St. Louis World's Fair; his presentation was entitled « The Foundations and Aims of Modern Pediatrics ». In 1906, Escherich was named Court Counselor (« Hofrat ») by Emperor Franz-Josef, and he and his wife were invited to dinner at the Court several times. He crusaded to increase awareness of the unacceptably high infant mortality rate in Vienna, and in 1908 (Emperor Franz-Josef's 60th Jubilee Year), he again drew attention to this issue. Escherich's efforts led to

the construction of the Imperial Institute for Maternal and Infant Care. He was far ahead of his time in his interest in the social welfare of children, and he was highly-successful in persuading many socialites to support his important endeavors.

Just a few days before the opening of the new Children's Hospital in Vienna that he had helped to design, Theodor Escherich developed a headache and began to speak in several languages during a visit to the wards ; he died the next day (15 February 1911) of an apparent cerebro-vascular accident at 53 years of age.

The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal obituary of Theodor Escherich included the following :

« He was a contributor to numerous medical periodicals, a member of many learned societies, and was known as a pediatric consultant throughout Europe. His professional reputation was international. His energy for work was tremendous, and his disposition strenuous and masterful. He is described as impulsive, uncommonly strict, strong-willed, faithful, severe with himself but kindly towards others. That the children, his patients, loved him, is evidence that he loved them and, therefore, had a good heart. His career is an admirable example of the life of the German university physician, scientist, and professor. »

He had published 3 books (« The Bacteria of the Intestines of the Infant » , « Diphtheria and Serotherapeutics » , and « Tetany ») and more or less 160 articles. He was the most renowned pediatric pioneer of his era and the preeminent pediatric bacteriologist.

In 1919, Castellani and Chalmers proposed the designation « *Escherichia coli* » . This name was not officially sanctioned as the name of the common colon bacillus discovered by Escherich until 1958.

Another possible candidate for the first pediatric infectious diseases physician. Many early pediatricians demonstrated their interest in infectious diseases, because they comprised the most prevalent and important diseases of children. It is reasonable to consider whether any of these pediatricians had credentials to challenge our proposal that Escherich was the first « bona fide » pediatric infectious diseases physician. The fact that the beginning of Escherich's career occurred at the inception of the science of bacteriology and his acknowledgement as the « premier » bacteriologist among pediatricians of his period provide him with a nearly unique set of qualifications.

Another reasonable candidate is Jacques-Joseph Grancher (1843-1907) , who is considered one of the founders (with Antoine Bernard-Jean Marfan) of modern French pediatrics. Grancher studied medicine in Paris and was well-known for his dissertation on the unitarian theory of tuberculosis (1873) . After studying histology, he was named Director of the Laboratory of Pathological Anatomy and joined the staff at « l'Hôpital Necker » and « l'Hôpital des Enfants Malades » in Paris. Grancher wrote extensively about pulmonary tuberculosis (1872-1890) and received the Lacaze Prize of the French Academy of Medicine in 1880 for that work. From 1881 to 1886, Arnold Netter and Grancher introduced a method to obtain blood-samples aseptically from patients suspected to have endocarditis for culture of the blood-samples. Grancher also wrote a series of reports on isolation and antisepsis (infection control) in « l'Hôpital des Enfants Malades » (1889-1890) , where he, in fact, housed infectious patients with a latticed folding screen around the

bed and introduced surgical gowns and hand-washing for staff. In 1885, Grancher was chosen to succeed Marie-Jules Parrot as the Chair of the Children's Clinic at « l'Hôpital des Enfants Malades », and he also presented lectures on bacteriology from 1885 through 1907.

Grancher became a very close collaborator of Louis Pasteur. In 1885, Grancher assumed medical responsibility for administering Pasteur's experimental rabies vaccine, and Pasteur appointed him to direct the vaccination-centre that was near the « Institut Pasteur ». Grancher vaccinated Joseph Meister, the first patient saved by the vaccine, over 10 days beginning on 4 July 1885. He even received the rabies vaccine series himself after an accidental exposure. On 11 January 1887, Grancher successfully orchestrated the defense of Pasteur's anti-rabies method before the French Academy of Medicine when the safety and efficacy of the method were challenged. He served as the Secretary of the Board of Directors of the « Institut Pasteur » from 1887 through 1900 and joined the editorial board of the « Annals de l'Institut Pasteur » in 1888. Grancher presented his research studies (with Henri Martin) on the immunization of animals against tuberculosis in 1891. Grancher collaborated with Marfan and Jules Comby to publish the massive « Traité des Maladies de l'Enfance » in 5 volumes in 1897, with several later editions. In 1900, Grancher was elected Vice-Chairman and, from 1905 through 1907, was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the « Institut Pasteur » .

A strong case can be made on behalf of Jacques-Joseph Grancher for the designation as the first pediatric infectious diseases physician upon review of his accomplishments in pediatrics and bacteriology. However, by comparison, we believe that Theodor Escherich's superb administrative leadership of several very prominent departments of pediatrics (including the Chair in Vienna, arguably Europe's most prestigious) , his fame as both pediatrician and bacteriologist, his interest in and studies of a wide variety of infectious disorders over several decades, and the prominent ongoing association of his name with one of the most common of all bacteria persuade us that he warrants the designation as the first pediatric infectious diseases physician.

...

Theodor Escherich was a pioneer pædiatrician who devoted his efforts to improving child-care, particularly infant hygiene and nutrition. He was the younger son of « Kreismedizinalrat » Ferdinand Escherich, a medical statistician, and Maria Sophie Frieder, daughter of a Bavarian army colonel. After attending the Jesuit seminary « Stella Matutina » in Feldkirch, Austria, Escherich began his academic and medical education in 1876 at Straßburg. He continued his studies at the universities of Kiel, Berlin, and Würzburg, and qualified at Munich in 1881. In 1882, he became first assistant to the internist Karl Christian Adolf Jakob Gerhardt (1833-1902) in the medical clinic of the Julius Hospital, Würzburg. It was Gerhardt who aroused Escherich's interest in pædiatrics, and maybe also bacteriology, as he sent him as scientific assistant in the 1884 cholera epidemic at Naples.

As Germany lacked the necessary training facilities in pædiatrics, Escherich went to Paris, and then Vienna, where he worked for some months under Hermann Widerhofer (1832-1901) at the St. Anna Children's Hospital. In 1885, he became clinical assistant in Munich at the Children's Polyclinic of the « Reisingerianum » and at the Hauner Children's Hospital (in honour of August von Hauner, 1811-1884) under Heinrich von Ranke (1830-1909) . He became private

lecturer (« Privatdozent ») in pædiatrics at the University of Munich in 1886.

Escherich was soon convinced that bacteriology could solve or illuminate many pædiatric problems, and at Munich, the circumstances were favourable for this approach. Robert Koch's pupil, Wilhelm Frobenius, taught him pure culture techniques and methods of bacterial characterization ; and he had access to Max Josef von Pettenkofer's (1818-1901) hygienic institute, Otto von Bollinger's (1843-1909) bacteriological laboratory, Karl von Voit's (1831-1908) physiological institute, and Franz von Soxhlet's (1848-1926) dairy industry facilities.

In 1886, after intensive laboratory investigations, Escherich published a monograph on the relationship of intestinal bacteria to the physiology of digestion in the infant. This work, « Die Darmbakterien des Säuglings und ihre Beziehungen zur Physiologie der Verdauung » (1886) , established him as the leading bacteriologist in the field of pædiatrics. In 1890, Escherich succeeded Rudolf von Jaksch (1855-1947) as associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») of pædiatrics and director of the Children's Clinic in Graz, where he was promoted to full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») 4 years later. While working in Graz, his happiest years, he married Margaretha Pfaundler, daughter of the physicist Leopold Pfaundler.

When Hermann Widerhofer died in 1902, Escherich was appointed to his chair in Vienna. In 1903, determined to reduce the capital's infant mortality, Escherich in a pamphlet appealed for support for the women of Vienna. The response was such that, in the following year, he established, with Imperial patronage and civic approval, the Infants' Care Association (« Verein Säuglingsschutz ») . In 1908, the year of Emperor Franz-Josef's (1830-1916 ; 1848-1916) 60th Jubilee, Escherich again drew attention to the inexcusably high national rate of infant mortality. His efforts resulted in eventual construction of the Imperial Institute for Maternal and Infant Care.

The Children's Clinic (« Kinderklinik ») at the St. Anna Hospital built to his plans, was officially dedicated soon afterward. This pioneer pædiatrician, whose name is remembered in « Escherichia coli » , was indefatigable in his work for women and children. Unfortunately, there is no eponymic award for such efforts.

## Works

« Die Darmbakterien des Säuglings » (1886) .

« Diphtherie, Croup, Serumtherapie » (1895) .

## Eponyms

« Escherich's reflex »

« Escherichia »

« Escherichia coli » (E. coli) .

## Honours

**1894** : Honorary member of the Moscow Pediatric Society.

**1905** : Honorary member of the American Pediatric Society.

**1905** : Member of the Academy of Science, St. Louis.

**1906** : Official Imperial and Royal Privy Councillor (« Kaiserlich-königlicher Hofrat ») .

**1906** : Member of the Medical Academy in Rome.

**1909** : Honorary member of the Belgian « Ligue de la Protection de la Première Enfance » .

## Józef Brudziński

Józef Brudziński died December 18th, 1917, at the age of 43. In his short life, he achieved prominence as a pediatrician, neurologist, bacteriologist, and also, as a political figure. In Poland, he is remembered as the first Rector of Warsaw University following its revival after a Century of turmoil (partition of Poland, several uprisings, and World War I) . He was also whole-heartedly involved in organizing several pediatric hospitals in Poland, at the time among the most modern in Europe. His work as a pediatrician on neurological signs in diagnosis of meningitis is widely-known. Medical students all over the world are familiar with the tongue-twister, called Brudziński's sign or reflex, used in the diagnosis of meningitis. Less is known about his contributions to bacteriology and his seminal work on intestinal bacteria. One has to dig deep into the literature of the early 20th Century to gain insight into this equally important work. In online searches, the name Brudziński complicates matters, as the spelling of his name has many variations in the literature : Brudziński, Brudzinske, Brudsinski, etc. The 100th anniversary of his death is an appropriate time to call attention to his largely forgotten early-work that, along with that of a handful of others pioneers, forms the foundation of what we now call probiotic and microbiome research.

Because in partitioned Poland, at the end of 19th Century, there were limited opportunities to study medicine, Brudziński left the country and enrolled in the medical school programs in Dorpat, Estonia (now, Tartu) . The russification of the University and the expulsion of German Faculty, however, led him to move to Moscow University. After graduation in 1897, he continued his education at St. Anna Children's Hospital at the University of Graz, Austria, under Theodor Escherich. Subsequently, he worked at « l'Hôpital des Enfants Malades » in Paris with Jacques-Joseph Grancher, Antoine Marfan, and Victor Henri Hutinel. It is interesting to note that both Escherich and Grancher, a close collaborator of Louis Pasteur, are thought to be the first pediatricians for infectious diseases.

At the end of 19th Century, bacteriologist as a profession, per se, did not exist, but a few scholars, mainly physicians, were engaged in investigations of the micro-flora of human gastro-intestinal tract and its role in health and disease. This work may mark the beginnings of probiotic and microbiome research. Reminiscent of today, there was no shortage

of hype, skepticism and controversies involved.

Theodor Escherich was the discoverer of « *Bacillus coli commune* », later renamed « *Escherichia coli* » in his honour. He is credited with carrying-out the first systematic study of intestinal bacteria (1886). According to one of Escherich's assistants and later a renowned physician, Bela Schick, the bacterial era was inaugurated in pediatrics by Escherich, who had a long-standing interest in bacterial flora of the gastro-intestinal tract. It was believed at the time that bacteria are responsible for decomposition of proteins to harmful putrefaction products that could be absorbed from the bowels into the blood-stream, a form of auto-intoxication. Escherich suggested fighting this condition by the introduction of acid-producing bacteria, first described by Louis Pasteur in 1858, and including carbohydrates to the diet based on a mutual antagonism between the saprophytic intestinal inhabitants and the acid-producing bacteria.

In Escherich's clinic, Brudziński was to test this hypothesis by performing experiments aimed at combating intestinal putrefaction in dyspeptic infants using the acid-producing « *Bacillus lactis aerogenes* » (now, « *Enterobacter aerogenes* »), which was known to ferment sugars with the formation of lactic acid and gas. This organism had previously been found by Escherich to be one of the 2 dominant bacteria in stools of healthy infants (the other being *E. coli*. Note that this was before knowing that the dominant intestinal bacteria are strict anaerobes). Brudziński first examined fetid stools of several dyspeptic infants and found that most grew-out « *Proteus vulgaris* ». He then administered pure cultures of « *Bacillus lactis aerogenes* », which proved successful. The foul smell of the stools subsided, and they regained their natural acidic smell. *Proteus* was now absent. A similar effect was achieved by feeding patients large amounts of milk and sugar. He concluded that the symptoms of auto-intoxication observed in dyspeptic children were due to absorption in the intestine of toxins derived from « *Proteus* ». Brudziński also performed experiments with animals. « *Proteus* » injected under the skin of mice was lethal, while no symptoms were observed if mixed with food of young dogs and kittens. To identify the source of « *Proteus* » found in the stools, Brudziński examined samples of raw and boiled milk for the presence of the bacteria. « *Proteus* » grew only in previously boiled milk, seldom in fresh milk, and never in acidic milk.

### Vienna : Wolf visits Bruckner

**Between Sunday, 11 and Sunday, 18 March 1894** : Hugo Wolf visits Anton Bruckner at the « Hôtel de France » in Vienna. Wolf announces the arrival of singer Frieda Zerny in that same hotel for the 27th.

« I hate the thought of living without you », wrote Wolf in a letter dated **Tuesday, 27 February 1894** to the singer Frieda Zerny (1864-1917), herself a person of broad culture and a talented author in her own right. Wolf's later letters also testify to his passion for her, a passion which was nevertheless on the wane by the time he wrote his last letter to her on **Wednesday, 7 August 1895**, which closes with a distant « I wish you well ».

**Tuesday, 13 March 1894** : Private evening concert of the Wagner academic Society of Vienna. On the programme : songs by Hugo Wolf.

**Monday, 19 March 1894** : Letter from Hugo Wolf to Frieda Zerny :



Zerny is expected in Vienna on **Tuesday, 27 March 1894**. She would stay at the « Hôtel de France », where Anton Bruckner actually lives. (Actually, Bruckner himself made the arrangements.)

**Thursday, 5 April 1894** : Ladies' evening at the Wagner academic Society of Vienna. Hugo Wolf, Hugo Faißt, and Frieda Zerny are present.

#### Berlin : Female journalist Mrs. Sommerfeld

**Before Sunday, 15 April 1894** : Letter from Mrs. A. Sommerfeld (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Mrs. Sommerfeld wants to write a magazine article on Bruckner and asks him for a photograph and an autographed music-score.

#### University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1894)

**May 1894** : Otto Lebwohl enrolls to attend Anton Bruckner's university lectures. The entry will be deleted.

#### Bruckner at a Pentecost celebration

**Monday, 14 May 1894** (Pentecost Monday) : Since Anton Bruckner's health has improved, the doctors allow him to attend a Pentecost celebration. He is carried from his apartment in a chair and goes to Mass at St. Michael Church with his private secretary Anton Meißner.

#### 2 visits by Amelie Klose

**June 1894** : (??) Amelie Klose visits Anton Bruckner twice at his « Heßgasse » flat (« Hôtel de France ») . He plays for her at the piano an excerpt of the Finale of the 9th Symphony (with the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) accompanying figure) and talks about moving elsewhere. He shows to her articles of a concert performance (the 7th Symphony ?) in Monte Carlo.

#### The pretty neighbour from « Hôtel de France »

**Wednesday, 13 June 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to his landlord Anton Ölzelt junior :

Name-Day congratulation. Also probably, Name-Day congratulation (verbally or by writing) from Ernestine Korda, his pretty floor-neighbour at the « Hôtel de France » .

**Around Monday, 30 July 1894** (Post-stamp on cover-letter) : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Ernestine Korda :

Name-Day congratulation : « Vienna, July 1894. »

It may be possible to check the post-stamp to determine whether the letter was still in Vienna or in Steyr. As the Name-Day « Ernestine » is celebrated on April 14th, it would be clear whether the addressee had a second first name.

**Thursday, 4 July 1895** : Before leaving for good his « Heßgasse » flat at the « Hôtel de France » , Bruckner says good-bye to Ernestine Korda. He heard she was a bride-to-be in the Mühlviertel ...

### Great soup, Theresia !

**Tuesday, 24 July 1894** : Letter from female restaurant-owner Theresia Högelsberger to Anton Bruckner :

Theresia is pleased that Bruckner has greatly appreciated her home-made « Kremssuppe » (cream soup) yesterday (July 23) at her restaurant.

Doctor Richard Heller remembers Anton Bruckner slurping his soup like a farm-hand grown old in honourable service.

### « Frau Kathi » sends clothes

**Before Tuesday, 31 July 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Congratulations on the Name-Day of his brother Ignaz (31 July 1894) . As in the previous year, house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr would send him some clothes that he must not give to others. Greetings to St. Florian's music teacher Karl Aigner and abbey church organist Josef Gruber. Because of the heat-wave in Vienna, Bruckner now stays in Steyr, accompanied by Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr.

**Saturday, 4 August 1894** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to his brother Anton (Vienna) :

Thanks from Ignaz for sending clothes and money. Anton would probably come to St. Florian for a few days during August. Ignaz and Karl Aigner also plan to visit Bruckner in Steyr.

### Doctor Alexander Ritter von Weißmayr

Alexander Ritter von Weißmayr : Austrian Professor of Internal Medicine at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Vienna. Director of the St. Pancratius Pulmonary Sanatorium. Director of the Alland Lung Clinic (« Alland Lungenheilstalt ») . He died in Vienna on 10 March 1907.

(In the late-days of World War II, the Alland area saw heavy fighting between the First SS Panzer Corps under the command of General Josef Dietrich and Red Army forces of the 6th Guards Tank Army under Marshal Fyodor Tolbukhin from 4 to 22 April 1945.)

**Mixed Infection in Pulmonary Tuberculosis** by Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr details the results of a bacteriologic

examination of 100 specimens of sputum from 81 patients suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. The sputum from 35 of the 81 patients revealed the tubercle bacillus alone ; that from 20, the tubercle bacillus and Streptococcus pyogenes ; that from 13, the tubercle bacillus and Staphylococcus pyogenes aureus and albus ; that from 10, the tubercle bacillus, streptococcus, and staphylococcus ; and that from 3, the tubercle bacillus, staphylococcus, and Micrococcus tetragenes. These results show that a number of tuberculous patients suffer from mixed infection. All the secondary infective agents exert a marked influence on the course of pulmonary tuberculosis ; in particular, cavity formation and elevation of the temperature are the direct result of, or are hastened by, such secondary infections. The prognosis is rendered worse by the detection of secondary infections. Patients with such secondary infection are not suitable for sanatorium treatment. Secondary infection may be the cause of laryngeal invasion, in that all laryngeal cases presented secondary infection.

...

Alexander von Weißmayr vertritt den Standpunkt, daß nicht nur im Süden, an den Meeresküsten und im Hochgebirge, sondern überall Orte zu finden sind, die sich für die Behandlung der Schwindsucht eignen, daß also die Lungenschwindsucht dort behandelt werden soll, wo der Kranke später zu leben gezwungen ist. Referent ist zwar der Ansicht, daß den vom Verfasser gestellten Bedingungen : Reinheit der Luft und windmehützte temperirte Lage, in vielen an den südlichen Meeresküsten gelegenen Orten am meisten entsprochen wird, doch muß zugestanden werden, daß mit Rücksicht auf die unbemittelte Bevölkerung und auf die Behandlung in geschloßenen Anstalten die weiteren Schlußfolgerungen des Verfassers durchaus richtig sind. Als Direktor der Heilanstalt Alland ist von Weißmayr in der Lage, auf günstige Erfolge hinzuweisen, welche ihn zu dem Ausspruche berechtigen : Die Tuberculose wird mit der sichersten Aussicht auf Heilung in specialärztlich geleiteten, geschloßenen Heilanstalten behandelt ; jeder Kranke soll die ihm zunächst liegende Anstalt aufsuchen, um bei der Rückkehr nicht durch die Veränderung des Klimas zu leiden. Wir besitzen in Österreich, wo durch von Doktor Leopold Schrötter's unermüdliches Werben und Wirken die Bewegung zur Gründung von Volkshelstätten begonnen hat, leider nur die eine Anstalt in Alland, während Deutschland deren bereits 34 aufweist. Verfasser führt den Nachweis, daß diese Volkshelstätten für die Umgebung nicht gefährlich, vielmehr nützlich sind, schildert die Anlage, Einrichtung, Art der Behandlung, kurz des Leben in der Anstalt, betont ihren erzieherischen Einfluß durch die Ermahnungen und Beispiele der aus der Anstalt Entlassenen. Bei der Aufforderung, die Anstalt sofort bei den allerersten Anfängen der Krankheit aufzusuchen, wird die Tuberculinprobe als diagnostisches Hilfsmittel erwähnt, es folgen statistische Angaben über die günstigen Erfolge verschiedener Heilanstalten auch in Bezug auf Erwerbsthätigkeit.

## Works

Alexander Ritter von Weißmayr und Leopold von Schrötter. Die Tuberculose. (1898)

Zur Klinik der primären Neoplasmen der Pleura. (1897)

Herz und Lunge in ihren pathologischen Wechselbeziehungen. (1898)

Die Lungenschwindsucht, ihre Verhütung, Behandlung und Heilung. In gemeinverständlicher Weise dargestellt. (1901)

## Franz Holzbuber

**Monday, 3 September 1894** : Letter from Franz Holzbuber to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

An Upper-Austrian friend hopes that Bruckner will remain in the service of « Frau Musica » so that « your excellent works may continue to fill the musical world with delight and admiration » .

## « Sali » misses her brother

**Presumably around Tuesday, 4 September 1894** (Name-Day of Anton Bruckner) : Letter from Rosalia Hueber (Vöcklabruck) to his brother Anton (Steyr) :

She tells him that his last visit was 4 years ago.

## Bruckner at 70

**Tuesday, 4 September 1894** : Anton Bruckner celebrates his 70th birthday in the town of Steyr. Mayor Johann Redl (accompanied by a delegation of representatives) hands over an official congratulatory letter to the composer.

On the occasion of his birthday, Bruckner was appointed honorary member of the « Steyrer Liedertafel » (see : 12 September 1894) and the Vienna « Schubertbund » .

Even while his opinion of Anton Bruckner's music hardly changed, Johannes Brahms came to recognize certain qualities in the man himself. Thus, he insisted on improving the tone of a formal letter that the « Tonkünstlerverein » intended to present to Bruckner (presumably on his 70th birthday) .

He said to Richard Heuberger in this connection :

« I made several corrections in the text myself. I mentioned the students, Bruckner's popularity, etc. I certainly don't see eye-to-eye with Bruckner in many matters, but he is nevertheless a fellow who is damned serious about what he does and that deserves some respect. »

(Richard Heuberger, 1976 ; page 72.)

In **November 1894**, 2 months after Bruckner's 70th birthday, Hans Richter performed his 2nd Symphony (**WAB 102**) , which had not been heard in the capital since the composer himself conducted the work on **October 26, 1873**, at the closing Symphonic concert of the Vienna International Exhibition. It was another great success but, by now, Bruckner was a very sick man.

## Christine Brezina

**September 1894** : Letter from Christine Brezina (Vienna) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

A Viennese girl writes as « an enthusiastic worshipper of the beloved Master, Anton Bruckner » .

### Cold weather and doctors

**Friday, 7 September 1894** : Letter from Doctor Ottokar from Chiari (Vienna) to Anton Bruckner (Steyr) :

Late Name-Day congratulations.

**Tuesday, 11 September 1894** : Letter from Doctor Leopold Schrötter (Ebensee) to Anton Bruckner (Steyr) :

Bruckner should follow the instructions of Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr and leave Steyr for Vienna as soon as the temperature becomes milder.

**Sunday, 16 September 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Doctor Leopold Schrötter (Vienna) :

Bruckner thanks Doctor Schrötter for his letter of September 11th. His breath is somewhat improved. Doctor Viktor Klotz (private office : « Sparkassengebäude » , « Stadtplatz » Number 20-22, 2nd Floor) , head-physician at St. Anna's Hospital in Steyr, will take care of him. The cold weather is a topic of discussion. Bruckner would telegraph Doctor Schrötter before leaving Steyr. Greetings to the family. Prelate Ferdinand Moser also telegraphed Bruckner (about his burial place ?) .

**Wednesday, 26 September 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayrn (Vienna) :

Bruckner should be back in Vienna on coming Sunday (30 September) by the express-train from Steyr, and he hopes to see her healthy again.

### Doctor Viktor Klotz

Viktor Klotz studied in Transylvania and in Vienna. He worked for many years at the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») and at Doctor Theodor Billroth's clinic as assistant-physician. He went to Jihlava where he was named head-physician of the town's hospital on 25 September 1891. On New Year's Day 1892, he took-over as head-physician the management of the old St. Anna's Hospital in Steyr. He brought the first real medical knowledge and skills to the establishment. He developed an outstanding surgical department under the most difficult conditions. Population growth resulted in an increase of patients - thus, the lack of space became unacceptable. New premises had to be built. The inaction of the city authorities forced Klotz to turn to the public sector. Thanks to the private donations of Therese Praschak and especially beer-brewer businessman Johann Haratzmüller (he invested 200,000 « Kronen » - about 400,000 euros - which represented 25 % of the total cost !), the project of a brand new health-care facility became a reality. The construction took only 3 years. The new « Krankenhaus Steyr » was inaugurated on

18 September 1916, in the middle of World War I. Total cost : 1,000,000 « Kronen » (2,000,000 euros) . Doctor Klotz retired shortly before the opening-day. His accomplishments had spread over almost a quarter of Century.

He co-founded the medical section of the Volunteer Fire Brigade of Steyr and acted as first Corps-Doctor. He was also appointed honorary member.

He was honoured for his long-term implication as health insurance doctor.

He was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Franz-Josef and received the title of Medical Concillor.

He was awarded the Medal from the Red Cross (2nd Class) for his self-sacrificing activity towards the wounded and diseased soldiers during World War I.

Doctor Viktor Klotz died after a long illness, at the age of 73. The whole town of Steyr attended the funeral of this highly-esteemed philanthropist physician.

Today, « Dr.-Klotz-Straße » connects the « Pachergasse » with the « Schönauerstraße » .

### Steyr : St. Anna's Hospital

**1679** : The plague raged in Lower-Austria and threatened to cross the country. Countless lives were lost everywhere.

**1713** : The plague wreaked havoc in Steyr. The municipal authorities bought the « Plautzenhof » to create a centre for the victims (« Pestlazarett ») . Constructor « Herr » Reuß bought the fields which went along with the property. When the epidemic was under control, the establishment converted into a permanent hospital.

**1754** : Town-judge Großbrucker requested permission to add a chapel-house to the « Plautzenhof » Hospital in honour of St. Anna.

**1755** : Architect Hayberger built the chapel. « Herr » Hayberger was also the plan-maker for the town-hall in Steyr. A formal request to erect a small house next to St. Anna's Chapel to accommodate priests was brought before the Bishop of Passau. This is how the « Pfarrstöckl » (a priest's house) came to be built.

**1844** : The town of Steyr formally requested the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand to permit nuns of the Order of the Charitable Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul from Vienna (« Barmherzige Schwestern-Orden ») to move here to take care of the sick at the hospital.

**1848** : St. Anna's Hospital was renovated and enlarged (new capacity : 39 beds) .

**Wednesday, 15 August 1849** : Consecration of the « new » St. Anna's Hospital. An agreement was finally concluded with the Order of the Charitable Sisters - 6 nuns moved to Steyr.

**1860** : The head of St. Anna's Hospital, Karl Aigner, planned an orphanage. Its foundation was laid by Linz Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger on June 9th of the same year.

**1894** : The employment figures of the Werndl Arm Factory were on the rise. This had a direct impact on the number of inhabitants in Steyr. The municipal authorities had to legislate on the public access to St. Anna's Hospital.

**1900** : St. Anna's facilities no longer met the needs of the people of Steyr. Director Viktor Klotz sought help from the private sector to erect a brand new hospital.

**1913** : Construction of the new hospital began.

**Monday, 18 September 1916** : Inauguration of the « Krankenhaus Steyr » .

**1918** : The consequences of World War I brought political change in Steyr. Liberals and nationalists have dominated the town for decades.

**1919** : Social-Democrats took power in Steyr. The economic uncertainty of the inter-War period made it increasingly difficult for the nuns of the Order of the Charitable Sisters to fulfill their task at St. Anna's Hospital. Electric lighting was installed.

**1930** : The city of Steyr went through financial difficulties. For this reason, St. Anna's Hospital was handed-over to the State of Upper-Austria.

**1934** : The political confusions of the time did not spare St. Anna's Hospital.

**March 1938** : Adolf Hitler invaded Austria (« Anschluß ») .

**1939** : World War II began. St. Anna's School (which was on the same premises) was turned into a military hospital. The Red Cross nurses were accommodated in the orphanage.

**1944** : Allied bombings began over Steyr.

**1945-1955** : Steyr was occupied by American troops (west of the river Enns) and Russian troops (east of the river Enns) .

### Doctor Hermann G. Klotz

His father and a number of his relatives were physicians - i.e. , Doctor Viktor Klotz from the Steyr Hospital.

Doctor Hermann G. Klotz was born on 21 August 1844 in Saxony and died of bronchial pneumonia on 6 May 1928 in New York. He was 84.

After his graduation from the « Gymnasium » , he began the study of medicine at the University of Leipzig in 1864. A part of his student years were spent at Heidelberg and Würzburg, but he graduated at Leipzig in 1868. While a student at Würzburg, during the War between Prussia and Austria, he served with the Bavarian army and was decorated with the Bavarian Cross.

After graduating at Leipzig, he received an appointment as assistant at the old « Eppendorfer Krankenhaus » at Hamburg. While waiting for this appointment, he served as a surgeon on one of the ships of the Hamburg-American Line. During the Franco-Prussian War, his ship was interned in New York and, while waiting for the cessation of hostilities, he accepted a temporary appointment as resident physician with the German, now the Lenox Hill Hospital. Here, he became acquainted with the late Doctor Edward F. Schwedler, one of the founders of the hospital, and later, became his associate and married his daughter, Marie C. Schwedler. The accident of war thus determined his settling in New York.

Doctor Klotz was closely identified with the German Hospital and Dispensary. At the time of his death, he was the only honorary member of the alumni association of the institution.

He became a member of the New York Dermatological Society in 1887, served twice as its president and, in 1913, was made an honorary member. He was an active member of the American Dermatological Association from 1888 until his death. He was a fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine, and, in recognition of his assistance in establishing the medical library of the Kings County Medical Society, he was made an honorary member of that organization.

Doctor Klotz was interested in dermatology from the beginning of his medical career. He was not a frequent contributor to dermatologic literature, but his publications were thoughtful and were always respected. His outstanding achievement, perhaps, was the promotion of intra-muscular injections of mercury in this country. He was also interested in genito-urinary diseases.

...

Henry H. Morton (1928) :

In the days before cystoscopy and prostatic and kidney surgery had brought about the development of modern urology into a distinct specialty, the universal practice was the combination of skin and venereal diseases, and the death of Doctor Hermann G. Klotz marks the passing of perhaps the last of the well-known dermato-urologists of the former generation. Doctor Klotz was born in a small town of Saxony in 1844 ; studied medicine at Würzburg and Heidelberg and graduated from Leipzig in 1864. In the War of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, he received a decoration from the King of Bavaria (the Bavarian War Cross) for services to the wounded.

His coming to America was a matter of accident, for while awaiting appointment in the « Eppendorfer Krankenhaus » , he took a trip to New York as ship's surgeon on a steamer of the Hamburg-American Line. When the Franco-Prussian War broke-out, his ship was interned, and he took a position as resident physician in the German Hospital (now, Lenox



Hill) . After leaving the German Hospital, he married Miss Marie C. Schwedler, daughter of his former chief, Doctor Schwedler.

In the course of his professional life, he soon developed an interest in dermatology and urology, as these branches were then associated.

He was actively identified with the development of the German Hospital and Dispensary, and particularly interested in developing its medical library which was then housed in the old dispensary building on 2nd Avenue, near 8th Street.

Doctor Klotz became naturalized soon after coming to the United States, and held steadily to his loyalty to this country during the World War, even though his allegiance cut him off from his father's relations in Germany during hostilities. He was a member of The New York Academy of Medicine, served on the Library Committee, and was twice President of the New York Dermatological Society. At the time of his death, he was among the oldest members of the latter society and had attended several meetings during the past year.

My personal recollections of Doctor Klotz are very vivid, and are connected with the 2 outstanding works of his life, namely, endoscopy and the injection of salicylate of mercury in the treatment of syphilis. I shall always remember the kindness and courtesy with which he showed me in his office at East 19th Street, how to use his endoscopic tubes illuminated by a light thrown in by a head-mirror in cases of chronic urethritis. By this means, the urethra could be plainly seen and local lesions such as erosions, open crypts and polypi diagnosed and treated. With the careful and painstaking attention to detail and with absolute honesty which were the striking features of his character, he described and classified completely the lesions as they were to be seen.

On a later occasion when the use of salicylate injections were being first brought to our attention, knowing his interest and experience in this form of treatment, I felt perfectly free to go to him in his clinic in 2nd Avenue, and he there gave me a demonstration of its application and a talk on the uses and dangers of the method.

With the advent of the small electric light-bulbs, Doctor Klotz' endoscope with its less perfect illumination has been superseded, but the knowledge of the disease of the urethra which he had was superior to that which many of us possess today, even with our better illuminated instruments.

The personal contacts of which I have spoken and the history of his life, gives us the clue to his character ; integrity, honesty and fearlessness in standing by his beliefs, united to a careful persistence and meticulous attention to detail, controlled always by strong common sense which showed in his clinical work and in his writing.

Such were the men who laid the foundations of the specialty of urology on which the present generation has built its modern superstructure.

Doctor Hermann Klotz read a critical paper on « Philippon's Proposed Reform of Dermatology » . This paper has already appeared « in extenso » in the « Journal of Cutaneous and Genito-Urinary Diseases » .

Review of Dermatology and Genito-Urinary Diseases : Hermann Klotz : A Plea for the Use of Soluble Preparations of Mercury in the Treatment of Syphilis by Mouth. (Journal of Cutaneous Disorders, volume XXIII, Number 379.)

The writer pleads for a preference of solutions of bichloride of mercury in the internal treatment of syphilis instead of the protoiodide pills. The latter often produce gastric and intestinal disturbances, stomatitis, and cutaneous eruptions. He prescribes the sublimate in solution, in doses of 3 tea-spoonfuls daily, each containing 1/8 to 1/5 of a grain. To make the treatment as little cumbersome as possible, the patient is given a small, flat bottle, containing 3 ounces, sufficient for a week's use. Gastro-intestinal troubles he has not observed ; stomatitis did not occur, for the reason that solutions of bichloride of mercury of a strength of 1:1,000 to 1:2,000 are our best remedy for it. The effects are prompt and especially valuable in preventing relapses.

According to Doctor Hermann Klotz, one of the most easily applied and valuable drugs in dermatology is ichthyol. If applied upon the skin as 25 to 50 % watery solution, it will rapidly dry to an elastic pellicule, which will not crack over the joints, and which can easily be washed-off with soap and water when desired. There is absolutely no soiling of the clothes, and no dressing is necessary where drying is retarded owing to much secretion, as a layer of cotton or some indifferent dusting powder may be used.

...

Doctor Klotz is inclined to believe that suppuration, the so-called stage of eczema impetiginosum, makes its appearance when local septic infection complicates the moist stage. Where the exudation on the surface is not present, or in so moderate a degree that no moist surface is presented (eczema erythematosum, papulosum et squamosum) , the excoriations resulting from scratching afford an equally commodious entrance to all kind of septic material, and in their turn, often actually become the seat of more or less deeply seated suppuration. As long as suppuration exists, a cure is apparently out of the question. This will not be denied even by those who consider eczema as almost always a constitutional disease, produced by some irregularities in the functions of some organ or in the general household of the human body, and who, as a rule, look to internal or constitutional treatment as the most important part of therapeutics. Doctor Klotz says he does not hesitate to declare that carbolic acid is but rarely beneficial in diseases of the skin. Other drugs have taken the place of carbolic acid in antiseptic surgery ; but almost invariably has the effect on the skin been equally disastrous, particularly with corrosive sublimate and iodoform. It seems not improbable that this incongruity of the most popular antiseptic remedies with the skin in its healthy state, as well as in pathological conditions, has been one of the principal factors to prevent the introduction of antiseptic principles into the treatment of eczema. Another cause, Doctor Klotz believes, has been the almost universally accepted doctrine which forbids the use of water in the management of eczema. To obtain favourable results, it would be advisable to begin treatment by careful cleansing, and to apply the antiseptic remedies in the form of solutions instead of the usual ointments, as it is a well-known fact that the antiseptic drugs act much more powerfully in solutions than in combination with oils, grease, and other constituents of ointments. Whenever an impetiginous eczema presents itself for treatment, the first task, Doctor Klotz says, is to disinfect the diseased surface by removing the crusts and all other encumbrances with water and soap, Castile soap being generally preferred ; and afterwards, with a solution of corrosive sublimate, not stronger than one part in 3,000 or 5,000 parts of water. Thereafter, the patients are advised to wash the diseased

portions with this solution morning and evening by means of a pad of absorbent cotton, or a piece of lint or clean cloth (never with a sponge) . In the evening, and if possible in the morning, lint or cotton pads, thoroughly soaked with the solution, are to be applied for one-half to 1 hour, during which time the pads have to be kept constantly moist. Then, the parts are carefully dried, and a mild ointment, generally a 10 % , boric acid vaseline, is rubbed into the skin and, whenever feasible, covered with lint or cotton and a bandage. This treatment is to be continued until a clean surface is presented on the affected parts and all suppuration has ceased, a result mostly obtained in a few days. In children, or in milder cases in grown patients, a 2 to 3 % solution of boric acid takes the place of the corrosive sublimate, combined with the boric acid vaseline. Infants get their daily bath as usual ; on removal from the water, they are washed with the solution of boric acid. Circumscribed patches of eczema, particularly those showing the most aggravated conditions, are kept more or less constantly covered with cotton or lint compresses moistened with the solution, or rubbed and covered with the ointment. The results in such cases have been very satisfactory, and the moist stage of the eczema has been considerably shortened. In cases of very acute inflammation, particularly in eczema of the legs, with or without ulcers, 2 to 4 parts of acetate of lead are added to each 1,000 parts of the boric acid solution, and compresses soaked with it are constantly applied for several days. This combination of boric acid and acetate of lead has recently been recommended by Saalfeld. Patients may be ordered 15 to 20 grammes of the boric acid, and 2 to 5 grammes of acetate of lead, which they are directed to dissolve in 1 quart of boiled water while hot. In private practice, a small quantity of glycerine and alcohol may be added : the substitution of about 1/3 or 1/4 of the water by lime water is of some advantage ; it causes the precipitation of the insoluble portions in the shape of a very fine film. The same applications are made in all cases apparently not infected with purulent substances, where a moist surface exists, either circumscribed with the shape of the original vesicles preserved, or on larger patches. They are continued with as little interruption as possible until the discharge becomes less and the epidermis is rapidly forming a new protecting cover. Even in the dry forms of eczema, particularly in the erythematous ones, the wet applications and the washing with the antiseptic solutions are of great value. Boric acid is the one remedy which is well borne under any circumstances and on all localities ; but under the principles of antiseptis, solutions of other drugs may be substituted, and will produce equally good effects. Thus, ichthyol, 1 or 2 parts in 1,000 ; salicylic acid, resorcin, thymol, permanganate of potassium, tannin, acetate of alumina, even carbolic acid, may be quite as valuable if properly diluted. Doctor Klotz says almost all the modern remedies owe their claims to their antiseptic action, and that their usefulness will increase in proportion with their deleterious effects on pathogenic microbes on the one side, and their non-irritating character towards the skin on the other. If we compare the different methods of treatment advocated by different dermatologists, it will not be difficult to discover in every one distinct traces of antiseptic principles.

### Hugo Wolf and the 9th Symphony

**Saturday, 15 September 1894** : Letter from Hugo Wolf (Traunkirchen) to Anton Bruckner (Steyr) :

Wolf congratulates Bruckner on his recent Name-Day (4 September) . He hopes that his youthful creative power will help the Master, over a long period, to finish his 9th Symphony.

**Sunday, 23 September 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Steyr) to Hugo Wolf (Berlin) :

Bruckner thanks Wolf for his last letter (September 15th) . Bruckner's illness is, unfortunately, incurable. His health-condition is also very unstable. In the event of a softening of the weather, he would return to Vienna.

« Greatly honoured Master and Colleague !

Your very kind letter pleased me immeasurably ! I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your wishes, which I devotedly return to you in kind ! May God protect you always and lead you along the loveliest, though at the same time most difficult artistic pathway ! My state of health, unfortunately, is incurable ! Sometimes a little better, then worse again ! May you, honourable sir (dearest friend) , remain in good health, and well-disposed toward me, just as I also respect you most devotedly. If bad weather should come, I'll go to Vienna.

In most faithful love and respect,

Your Bruckner

Steyr, September 23, 1894. »

**Letter 135** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Traunkirchen) :

« Matzen, Brixlegg, Tyrol, September the 25th, 1894.

Most honoured lady and friend !

Once again, a clear bright sky, after a string of dreary, rainy days. A fragrant, fresh wind blows over from the Zillertal, which must bring you a thousand greetings from me. How I would have enjoyed spending this morning on my own talking with you ; only the " mistress " wishes me to serve as page on her walks, and so, I must be brief. Your last letter left me in an altogether melancholy mood. If it's any comfort to you, be assured that I sympathize completely with your feelings.

Starting today, I'm going to try to arrange my life here more systematically. Above all, I must make an effort to get to bed as early as possible, in order to take full-advantage of the morning hours, which are mine to spend as I see fit - today's walk is an exception. Up until now, the evening's entertainment has always gone on until 12:00 at night. That mustn't happen anymore. From now on, it's to bed at 10:00 and up at 6:00. I have to think about work again. My hosts will certainly understand this and won't hinder me. I'll discuss the matter with the Baroness (Frieda Lipperheide) on our walk today. About the middle of October, I'm going to travel to Merano in the company of the two of them. Then, there are several excursions I want to make, starting-out from Merano. I often play 4 hand (piano) with the Baroness now. Pleasure from this is quite limited, to be sure, as she plays very badly, but since I can show my gratitude in this way, I'm happy to do it. " Manus manum lavat " (One hand washes the other) . There's nothing else to be done.

Yesterday, late at night, she asked me to play the “ Appassionata ” of Beethoven for her, and, when I finished, she was quite beside herself with delight over my performance. Nothing beats un-demanding people ! More next time. For today, very sincerest greetings from your faithfully devoted,

Hugo Wolf.

Many greetings to Heinrich, children, and Miss Park.

“ Afternoon ”. I’m opening-up the letter again to enclose a note from Bruckner that just arrived for me. The enclosed letter from the aging man brought tears to my eyes. How good it was that I put in my congratulations, even though belatedly. Please return the treasured document to me. I’m planning to compose an extended epistle to the revered man soon.

Along with the Bruckner note, a package also came from (Emil) Kauffmann, a book entitled :“ Ed. Mörike als Gelegenheits-dichter ” (Eduard Mörike as Poet of Occasional Verse) , with countless first printings of Mörike poems and drawings from his own hand. I only glanced through it quickly and discovered delightful things. As soon as I’ve gone through it completely, I’ll send it to you. It will amuse you more than a little. I told the Baroness about my schedule and she agreed to it. So, again, a thousand greetings and all good things. »

**Wednesday, 26 September 1894** : Letter from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Ferdinand Löwe (Vienna) :

Wolf says that he received a touching thank you letter from Anton Bruckner.

**Wednesday, 10 October 1894 - Letter 140** from Hugo Wolf (Berlin) to Melanie Köchert (Traunkirchen) :

« Matzen, October 10, 1894.

Most honoured gracious lady !

You will undoubtedly have received my 3 letters. We arrived back in Matzen in good shape last evening. The outing was successful in every respect. The route from Maierhofen to Karlsteg was particularly unique in its way, a wild mountain gorge through which the foaming Ziller rushes. One feels totally insignificant alongside such super-human wilderness and “ grandeur ” as is displayed by nature in the Alpine world. Grinzling was the last stop. From there, I went on alone for an hour into the Floitenthal (Floiten valley) to see the “ Floitenspitze ” (summit) (3,200 metres) . There is an immense glacier surrounding it ; the fog settled-in soon after, unfortunately, so that the view was only a brief one. Nevertheless, I took away a complete impression of the Zillerthal. The most beautiful spot in it, however, remains “ Zell am Ziller ”. Maierhofen lies too far into the mountains. It’s an utterly dismal place.

(Ferdinand) Löwe wrote me today that “ Elfenlied ” and “ Feuerreiter ” will be performed on December 2nd. It would be too foolish for me to go to Berlin now, since 2 pieces of mine and possibly a third will be performed in Vienna.

(Friedrich) Eckstein has most kindly turned-over his room to me. In any case, I'll arrive in Vienna before the 20th, as I'd like not to miss the Bruckner concert. The key herewith.

Maybe (Rudolf von) Larisch will give me his summer-place in Perchtoldsdorf.

Your always faithful Hugo Wolf. »

### Greetings from the Vienna « Tonkünstlerverein »

**October 1894** : Greetings from the Vienna « Tonkünstlerverein » (Association of Composers) to Anton Bruckner.

« You can look back on a long life and think with satisfaction of the recognition and honours you have received for your serious and lofty ambitions. »

The letter dated « Wien im Oktober 1894 » is signed by Johannes Brahms, Richard Heuberger, Ignaz Brüll, Hugo Conrat and others - all names from the anti-Wagnerian faction.

### Not seriously ill but very weakened

**Thursday, 18 October 1894** : Several newspapers (the « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » Number 83, page 3 ; the « Linzer Zeitung » ; the « Linzer Tages-Post » ; the « Wiener Reichspost » Number 240, page 5 ; the « Steyrer Zeitung ») report on Anton Bruckner's health-condition. Based on the relatively favourable prognosis by Doctor Leopold Schrötter, he is not seriously ill but very weakened.

### Fall Semester : First university lecture

**Monday, 29 October 1894** : With the permission of Doctor Leopold Schrötter, Anton Bruckner gives his first university lecture of the Fall Semester. His house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr and his personal secretary Anton Meißner accompany him. In the lecture-hall, Bruckner talks about his illness, accepts the congratulations of everyone, underlines the praise he received from Prince Bojidar Karageorgievich's mother, mentions an article from an American newspaper (from September 21, or January 22, 1894 ?) which reported the performance of his 3rd Symphony in Paris. He also comments on the death of University rector Professor Adolf Exner (victim of a heart-attack on September 10) and physicist, mathematician, and poet Professor Doctor Josef Stefan (on Saturday, 7 January 1893) . It was Stefan who proposed to give Bruckner an honorary Doctorate.

### Schrötter's silver wedding anniversary

Bruckner attended a performance of one of his own works for the last time on January 8, 1894.

**Wednesday, 31 October 1894** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli :

Bruckner congratulates Professor Schrötter on his silver wedding anniversary.

### Hearing the F minor Mass, again

**Sunday, 4 November 1894** : The performance of the F minor Mass at a « Gesellschaft » concert in Vienna was intended as a 70th birthday celebration and, in fact, was one of Bruckner's last public appearances. His health deteriorated rapidly in mid-November and, although there was a partial recovery, the remaining months of his life were a continual swing between relapse and slight improvement. Bruckner's last words on the Mass are contained in a letter to Siegfried Ochs, the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Choir, who had directed 2 very successful performances of the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) , in May 1891 and January 1894, and was now contemplating a possible performance of the Mass :

(Here, Bruckner talks humorously of himself at the third person.)

« Bruckner is getting old and would really like to hear the F minor Mass again ! Please, please ! That would be the high-point of my life. But there are many changes which don't appear in the score. At the D-flat major passage in the “ Credo ” (“ Deum verum de Deo vero ”) full-organ, please ! Spare no stops ! And the cellist should be prominent with a very rich, warm tone at the beginning of the “ Benedictus ”. When shall I hear it ? Please, reply.

In humble admiration and with greetings to the excellent Orchestra, the wonderful choir, and you, their great “ Direktor ”. »

### The last university lectures

Unexpectedly, what seemed a swift recovery, in the fall of 1894, found Anton Bruckner once more ascending the platform at the University of Vienna to resume his lectures on musical theory. Only a few such days of grace were granted. His shattered body by relentless fate, for 2 weeks later, he stood for the last time before his beloved students.

**Monday, 5 November 1894** : Anton Bruckner returns to the University of Vienna to give a farewell lecture ; his farewell to the teaching that had been at once a support, a burden and a vocation. Max Auer gives us a vignette of house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr and his students helping Bruckner as « slowly, and with a heavy heart, he climbed the great stairs for the last time » .

Bruckner looked ill, and the loss of his teeth (due to advanced diabetes) made his profile more pronounced. He complained to the crowded lecture-hall of « water on the chest » , but joked that it was preferable to « water on the brain » , and the eyes were still « friendly, good-natured and spirited » .

Ernst Schwanzara recounts with emotion the words of his revered professor :

« During the last quarter of his course, Bruckner came and sat gently among us on the bench, and said :

“ 3 Movements of my 9th Symphony are already completed, the first 2 are considered final, I still have to settle some details of the third. With this Symphony, I have imposed myself a hard task. I should not have done that because of my advanced age and my health concerns. Especially as it will not be easy to play. The Adagio is the most beautiful I have ever written. It always deeply moves me when I play it on the piano. If I were to die before the completion of my Symphony, then we could give my ' Te Deum ' as a 4th movement. It is my decision. ” »

**Monday, 12 November 1894** : Anton Bruckner gives his last lecture at the University of Vienna. He talks about the state of his work on the 9th Symphony - the Adagio is finished, the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) could be used as Finale. Even today, he worked diligently. Climbing the stairs at the University as exhausted Bruckner, resulting in an asthma attack.

### Composing at night

After Anton Bruckner had given-up his activities at the University in 1894, because of ill health, he increasingly lost contact with the world. He would sit at home composing (as he did at his Conservatory office) . He did most of his work in the daytime, but occasionally, he would get-up at night, light 2 candles (no longer using an incandescent lamp since the « Ringtheater » tragedy) , and write-down what he had in mind.

To house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr who remonstrated with him for working at night when his health was so poor, he said :

« One must compose when the right idea comes. »

Sometimes, when Bruckner did not know what to reply, he tried in a naive way to impress her with his status as a composer, shouting :

« Do you know who you are talking to, I am Bruckner ! »

She replied without hesitation :

« And I'm Kathi ! »

End of discussion.

### Missing Hugo Wolf

Bruckner was now surrounded by quietness, so much so that, at times, he longed for company. In particular, he missed his admirer and pupil Hugo Wolf. It was not an intimate friendship which drew the 2 geniuses together. They did not belong to the same generation. But Bruckner loved young Wolf and held his music in high-esteem. Wolf respectfully reciprocated these feelings.



## Death of Josef Hyrtl

**After Tuesday, 17 July 1894 ?** (day of death of Josef Hyrtl) : Anton Bruckner was, by no means, unreflective but thought a great deal about death and an after-life. In a now lost pocket calendar, he wrote-down a sentence of the famous anatomist Josef Hyrtl from the latter's 1864 inaugural address as president of the University of Vienna.

« Is the soul a product of the brain, which functions according to irrefutable organic laws, or is this brain, on the contrary, merely one of those prerequisites, through which the commerce of an immaterial soul with the world is mediated in space ? »

A hermeneutic connection between this quotation from Hyrtl and the 9th Symphony (which Bruckner was composing at the time) cannot be lightly dismissed. In both cases, we can detect existential questioning and wrestling with final statements.

Julius Bistron makes the unnecessary attempt to protect Bruckner from what he calls such a « scientifically based perception of God » . He is of the opinion that Bruckner « only wrote-out the quotation from Hyrtl ... in order to argue against it or to discuss it with other people » . This interpretation would, in fact, stamp Bruckner as narrow-mindedly naive, and he certainly was not that.

Bruckner's circle and later writers have reported, with a mixture of horror and mockery, his touching and kissing the skulls of Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert at their exhumation ; the attempt to keep the skull of his cousin, Johann Baptist Weiß, who died tragically ; and his efforts to see the body of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, whom he esteemed. Because of these things, Bruckner has been described as having a tendency to necrophilia, which is utter nonsense. One should think rather of the much greater familiarity with death of an Austrian country child in the 19th Century and of the veneration of relics in the Catholic Church. In this context, a skull could have been nothing unusual or frightening for Bruckner.

## Josef Hyrtl

Josef Hyrtl was a tourist destination in Vienna.

In 1856, the author George Elliot described :

« Another great pleasure we had at Vienna (next after the sight of St. Stephen's and the pictures) was a visit to Hyrtl, the anatomist, who showed us some of his wonderful preparations, showing the vascular and nervous systems in the lungs, liver, kidneys, and intestinal canal of various animals. »

Acknowledging Hyrtl's world-wide fame, he was appointed Rector of the University of Vienna in time for their 500th anniversary, in 1865. He served for that academic year.

Hyrtl retired from the University of Vienna in 1874. His books and specimens had earned him a considerable fortune, and their continued sales allowed him a very comfortable life at his estate in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna.

In 1894, a colleague published several anecdotes of Josef Hyrtl's life providing insights on his personality :

« The famous anatomist who has just died at Vienna was always considered an eccentric man because his dress, his manners, and his mode of life differed in some respects from those of other people. It was particularly his time-worn garments that made him conspicuous, and he used in his walks the same soiled blouse which he wore while engaged in his laboratory or in gardening - his favourite hobby. Who would have thought this untidy person to be the world renowned anatomist, and a rich man ? This characteristic of Hyrtl gave frequent occasion to ludicrous incidents at which he himself used to laugh most. »

« A few years back, when he was still in possession of his eye-sight, he was accustomed to walk to Liesing, a charming Viennese suburb, where, in the beer-garden of the brewery, he refreshed himself with a glass of its well-known beverage. One afternoon, he entered the garden and seated himself near a table at which a few merry Viennese burghers were engaged in diminishing the contents of a big dish of stewed fowl. These gentlemen had no idea of the identity of the newly-arrived guest, and after eyeing his simple twill suit came to the conclusion that he must be an inmate of the Liesing asylum for the poor.

A good portion of the dainty meal having been left uneaten, one of the guests called the waiter, saying :

“ Here, give this to that poor man ; let him have a good feed for once. ” which humane proposal was loudly acclaimed by his fellow-revellers.

The waiter, who was a new hand at the brewery, obeyed the command, placing the dish of remnants before the famous savant, who, appreciating the joke, ate a few morsels and, after expressing his thanks, left the garden. A few moments later, 2 waiters carried in a big bowl from which the gilded heads of champagne bottles were protruding.

“ We have ordered no champagne. ”, cried the burghers, and their astonishment may easily be guessed on their being informed that “ the inmate of the local asylum for the poor ” had sent them the champagne as a mark of his gratitude for the stewed fowl, and that the donour was no less a personage than Professor Hyrtl. »

« His sympathy with student life is well-known, and many stories in this connexion are told of him. A Jewish medical student named Jerusalem was being examined, and, in the hall, there was waiting a small crowd of his co-religionists, when Hyrtl came-out from the examination chamber. He was immediately surrounded by the crowd of young students, who asked him the fate of their comrade Jerusalem.

Hyrtl, with a plaintive voice and sympathetically shaking his head, said :

“ Weep, O Israel ; Jerusalem has fallen. ” »

« Once a student was unable to reply to one single question at his examination.

Hyrtl then asked him :

“ Perhaps, you can tell me where you live ? ”

The student named the street, of which Hyrtl professed his ignorance, and said :

“ You see how science is divided : you know nothing of anatomy and I do not know the locality where you live.” »

An anecdote respecting his marriage is worth repeating. It was in the year 1866, when, one day, Hyrtl approached the porter of the Anatomical Institute, Andrew Swetlin by name :

« “ Andrew, have you a prayer-book handy ? ”, asked Professor Hyrtl.

Andrew fetched the book, and Hyrtl went away. An hour later, he returned and handed to the porter the prayer-book.

The porter, unable to suppress his curiosity, asked :

“ You do not need it any more, Sir ? ”

Whereupon Hyrtl replied :

“ No, thanks ; I only needed it for a moment. I have just been at my own wedding. ” »

Hyrtl died in his sleep during the night of July 16-17, 1894, at his estate at Perchtoldsdorf. He had founded an orphanage in Mödling and, since he had no children, made this institution the heir to his fortune. The Museum Mödling includes an exhibit on Hyrtl.

...

The Austrian anatomist Josef Hyrtl was born on 7 December 1810 at Kismarton (now, Eisenstadt) , in Old Hungary ; and died on 17 July 1894.

Hyrtl began his medical studies in Vienna, in 1831, having received his preliminary education in his native town. His parents were poor, and he had to find his own money to pay for the expenses of his medical education. In 1833, while he was still a student, he was named prosector in anatomy, and the preparations which this position required him to make for teaching purposes attracted the attention of professors as well as students. His graduation thesis, « Antiquitates anatomicæ rariores » , was a prophecy of the work to which his life was to be devoted. On graduation, he became Professor Joseph Julius Czermak's assistant (« famulus ») and, later, became also the curator of the

museum. He added valuable treasures to the museum by the preparations which he made for it. As a student, he set-up a little laboratory and dissecting room in his lodgings, and his injections of anatomical material were greatly admired. He took advantage of his post in the museum to give special courses in anatomy to students and in practical anatomy to physicians. These courses were numerous attended.

In 1837, when he was only 26, Hyrtl was offered the professorship of anatomy at the University of Prague and, by his work there, laid the foundation of his great reputation as a teacher of anatomy. There, he completed his well-known text-book of human anatomy, which went through some 20 editions and has been translated into several languages. The chair of anatomy at Vienna fell vacant in 1845. Satisfied with the opportunities for work at Prague, he would not have applied for the post but for the insistence of his friends. He was immediately elected. 5 years later, he published his « Hand-book of Topographic Anatomy » , the first text-book of applied anatomy of its kind ever issued. Before his death, he was to see this department of anatomy become one of the most important portions of the teaching in the medical schools of the world. It was as a teacher that Hyrtl did his great work. Professor Karl von Bardeleben, himself one of the great teachers of the 19th Century, did not hesitate to say that, in this, Hyrtl was unequalled. His fame spread throughout Europe, and he came to be looked upon as the special glory of the University of Vienna. In 1858, he was visited by George Eliot and her partner.

In her journal, she wrote :

« Another great pleasure we had in Vienna (next after the sight of St. Stephen's and the pictures) was a visit to Hyrtl, the anatomist, who showed us some of his wonderful preparations, showing the vascular and nervous systems in the lungs, liver, kidneys, and intestinal canal of various animals. He told us the deeply interesting story of the loss of his fortune in the Vienna Revolution of 1848. He was compelled by the revolutionists to attend on the wounded for 3 days' running. When, at last, he came to his house to change his clothes, he found nothing but 4 bare walls ! His fortune in Government bonds was burned along with the house, as well as all his precious collection of anatomical preparations, etc. He told us that, since that great shock, his nerves have been so susceptible that he sheds tears at the most trifling events, and has a depression of spirits which often keeps him silent for days. He only received a very slight sum from Government in compensation for his loss. »

In 1865, on the occasion of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the foundation of the university, he was chosen rector in order that, as the most distinguished member of the university, he should represent her on that day. His inaugural address as rector had for its subject « The Materialistic Conception of The Universe of Our Time » .

In this, he argued that there was clear lack of logic in the materialistic view of the world and concluded :

« When I bring all this together, it is impossible for me to understand on what scientific grounds is founded this resurrection of the old materialistic view of the world that had its first great expression from Epicurus and Lucretius. Nothing that I can see justifies it, and there is no reason to think that it will continue to hold domination over men's minds. »

In 1880, there was a magnificent celebration of Hyrtl's 70th birthday, when messages of congratulation were sent to him from all the universities of the world. After retiring from his professorship, he continued to do good work, his last publication being on « Arabic and Hebraic elements in anatomy ». On the morning of 17 July 1894, he was found dead in bed at his estate in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna.

His monograph for the reform of anatomical terminology, « Onomatologia Anatomica » (Vienna, 1880) , attracted widespread attention.

...

Josef Hyrtl was born in the Hungarian village of Kismarton (now, Eisenstadt) . When he was 3 years old, the family moved to Vienna, where Joseph became a choir-boy at the Palace Chapel and a student at the State boarding-school. He studied medicine at the University of Vienna and, because of his interest in comparative anatomy, he was appointed prosector at the university, in 1833. A few years later, Hyrtl earned his doctorate with a dissertation on the history of medicine. He emphasized the need for anatomical instruction with a clinical orientation. He considered physiological experiments on animals to be unproductive. In 1837, he was named professor of anatomy at the University of Prague. He returned to Vienna in 1845 to join the faculty at the University of Vienna.

Hyrtl's best-known work was his 1846 « Hand-book of Human Anatomy » , a text-book on anatomical structure and function that contained no illustrations because Hyrtl had provided his students with drawings at each lecture. He was an impressive lecturer with a histrionic approach. It was said that he spoke like the Roman orator Cicero (106 to 43 B.C.) and wrote like the German literary critic Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) . The book emphasized material of most importance to practitioners but also contained entertaining historic and etymological digressions. It underwent 22 editions and was translated into virtually every major language. In 1847, Hyrtl published his « Hand-book of Topographical Anatomy » , which was translated into several languages. He stated that this book introduced topographical anatomy to the German-speaking world and made it an independent discipline. He also published a « Manual of Dissection » and a « Manual on Corrosion Anatomy » .

Hyrtl was an excellent technical anatomist and prosector. He developed a virtual monopoly on the production and sale of special anatomical preparations. His corrosion preparations were made by injecting vessels and bone cavities with a stiffening material and, then, destroying the surrounding soft tissue or bone. He also described the comparative anatomy of the inner-ear, beginning with the mouse and progressing to the elephant. An epitympanic recess, where the head of the « malleus » and the inner-part of the « incus » are located, was given his name : Hyrtl recess. Corrosion specimens of the human labyrinth led to the histological description of the terminal auditory apparatus in the « cochlea » by one of his students, Italian anatomist Alfonso Corti (1822-1876) .

Hyrtl developed and expanded the famous Anatomical Museum at the University of Vienna and was declared the honorary Rector for the 500th anniversary celebration of the university, in 1864. His irascible and ambitious nature isolated him from his professional colleagues, however, and his haughty manner and contempt for physiological experimentation alienated him from other professors. He became embittered and retired in 1874. He spent the next 20

years working on publications in Perchtoldsdorf (near Vienna) . Despite his lack of anatomical discoveries, Hyrtl was considered the most effective teacher of anatomy in the 19th Century.

Hyrtl founded an orphanage in Mödling (about 8 miles southwest of Vienna) and made it the heir to the fortune amassed from the sale of his anatomical preparations and textbooks. He also supported a boarding-school and a church, as well as providing endowments to deserving medical students. His famous collection of 139 human skulls from 22 different countries, his corrosion preparations of various placentas, and an elaborate exhibit of the organs of hearing were given to the Mutter Museum of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Hyrtl died in Perchtoldsdorf, on July 14th, 1894, aged of 83. He was honoured on stamps issued by Austria, in 1937 and 1984.

...

Josef Hyrtl earned an international reputation as a technical anatomist. In the mid-19th Century, the field of medicine depended heavily on anatomical discoveries, and Hyrtl's work was key to medical progress. Hyrtl was a lifelong academic, but the money he earned from producing anatomical supplies made him rich.

Hyrtl was born in Kismarton, Hungary, which is now part of Austria, and studied medicine in Vienna, serving as prosector (one who performs dissections for anatomical demonstrations) for the anatomist Joseph Berres. While he was still a student, Hyrtl taught anatomy to practitioners in the community. When he completed his doctorate, in 1835, his dissertation advocated the study of anatomy and clinical instruction, seeing no value in conducting physiological experiments on animals. Hyrtl continued as prosector for another 2 years before accepting an anatomy professorship in Prague. In 1845, Hyrtl returned to teach anatomy at his « alma mater » in Vienna. He was awarded the teaching position that became vacant on the death of his old teacher, Berres. Hyrtl added to the demonstration collections, published frequently on his areas of research and taught applied anatomy to physicians.

Hyrtl published his first book, « Hand-book of Human Anatomy » , in 1846, and, well-received, being translated into all of the major languages and eventually went to 20 editions. Hyrtl reasoned that he had already provided his students with sketches and drawings at every lecture, so the book had no illustrations. The text focused on anatomical structure and function, which were most important to the practitioner.

In 1847, Hyrtl published the widely read « Hand-book of Topographical Anatomy » , which organized the study of anatomy by region of the body. This text introduced topographical anatomy in Germany and established it as a separate discipline.

Hyrtl produced and sold specialized anatomical preparations that were used by scientists and all major anatomical museums. To better study anatomical structure, he used a preparation to inject vessels and bone cavities with a material that made them stiff. He, then, destroyed the adjacent bones or soft tissue. The technique enabled Hyrtl to study comparative anatomy across different species. Hyrtl's primary interest was anatomy, so, he left the study of

tissues to others. In 1860, Hyrtl published a manual on dissection and his text on corrosive anatomy came-out in 1873. In his academic career, Hyrtl also improved and expanded the Anatomical Museum although the work was interrupted by political unrest in the 1850's.

During his tenure in Vienna, Hyrtl grew distant from his colleagues, who complained about his strong ambition and irritability. During the 30 years Hyrtl spent on the Viennese medical faculty, he was never chosen to serve as dean, a reflection on his strained relations with colleagues. In the lecture hall, Hyrtl had a flair for drama and liked to draw together concepts from history, scientific terminology, surgery and physiology. His students enjoyed the unusual approach, and Hyrtl's lectures were always well attended. In the academic year 1864-1865, the year of the university's 500th anniversary, Hyrtl was asked to serve as rector.

Hyrtl was primarily interested in bone structure and the circulation of blood. He wrote about the characteristics of blood vessels in birds and amphibians and how these differed from human veins and arteries. In his comparative anatomy research, Hyrtl looked at patterns in veins, and the structure of the portal vein of the adrenal gland. He was interested in the role of cartilage in the knee, and the design of the hip-joint.

When Hyrtl examined non vascular hearts, his theories about coronary arteries conflicted with those of physiology professor Ernst von Brücke, leading to a bitter dispute. Although Hyrtl's hypotheses were later verified, the conflict wore him down. Hyrtl's comparative anatomy research of the ear led him to a previously unreported muscle of the « incus » which lay in an area which came to be known as Hyrtl's recess.

Hyrtl left the university in 1874, a little ahead of the customary retirement age, and spent the next 20 years writing about the history of anatomical terminology. Through the sale of his anatomic preparations, Hyrtl accumulated a substantial amount of money. After his death in his Perchtoldsdorf Villa, near Vienna, Hyrtl's fortune was given to deserving medical students, an orphanage, a boarding-school, and a church.

...

While a medical student in Vienna, Josef Hyrtl learned methods for anatomical studies that involved injection and corrosion. This consists of injecting blood vessels or other open organs with coloured substances that solidify, then corroding away the organic tissue with acid. What remains is a 3 dimensional replicate of the vessels' networks. Hyrtl's skill at preparing whole organs, and his investigations of the resulting preparations, provided significant insight on the anatomy of humans and other animals. He also produced small injected and corroded specimens for microscopical investigations, which were in high-demand during his lifetime. Hyrtl's sets of microscopical preparations are very rarely encountered today.

Although Brian Bracegirdle, in his « Microscopical Mounts and Mounters » , dismissed Hyrtl's work as having « very little scientific worth » , one can argue that the 3 dimensional injection-corrosion specimens of Hyrtl and others provide an understanding of anatomy that cannot be easily discerned from thin-section preparations.

For example, a contemporary of Hyrtl's noted :

« His preparations, famous for many years, demonstrate by coloured material injected through some of the principal arteries the presence of the microscopic arteries and veins accompanying the lacteal vessels in the minute intestinal papillæ. By the same means, he demonstrated in 1874 the presence of a vascular net in the cornea of the eye, and after many ineffectual attempts, he succeeded in filling the arteries and veins of an infant 8 days old from the umbilical vein with colouring matter so perfectly as to reach and penetrate the minute arteries and veins of both corneæ. »

Josef Hyrtl was born on 7 December 1810, in Kismarton, Hungary (now : Eisenstadt, Austria) . Soon afterward, he and his family moved to Vienna. There, his father played oboe in the Orchestra of Nicholas II, Prince Esterházy. Young Josef became a choir-boy for the Palace Chapel. He also received education at the government boarding-school.

He began studying medicine at the University of Vienna in 1831. While a student, he became a prosector in anatomy, assisting the professor of anatomy, Joseph Berres. This job required Hyrtl to prepare specimens for lectures, etc. , and Berres taught him well. After graduating in 1835, Hyrtl stayed on as prosector with Berres for another 2 years. A London review of Berres' 1836 « Anatomie der Mikroskopischen Gebilde des Menschlichen Körpers » raved about the skills of Berres and Hyrtl in preparing specimens and using the microscope to precisely investigate anatomical structures :

« Without anatomy, there can be no physiology ; this is now an old truth. But it is only comparatively recently that it has become generally acknowledged that there can be no rational account given of the functions of any part until the structure of its tissues is thoroughly known. Who, for example, would attempt to explain the action of the lymphatics in digestion without being familiarly acquainted with the texture of the parts, suitably injected and microscopically examined ? Can the secretions of any membrane, gland, or organ, be even plausibly accounted for, without an accurate demonstration of the parts concerned ? The value of microscopic investigation has long been admitted ; but not universally. The sceptics have always been in the majority : they have refused to believe what they had not themselves an opportunity of seeing ; and, in some instances, they have refused to see what, if acknowledged as real, would overturn their theories. (...) With the compound microscope of Ploßl (an artist whom he praises in the highest-terms) , (Berres) was enabled to appreciate the excellence of these, but, at the same time, to see that they were far from being perfect. (...) His present criterion of the excellence of a preparation suited for microscopical purposes is this - to be able to distinguish the anastomosis of all the vessels even in the minutest twigs, and to discern their perfect detachment or separation from the surrounding organic matter. Every vessel is to be traceable continuously and without interruption through its entire course. How he and his assistant Doctor Hyrtl manage to effect these exquisite preparations is fully-explained. »

In 1837, Hyrtl was appointed professor of anatomy at the University of Prague. His training with Berres, and subsequent refinement of his skills, led to Hyrtl's Classic text-book on human anatomy, « Lehrbuch der Anatomie des Menschen » . It was subsequently republished in over 20 editions and translated into many languages. His injection specimens continued to grow in esteem : an 1842 article stated that « those of Lieberkühn in particular (...) are,



notwithstanding all our modern improvements, some of the finest injections in existence ; they are only equaled by those of our esteemed friend, Professor Hyrtl, of Prague » .

He moved back to Vienna in 1845, to take the late Doctor Berres' position as professor of anatomy at the University of Vienna. Another book destined to be a Classic, « Handbuch der Zergliederungskunst » (Hand-book of Topographic Anatomy) , was published there in 1860. Many other important books and papers followed. Hyrtl's efforts as a teacher and writer had significant impact on the importance of studying anatomy in medical school.

Hyrtl also became a tourist destination. In 1856, the author George Elliot described :

« Another great pleasure we had at Vienna (next after the sight of St. Stephen's and the pictures) was a visit to Hyrtl, the anatomist, who showed us some of his wonderful preparations, showing the vascular and nervous systems in the lungs, liver, kidneys, and intestinal canal of various animals. »

Acknowledging Hyrtl's world-wide fame, he was appointed Rector of the University of Vienna in time for their 500th anniversary, in 1865. He served for that academic year.

For many years, Hyrtl made his injected-corroded specimens available to other investigators. These sales appear to have been largely through private contacts, although he did display at expositions. He earned a Gold Medal at the 1862 London Exposition.

A report of the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition stated :

« The anatomical preparations exhibited by Professor Hyrtl, of Vienna, are (...) remarkable (...) If the manner of preparing them is not entirely new, they are at least prepared with an astonishing skill, parts generally considered inaccessible to the scalpel being beautifully dissected. These pieces are quite worthy of the great reputation of their author. The labyrinths of the ear of different mammiferous animals exhibited by " Herr " Hyrtl are some of the most curious and difficult things the anatomist can prepare. »

After the 1867 Paris Exposition, American « The Medical Record » noted :

« Hyrtl's magnificent anatomical museum has been purchased by an American College for \$ 8,000, it having been offered for sale at the Paris Exposition. Hyrtl is the Professor of Anatomy at Vienna, and, from personal observation, we are prepared to testify to its value. What college has the treasure ? »

The fate of another of Hyrtl's collections is known. In 1874, the Mutter Museum of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, acquired his collection of 139 human skulls.

The museum's description :

« His work was an attempt to counter the claims of phrenologists, who held that cranial features were evidence of intelligence and personality and that racial differences caused anatomical differences. Hyrtl's aim in collecting and studying the skulls was to show that cranial anatomy varied widely in the Caucasian population of Europe. Each skull is mounted on a stand, and many skulls are inscribed with comments about the person's age, place of origin, and cause of death. »

In 1873, Hyrtl published both a catalogue of his available works and a book describing his methods, « Die Corrosions-Anatomie und Ihre Ergebnisse » .

George Huntington, and probably others, lamented that Hyrtl's methods book lacked sufficient detail to replicate his works :

« It is curious to note that the secrecy with which (Frederick) Ruysch surrounded his method of preparing corrosions seems to have been imitated to a greater or less extent by his successors. It is a matter of regret that the information which Hyrtl gives on the composition of the mass in his large work on " Corrosion-Anatomie " is so unsatisfactory. Personally, I look back on much time and material expended in fruitless attempts at following his instructions. In spite of the utmost care, we have found it impossible to obtain even moderately successful permanent corrosions with the mass recommended by him. »

Nonetheless, some details of Hyrtl's methods can be ascertained. He stated that the colours for his « masses » (the waxy substances that are injected) were purchased as fine paint powders from artist supply-shops. Colours were chosen for their visual impact :

A visitor is quoted as declaring :

« Mais ce ne sont pas des préparations anatomiques, ce sont des bijoux. »

(« These are not anatomical preparations - they are jewelry. »)

Hyrtl followed that anecdote with the statement :

« And he was right. »

In the corrosion step, Hyrtl wrote :

« I only use hydro-chloric acid. I have never tried nitric acids, since I do not pre-suppose them from the very beginning, to leave certain colours, like the sulphurides and the carbonic salts, unchanged. Concentrated hydro-chloric acid destroys the parenchymes so quickly that a smaller preparation can be washed-out in 2 to 3 days. If we wait a few more days, very voluminous and hard organs, such as the large animal-livers, will be thoroughly corroded. Only whole parts of the body, which contain many bones, e.g. , heads, feet, hands, take a long time. For very small organs

often already a couple of hours. Whole bodies of fish and amphibians are corroded in much more rapid time than those of warm-blooded animals. »

...

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was buried in a common grave. And like most graves of the time, his was eventually cleared to make way for new bodies. Supposedly, the grave-digger at this particular cemetery, St. Marx's in Vienna, was a music-lover who made a note of where Mozart's body was buried. And when the grave was cleared in 1801, he took it as a souvenir.

The skull was later passed around among various Viennese before landing in the hands of famed anatomist Joseph Hyrtl, who attached a red label describing its origin to the top of the cranium. Hyrtl may also have been the one who added a note on the skull's right temporal bone : « musa vetat mori » (the muse prevents death) - a poignant line from Horace.

### Meißner's entry on moving

**December 1894** : Anton Meißner's entry in Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar :

« (Belvedere) Inspector (Eduard) Henrich / Fireman Würfl / Key z. / Former apartment / (Wilhelm von) Wartenegg Custos (curator) » plus floor-plan of an apartment.

### Wilhelm von Wartenegg

The writer, art-historian, art-collector, and military officer, Wilhelm von Wartenegg (pseudonym : Wilhelm Wehm) , was born on 24 June 1839 in Vienna ; and died on 13 October 1914 in Vienna. Wartenegg studied at the Faculty of Philosophy of Vienna University and at the Academy of Fine-Arts. In 1866, as an officer of the Uhlán 4th Regiment, he was part of the military campaign against Bohemia and came to Vienna in 1874 as a lieutenant. There, he was appointed curator of the Imperial Art Gallery at Belvedere Palace in 1878. In 1891, on order of the City of Vienna, he wrote the Festival's official poem celebrating the Centenary of Mozart's death. Wartenegg maintained contact with Franz Grillparzer, after which he was a disciple.

### Works

Sänger von Rizzio, Trauerspiel (1860) .

Maria Stuart von England, Trauerspiel (1871) .

Rosamunde : Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen, Druck von Oswald Mutze, Leipzig (1873) .

Andreas Paumkircher : Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen, Wien (1878) .

Alt-Österreich : Festspiel für das fünfzigjährige Regierungsjubiläum Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Franz-Josef I. , Selbstverlag, Wien (1898) .

Erinnerungen an Franz Grillparzer. Fragmente aus tagebuchblättern, C. Konegen, Wien (1901) .

Führer durch die Gemälde-Galerie ... (Wien, Selbstverlag der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, 1892) , also by Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Gemäldegalerie, August Schaeffer, and Eduard Engerth.

Führer durch die Gemälde-galerie ... (Wien, Selbstverlage der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, 1896-1904) , also by Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Gemäldegalerie, Gustav Glück, and August Schaeffer.

Zudem veröffentlichte er die Lustspiele Der Ring des Opferdingen (1891) und Deklamationen (1879) sowie den Roman Schloß Winikstein (1884) .

### Wolf talks about an upcoming Bruckner concert

**Letter 141** from Hugo Wolf to Melanie Köchert :

« ... The theatrics usually go-on during the noon-day meal, because in bad weather we don't get together during the other hours of the day. I spend my happiest hours at the splendid Bechstein grand-piano, which has few equals, to be sure. (Richard) Sternfeld wrote me that songs of mine are to be sung at the Berlin Wagner Society at the end of the month and asks me to undertake the accompaniment. But I have no desire to do this at all. If the arrangement with (Rudolf von) Larisch works-out, I'll stay in the country and make every effort to provide for myself honestly. Regarding the Bruckner concert, I don't know now whether it's on the 25th or the 28th. You wrote the number so indistinctly that I have to ask you to clear this up for me. Did I write you that " Elfenlied " and " Feuerreiter " will be performed on December 2nd in Vienna ? All the rest, God willing, in Vienna. Many, many greetings to you and all from your always devoted,

Hugo Wolf. »

### The last sacraments for the second time

**Saturday, 8 December 1894** : Dramatic decline of Anton Bruckner's health for several days. Doctors lose hope. Ignaz Bruckner sends a telegraph from St. Florian. The last sacraments are administered to Bruckner for the second time in his life.

**After Sunday, 9 December 1894** (or after 14 December 1894 ?) : Anton Bruckner recovers almost by miracle ! He

explains his (supernatural) improvement by the intercession of Linz Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger. (The beatification process of Rüdiger commenced on Thursday, 28 February 1895.)

Finally, doctors will allow him to spend Christmas at the monastery of Klosterneuburg.

Doctor Richard Heller, assistant of Doctor Leopold Schrötter, takes-over Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr for the daily visits.

### Beatification of Franz-Josef Rüdiger

The beatification process of Franz-Josef Rüdiger commenced in the Linz diocese in an informative process that Bishop Franz Maria Doppelbauer inaugurated on 28 February 1895 and later concluded in a solemn Mass held on 15 December 1900. Twin rogatory processes were held both in the Diocese of Rome and the Diocese of Brescia from 13 May 1897 until 2 June 1898 while all of Rüdiger's spiritual writings received the approval of theologians as being in line with Christian doctrine on 1 March 1902. The formal introduction to the cause came under Pope Pius X on 6 December 1905 and the late bishop became titled as a « Servant of God » .

An apostolic process was held in Linz that Doppelbauer opened on 8 November 1906 while the same bishop later closed it on 3 July 1903 ; the Congregation for Rites validated this process in Rome on 8 July 1914. A second apostolic process opened in Linz on 15 December 1926 under Bishop Johannes Maria Gföllner and closed later in 1931 ; this also received C.O.R. validation on 14 January 1853 and an ante-preparatory committee later approved the cause and its continuation on 24 November 1964. The Congregation for the Causes of Saints later validated all previous processes on 7 June 2002 and received the official « Positio » dossier from the postulation in 2002.

Theologians voiced their assent to the cause on 30 May 2008 and the cardinal and bishop members of the C.C.S. also voiced their approval for the cause on 20 January 2009. The confirmation of Rüdiger's model Christian life of heroic virtue allowed for Pope Benedict XVI to name Rüdiger as Venerable on 3 April 2009.

The miracle required for his beatification was investigated and then received validation from the C.C.S. on 7 June 2002. The medical board approved this miracle a decade later on 16 December 2010.

The current postulator for this cause is Doctor Andrea Ambrosi.

### Health reports

**Tuesday, 11 December 1894** : Anton Bruckner continues his prayer records (uninterrupted until April 30, 1895) .

**Thursday, 13 December 1894** : According to a (outdated ?) report by the « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » (Number 99, page 6) , Anton Bruckner's health has worsened.

## Vienna academic Wagner Society : Celebration concert

**Friday, 21 December 1894** : Today's special celebration-concert in honour of Anton Bruckner by the Vienna academic Wagner Society is canceled due to the composer's illness. Planned programme : piano-version of the 7th Symphony (WAB 107) to be played by Ferdinand Löwe ; the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) to be conducted by Josef Schalk with the Society's Choir and members of the Vienna « Schubertbund » .

## The Schmied sisters

**Before Christmas 1894 (?)** : Anton Bruckner goes shopping with house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr and gets to know a young girl who works as a laundress. During this same period, he also was in contact with the 2 Schmied sisters.

## Spending Christmas at Klosterneuburg

Bruckner's recovery allows him to spend Christmas at Klosterneuburg Abbey.

**Sunday, 23 December 1894** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Holy Confession. »

**Monday, 24 December 1894** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Heiliges Sakrament der Buße (Holy Sacrament of Repentance) , die Altar (Communion at the altar) .

l. Öhl. (Sacraments of the Dead) . Vollständig Ablaß (completely drained) . »

**Tuesday, 25 December 1894** : Anton Bruckner is unable to play the organ at Klosterneuburg Abbey on Christmas Day due bad swollen feet.

**Wednesday, 26 December 1894** : Anton Bruckner plays the organ (for the last time in his life) during Holy-Mass at Klosterneuburg Abbey. He plays with difficulty the ending-piece because a faulty organ-pedal which creates a harsh dissonance.

## Pleurisy inflammation

**End of December 1894** : After Anton Bruckner returned from Klosterneuburg to Vienna, he suffers from another pleurisy inflammation. A telegraph is sent to his brother Ignaz, in St. Florian. The second attempt to hold a celebration-concert in his honour by the Vienna academic Wagner Society is also canceled.

Ignaz Bruckner will stay in Vienna for 6 weeks to assist house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr in nursing his brother.

Whether Doctor Richard Heller took care of the sick Bruckner after over-coming this new crisis, or **after December 9th, 1894**, needs to be clarified.

### Preparing to move

Afflicted by many respiratory problems, besides having swollen feet, it had now become a very perilous exercise for Anton Bruckner to go to the Imperial Chapel (« Hofburgkapelle ») to attend religious services. The old man had difficulty climbing the stairs of the « Hôtel de France » .

Bruckner's dependence on his personal secretary and confidant, Anton Meißner, continues to grow.

Assisted by Meißner, he makes a list of valuables (ring, watch-chain, golden box, diamond pin) and notes the addresses of his physician, Doctor Richard Heller, and his executor, Doctor Theodor Reisch.

He orders Meißner to throw all the superfluous papers into the open fire, a rigorous act mainly affecting his early manuscripts. It is the customary act by people when moving to other premises, to get rid of each and everything that is no longer valuable, just to minimise the hassle of toil and moil.

(It appears that Meißner kept a part to himself and gave away various manuscripts after Bruckner's death.)

Bruckner decides to offer, as a gift, a copy of the score of the First Symphony in a « hybrid » version (Linz - Vienna) to his friend Karl (Borromäus) Aigner, music teacher at the monastery of St. Florian.

The score of what was to become the Symphony Number « 0 » , which is supposed to be destroyed, finally ends up in the middle of another pile !

The composer did not seem very happy with the discovery, commenting in several places on the score :

« Not valid » , « Only an essay » , « To be discarded » .

And, on the cover-page, he notes :

« Annullierte » (Ø)

### Another quick recuperation

**Tuesday, 1 January 1895** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (Vienna) to Johann Nepomuk Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Anton's quick recuperation (again) astonishes his doctors and gives rise to hope. Ignaz must remain in Vienna for some time. New Year Greetings.

**Saturday, 5 January 1895** : The « Linzer Zeitung » reports on Anton Bruckner's health-condition.

#### Paying the lawyer

**Sunday, 13 January 1895** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner (from October 1894) :

« On January 13th, 1895, must pay 50 Florins to “ Herr ” Lawyer. (Doctor Theodor Reisch ?) »

#### Karl Almeroth writes an article

**Sunday, 13 January 1895** : The « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » (Number 4) reports on page 2 on the improved state of health of Anton Bruckner. Also, Karl Almeroth signed an article entitled : « Bruckners Himmelfahrt » (Bruckner's Ascension) .

#### Hanslick's Memoirs

**Saturday, 19 January 1895** : The morning-edition of the Munich « Allgemeine Zeitung » (Number 19, page 1f) continues its article (undertaken yesterday) on Eduard Hanslick's Memoirs (« Aus meinem Leben ») . Also, Doctor Theodor Billroth comments on Anton Bruckner.

Hanslick's unpaid lectureship at the University of Vienna led in 1870 to a full-professorship in history and æsthetic of music, and later, to a doctorate « honoris causa » .

Hanslick often served on juries for musical competitions and held a post at the Austrian Ministry of Culture and fulfilled other administrative roles.

He retired after writing his memoirs, but still wrote articles on the most important premieres of the day, up to his death in 1904 in Baden, near Vienna. He always signed his articles under the initials « Ed. H. » .

#### Brahms and Hanslick

Johannes Brahms was personally very fond of Eduard Hanslick. In 1887, they even planned to travel to Italy together but eventually made different arrangements.

Writing to Baroness Helene Heldburg in **January 1895** concerning a possible visit by him and Hanslick to Meiningen that autumn, he praised his friend's good and amiable character and his still vigorous enthusiasm for all things attractive and beautiful, and he assured the Baroness that she would like him very much indeed (in the end, however, ill health prevented Hanslick from accompanying Brahms on the trip) .



To Clara Schumann, Brahms wrote that **August**, in connection with Hanslick's approaching 70th birthday :

« I know few persons for whom I feel as deep affection as I do for him. To be so naturally good, well-intentioned, honest, truly modest, and everything else I know him to be, seems to me very fine and very rare. »

Brahms had a further opportunity to proclaim his warm feelings for Hanslick at a birthday luncheon at Viktor von Miller zu Aichholz's house in Gmunden, on **11 September** of the same year. Greatly moved, he paid tribute, in a short speech, to Hanslick's fine personal and intellectual qualities, and declared that while they by no means saw eye-to-eye on all matters and their interests diverged considerably, he had rarely known a more discerning or excellent man.

According to Richard Heuberger, who was among the guests :

« The 2 men wept as they kissed each other. »

### Mathias Salcher & Söhne

**February 1895** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entries :

Unknown hand-writing : « Doktor Theodor Reisch, " Hauptstraße " Number 5, 19th District. »

Anton Meißner's hand-writing (?) : « Anton Meißner, " große Pfarrgasse " Number 9, 1st floor, 2nd District. »

During the day : « Go to Mathias Salcher & Sons, " Werderthorgasse " Number 2a, 1st District. »

Bruckner's hand-writing : « ad oramus Liszt (/) ? ad oramus (/) ? Bread (/) ? Coffee. » (Dietary request ?)

### The Salcher Family

Die Familie Salcher waren österreichische Industrielle, die zwischen 1858 und 1923 die Harlander Coats in St. Pölten gründeten und leiteten. Heute erinnert neben den vielen Gebäuden, die unter ihrer Führung errichtet worden sind, die Salcherstraße in Harland an ihr Wirken.

**Josef Salcher (senior)** wurde am 20. März 1830 als zweiter Sohn Mathias Salchers in Wien geboren und erlernte die Weberei im väterlichen Betrieb. Er übernahm 1859 die Leitung des Werks in Harland. Josef Salcher galt als Wohltäter, er gründete unter anderem die Schule in Stattersdorf. Er verstarb am 15. November 1889.

**Josef Salcher (junior)** wurde als 1. Sohn Josef Salcher seniors am 31. Dezember 1861 in Brunn bei Pyhra geboren. Er übernahm die kaufmännische Leitung der Betriebe in Harland nach dem Tod seines Vaters. Unter seiner Führung wurde die Georgsspinnerei in Ochsenburg gebaut und die Firma in eine Aktiengesellschaft umgewandelt. Er verstarb am 7. April 1920.

**Carl Salcher** wurde 1863 als der 2. Sohn Josef Salcher seniors geboren. Er übernahm nach dem Tod eines Vaters die technische Leitung des Betriebes. Auf seine Initiative hin wurde die St. Pöltner Straßenbahn gegründet, außerdem war er Bürgermeister von Pyhra. Er hatte mit seiner Frau Laura eine Tochter namens Hedwig, die als letzte der Familie Salcher in Harland lebte. Er verstarb am 21. Dezember 1906.

**Ferdinand Salcher** der 3. Sohn Mathias Salchers gründete in Wagstadt (Österreichisch-Schlesien) einen Zweigbetrieb der « Mathias Salcher & Söhne AG » (MASSAG) zur Herstellung von Knöpfen. Er verstarb am 18. August 1889 in Wagstadt.

**Ferdinand Salcher** übernahm zusammen mit seinen Brüdern von seinem Vater Ferdinand Salcher den Zweigbetrieb der « Mathias Salcher & Söhne AG » (MASSAG) in Wagstadt. Er verstarb 1935 in Wagstadt.

...

Mathias Salcher & Söhne, Kaiserlich-Königliche Privilegierten Steinnuss-, Stoff-, Metallknopf-, Ösen- und Schnallen-Fabriken, mechanische Weberei und Appretur.

Die Anfänge des Betriebs reichen in das Jahr 1828 in dem sich der Canevasweber Mathias Salcher in Wien selbständig machte. Die Weberei beschäftigte bereits 1840 rund 20 Gesellen. 1850 importierte Salcher die 1. Patentknopfmaschinen aus Deutschland. Ebenso führte er 1859 die Erzeugung von Eisengarn auf Kärtchen ein. In diesem Jahr traten die Söhne des Gründers als Gesellschafter bei. In weiterer Folge wurden Fabriken in bei St. Pölten und in Wagstadt, Theresienhof, Ober- und Unter-Stattersdorf. Der dort produzierte Harlander Spulenzwirn entwickelte sich zum Exportschlager. 1893 wurde schließlich noch eine Baumwollspinnerei in Ochsenburg errichtet. Die Zahl der beschäftigten Arbeiter stieg auf 3.000. Das Wiener Stammhaus übersiedelte 1878 von das Warenhaus in der Werdertorgasse 2a. Um die Jahrhundertwende umfaßte die Erzeugung Nähmaschinenzwirn, Eisen- und Baumwollstrickgarn, Knöpfe, Schnallen und Ösen. Dazu gehörte auch der Großhandel mit Kurzwaren aller Art. 1894 wurden die Harlander Fabriken abgetrennt und der schwerpunkt auf den Produktionsstandort Wagstadt verlegt. Als Steinnußknopffabrik waren Mathias Salcher & Söhne der größte Produzent der Welt mit Handelsniederlassungen in Europa und Übersee.

### Mathias Salcher

Mathias Salcher was born on 14 July 1803 in Maria Luggau, Carinthia. The son of a peasant, he learned the art of weaving in Passau and moved to Vienna in 1828, where he founded a company that produced ribbons and braids. From 1840, he also produced silk buttons, employing 20 workers. In 1859, he set-up the first iron yarn factory in Austria (Harland near St. Pölten) and his 3 sons became partners. He died on 14 November 1879 in Vienna.

...

Mathias Salcher, Industrieller : geboren 14. Juli 1803 in Maria Luggau (Kärnten) ; gestorben 14. November 1879 in Wien. Bauernsohn, Vater des Industriellen Rudolf Salcher Großvater des Vorigen und des Industriellen Robert Salcher ; erlernte in Passau die Kanevasweberei und arbeitete dann in Wien als Webergeselle. 1828 machte er sich selbständig

und erzeugte Borten und Bänder. 1840 beschäftigte er bereits circa 20 Gesellen und exportierte nach Lombardo-Venetien und dem Kirchenstaat, 1845 erweiterte er sein Tätigkeitsfeld um die Erzeugung von Seidenknöpfen und importierte 1850 die I. Patentknopfmaschinen. 1859 ließ er in Harland bei St. Pölten die I. Eisengarnfabrik in Österreich errichten und machte seine Söhne Rudolf, Josef und Ferdinand Salcher (1833-1889) zu Gesellschaftern seiner Fa. M. S. & Söhne OHG. 1864 wurden in Wagstadt (Bilovec, österreichische Schlesien) die Kaiserlich-Königliche Privilegierten Steinnuß-, Stoff-, Metallknopf-, Ösen- und Schnallenfabriken, eine mechanische Appretur und Weberei errichtet, die Stoff- und Metallknopfproduktion aus Wien wurde dorthin verlegt. 1866 zog er sich ins Privatleben zurück und überließ die Unternehmensleitung seinen Söhnen. Salcher, durch dessen Initiative aus kleinsten Anfängen ein ansehnliches und leistungsfähiges Unternehmen im Textil- und Zubehörbereich entstanden war, wurde vielfach geehrt und ausgezeichnet.

### Anton Meißner's second job

**February 1895** : Anton Meißner is hired by « Mathias Salcher & Söhne », located at « Werderthorgasse » Number 2a.

In Kreuzen, Anton Bruckner got to know the ribbon, braid, and silk button manufacturer from Vienna Mathias Salcher (1803 in Maria Luggau, Carinthia ; 1879 in Vienna) who kept the bad news from him during his hospitalization.

### Upper-Belvedere : The saga of moving

Hans Richter played a part by pleading with the Imperial family on behalf of Anton Bruckner.

Anton Meißner learns that « vacant » custody apartments are for rent at the Upper-Belvedere.

**Before Tuesday, 19 February 1895** : Anton Meißner learns from Father Heribert Witsch, the Belvedere chaplain, that a larger apartment (the gate-keeper's lodge previously occupied by Imperial curator Wilhelm von Wartenegg) is empty there.

**Tuesday, 19 February 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (written by Anton Meißner) to Archduchess Marie Valérie :

Bruckner had already been received twice by Marie Valérie in audience, and now, he turns to her because of the urgency of the situation. He needs a ground-floor apartment because of his heart-disease and dyspnoea. On behalf of Doctor Leopold Schrötter, he asks for an intercession from Emperor Franz-Josef to leave him one of the free-standing custody apartments available at the Upper-Belvedere Palace.

**After Tuesday, 19 February 1895** : Anton Bruckner sends his request (petition) to his confessor Father Graf which, in turn, gives it to priest and Jesuit, Father Heinrich Josef Maria Abel (the « Men's Apostle of Vienna ») who presents it to Archduchess Marie Valérie.

The Archduchess used the « Kustodenstöckl » for a while before she lived with her second cousin Archduke Franz

Salvator at Lichtenegg Palace (« Schloß Lichtenegg ») . On **11 June 1895**, the couple purchased Wallsee Palace (« Schloß Wallsee ») on the Danube River from its then owner, Alfred, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and completely renovated it. When the renovation was finished, a ceremony marking their moving into the new palace was held on **4 September 1897**. There was great celebration of the event in Wallsee due to Valérie's popularity.

The Archduchess was known and loved for her generous involvement in local charitable endeavours. In 1900, she became a patron of the Red Cross, for which she founded hospitals and raised considerable sums of money ; she was also patron of 7 other charities. During World War I, she created a hospital barracks in the castle itself and helped care for the wounded. She was a devout Catholic who also spent much time supporting religious charities and was known to the people as the « Angel of Waldsee » , a region where the ancestors of Anton Bruckner (the Pruckners) lived for Centuries as mere farmers !

In his article, « Bruckner im Belvedere » , Theophil Antonicek explores the documentary material, beginning with Bruckner's letter to the Archduchess Marie Valérie, in **February 1895**, that records his move to accommodation on the Upper-Belvedere, 5 months later.

**Monday, 11 March 1895** : Letter from Baroness Maria Vecsey (Lichtenegg) to Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst :

Her Imperial Highness (Marie Valérie) would be very grateful if the enclosed request (for an apartment) from Anton Bruckner (dated February 19th, 1895) would be granted quite soon. The man is hopelessly ill.

**Spring 1895** : Anton Bruckner's relocation to a new apartment is aggravated by pneumonia. Another telegraph is sent to his brother Ignaz in St. Florian summoning him to return to Vienna at once.

At this time of crisis, Doctor Leopold Schrötter comes personally to visit Bruckner (who is often unconscious) .

The Provost of Klosterneuberg Abbey, Josef Kluger, reports that Bruckner lost interest in the fate of his works.

Anton Meißner visits his beloved Master about every 2 days until around midnight. Bruckner tells him about his life.

**Friday, 22 March 1895** : Letter from the Imperial High-Minister to Baroness Maria Vecsey :

An apartment at the Upper-Belvedere or at Hetzendorf Castle will be provided to Anton Bruckner if his current poor health-condition improves.

**Tuesday, 7 May 1895** : Medical statement by Doctor Leopold Schrötter :

Anton Bruckner has recovered. It is now possible for him to be transported to the Upper-Belvedere apartment (the gate-keeper's lodge) .

**Saturday, 11 May 1895** : Doctor Theodor Reisch presents to law firm director Theodor von Westermayer the medical

statement of Doctor Leopold Schrötter (from 7 May 1895) and ask Westermayer to inform Bruckner of the now possible move.

**Wednesday, 15 May 1895** : Physician Leopold Schrötter and lawyer Theodor Reisch, led by Belvedere inspector Eduard Henrich, visit the gate-keeper's lodge on ground-floor (« Kustodenstöckl ») proposed by Anton Meißner. It will be prepared during the following weeks by order of Emperor Franz-Josef.

**Wednesday, 15 May 1895** : Letter from the Imperial High-Minister to the Belvedere inspector (Eduard Henrich ?) :

Anton Bruckner's request (petition) from 19 February 1895 is granted. The gate-keeper's lodge on ground-floor (« Kustodenstöckl ») was initially allocated for the duration of this summer. Verbal authorization by lawyer Theodor Reisch. Signed authorization by Theodor von Westermayer and Viktor Edler von Horsetzky.

**Wednesday, 5 June 1895** : The « Linzer Tages-Post » reports that Anton Bruckner will get an apartment on the Upper-Belvedere. His health-condition has improved somewhat, and he is working on the Finale of his 9th Symphony.

**Tuesday, 2 July 1895** : Letter (postcard) from landlord Anton Ölzelt junior to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Congratulations on the new apartment ... and the “ new owner ” !

The « Deutsche Volksblatt » reports on Bruckner's health-condition and his resettlement at the Upper-Belvedere.

**After Tuesday, 2 July 1895 ?** : Bruckner writes to Josef Kluger, the Provost of Klosterneuberg Abbey.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to landlord Anton Ölzelt junior :

Bruckner asks for an annual grant which is equivalent to the rent of the « Heßgasse » flat (« Hôtel de France ») .

**Thursday, 4 July 1895** : Anton Bruckner moves from his « Heßgasse » flat to the « Kustodenstöckl » , the gate-keeper's lodge besides the Upper-Belvedere Palace (Vienna, 3rd District, « Prinz-Eugenstraße » Number 27 - « Landstraßer Gürtel » Number 1) . This Imperial secondary residence of 9 rooms was the summit of comfort conceivable in Vienna at the time ! (Bruckner always had the chance to come across « good addresses » .)

« Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr is now assisted by her daughter Ludowika Kutschera to help with the nursing care. « Kathi » and the Imperial carrier Theodor Bindtner (who was chosen by Anton Meißner) oversee the operation together. Dina Henrich (wife of Belvedere inspector Eduard Henrich) becomes witness to Bruckner reactions of joy, curiosity and gratitude to Emperor Franz-Josef and Archduchess Marie Valérie.

Before leaving for good his « Heßgasse » flat, Bruckner says good-bye to Ernestine Korda. He heard she was a bride-to-be in the Mühlviertel. His first (platonic !) love, Josefina Lang, is living in Neufelden. The old man had never given-

up the idea of getting married ...

The same day, Belvedere inspector Eduard Henrich reports to the Imperial High-Minister :

Anton Bruckner has now moved into his new apartment, which had previously been inhabited by Imperial curator Wilhelm von Wartenegg.

Franz-Josef will offer this « grace and favour » residence, free of charge, to Anton Bruckner. The Emperor will even have the delicacy of having daily floral ornaments (freshly cut from the garden) prepared to create a radiant atmosphere.

**After Thursday, 4 July 1895 :**

At the request of Doctor Viktor Boller (judge of the Austrian Court of Appeal and president of the Wagner academic Society) , Belvedere inspector Eduard Henrich took care of Bruckner's wishes. The apartment is enriched by a newly-acquired crucifix. Bruckner retains his way of dressing, and his way of life. The favourable location of the lodge he uses for walks with « Frau Kathi » and Anton Meißner in the beautiful French gardens on the Upper-Belvedere, meeting occasionally acquaintances - for example, the sculptor Viktor Tilgner, and conservatory and university student Karl Kobald.

The Emperor always brings fresh flowers in Bruckner's apartment, as reported by « Herr » Director Josef Stritzko from music-publisher Joseph Eberle.

**Sunday, 7 July 1895 :** Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Kapellmeister » friend Franz Bayer (Steyr) :

Bruckner thanks Bayer for his kindness. The fact that Reverend (Johann Evangelist) Aichinger was working again, was to hope for a speedy recovery. On Thursday (July 4, 1895) he, Bruckner, moved to the Upper-Belvedere. He should not travel to Steyr this year (he needed more strength and breath) . Greetings to all friends.

The French music-magazine « Le Ménestrel » published a short article on Anton Bruckner's recovery and his relocation to the Upper-Belvedere.

**Thursday, 11 July 1895 :** Letter from landlord Anton Ölzelt junior to Anton Bruckner :

Ölzelt is honoured to continue to be Bruckner's beloved landlord. He will send directly to him the « interest fee » from his « Heßgasse » flat at « Hôtel de France » .

**Sunday, 14 July 1895 :** The « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » (Volume 41, Number 56, 1895) reports on page 4 :

Anton Bruckner had moved into the new apartment on the Upper-Belvedere and is working on the 9th Symphony. The final draft of the Finale is already designed.

**Monday, 15 July 1895** : The « Linzer Montags-Post » reports that Emperor Franz-Josef provided Anton Bruckner an apartment on the Upper-Belvedere.

**Friday, 9 August 1895** : Letter from the Imperial High-Minister to the Belvedere inspector (Eduard Henrich ?) :

The Upper-Belvedere apartment should be left to Anton Bruckner for as long as he intends to use it.

**Wednesday, 14 August 1895** : The « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » Number 91 (1895) reports on page 370 :

Anton Bruckner received an Imperial apartment on the Upper-Belvedere, which was announced to him by Archduchess Marie Valérie in person.

Max Graf :

Franz-Josef played an especially beautiful role in the life of Anton Bruckner, who was his Court organist. The Emperor provided funds for the publication of the 3rd and 8th Symphonies of Bruckner. Since the composer was growing old, Franz-Josef gave him a house in the Belvedere Garden. In gratitude for this, Bruckner dedicated his 8th Symphony « to Emperor Franz-Josef » .

### Suicide of the talented brother

Otto Mahler :

Iglau (Jihlava) Primary School for Boys (Number 2-5 « Jostova » Street ; Number 119 « Obere Elkergergasse ») .

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

At the age of 15, Otto Mahler (which is 13 years younger than his brother Gustav) was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory but left of his own volition early in 1892. His sister Justine and Natalie Bauer-Lechner kept the news from Gustav, who was furious.

In 1894, Gustav made efforts 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.

By early 1895, Justine was hearing « unpleasant » news :

« Otto is alarmingly thin ; in the course of this, I can't help thinking of Hans Rott, and there one can't do anything. »

**Wednesday, 6 February 1895** : Back in Vienna, Otto, aged 21, whose capriciousness caused Gustav much pain and unneeded expense, and whom Mahler once said was « a man of great talent, far more gifted than I » , commits

suicide by shooting himself in the head with a revolver in the apartment of his and Mahler's friend Nina Spiegler (Nina Lipiner-Hoffmann-Matscheko) .

Otto's motivation remains unknown, though the « *Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt* » speculated about a « matter of the heart » . According to Gustav's widow Alma, Otto's suicide-note stated that life no longer pleased him, so he « handed back his ticket » .

Gustav's reaction is not recorded in any of his letters.

« I also had a brother who was like me a musician and a composer. A man of great talent, far more gifted than I. He died very young (...) alas (...) alas ! He killed himself in the prime of life. »

(Gustav Mahler in conversation with Czech composer Josef Bohuslav Færster.)

At the time of his death, Otto was in possession of an autograph of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony ; this, along with certain of his other effects (including his compositions and, perhaps, Mahler's letters to him) , passed into the hands of his brother Gustav (apparently in a locked trunk that Gustav never opened) , and thence to the collection of his widow Alma. The bulky Bruckner manuscript was one of the very few possessions carried in her back-pack during her daring 1940 escape over the Pyrenees with her third husband, writer Franz Werfel, avoiding Vichy, France, border patrols. The trunk was destroyed when a bomb hit Alma Mahler's house towards the end of the Second World War. According to Alma, Mahler had been afraid to open it.

Otto Mahler's music remains unpublished and is apparently uncatalogued. No recent performances are known ; indeed, the very survival of the scores is currently uncertain.

According to Bruno Walter-Schlesinger, Otto left behind 2 Symphonies, parts of which had been played and « ridiculed » by the public, and an almost-complete third, in addition to lieder : some with orchestra and some with piano. His music vanishes when Alma's house is damaged during the bombing of Vienna in World War II.

It seems entirely possible that Gustav Mahler's support of Bruno Schlesinger, at this time, is a transference of his desire to see Otto succeed, since they are so close in age ; but Mahler doesn't think very highly of Schlesinger's compositions and, so, in his opinion, Schlesinger's abilities are purely recreative. Mahler will also, later, find in Arnold Schönberg a gifted composer of his brother's generation to whom he can provide assistance.

### Mahler conducts Bruckner

**Monday, 18 February 1895** : Gustav Mahler conducts the « Romantic Symphony » (**WAB 104**) during a subscription-concert at the Hamburg « Stadttheater » . It is the first time he ever conducted one of Bruckner's works.

Rumours about Mahler's possible departure from Hamburg were coloured by gossip about his love-affair with the soprano Anna von Mildenburg, who joined the Opera House for the 1895's season.



### Hugo Wolf shooting birds

In the case of Hugo Wolf, a neurasthenic prodromal phase seems likely. While he composed the score of his Opera « Der Corregidor » in 1895, he was extremely sensitive to any noise. It is reported that he shot and killed singing birds (Frank Walker, 1968) . Although Wolf had hoped that his Opera would have been performed in Vienna, Berlin, or Prague, he had to accept that, with the promotion of his good friends in southern Germany, « Der Corregidor » was set on stage in Mannheim. During the rehearsals, he was unpleasant and spoke of the musicians as « idiots one cannot work with » , and wrote to Melanie Köchert that « the whole gang (...) was incapable » . Though the premiere was a success, however, only one further performance followed in Mannheim (Robert Hemried, 1940) .

### Reducing the milk diet

**Around March - April, 1895** : With the improvement of Bruckner's condition, Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger, assistant of Leopold Schrötter, decides to reduce the milk diet. Bruckner is so happy that he even offers the dedication of his 9th Symphony to Eisenmenger.

Bruckner's vital piety changed into existential concern, which required documented control. At the time, the intention of dying was unconsidered.

### Working on « Der Corregidor »

With the success of Engelbert Humperdinck's « Hänsel und Gretel » in December 1894, Hugo Wolf's Opera fever reached a new crisis. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's short-novel « El sombrero de tres picos » (The three-cornered Hat) began to dominate his mind. He rejected a version prepared by Franz Schaumann, Chairman of the « Wagner-Verein » and enthused instead over the previously despised libretto of « Frau » Rosa Mayreder, entitled « Der Corregidor » . Its merits are disputable ; but this text indubitably now began to fertilize Wolf's long-dormant creative genius. As before, there was a period of winter gestation followed by spring-time labour.

The day before his 35th birthday, Hugo Wolf began the work of composition, the long, arid period of blocked creativity finally over. Early in **April 1895**, he moved to Perchtoldsdorf, again seeking solitude, and threw himself « like a madman » (working daily, from dawn to dusk) into the composition of his first and only completed Opera, moving to the Lipperheide « Château » in Brixlegg in **May** when the Werners returned to their summer-home.

On **April 26, 1896**, Wolf wrote to his friend Judge Oskar Grohe :

« If the work is not definitely to be performed on **May 22** but only on **May 31**, I shall not appear at the premiere. I wish to be notified before **May 12**. »

The demand, so emphatically expressed by Hugo Wolf, that his Opera had to be performed on **May 22** without fail and not a mere 9 days later, is connected to the fact that the birthday of his beloved Richard Wagner fell on **May 22**. Without regard for whether this was compatible with the technical preparations for the premiere of the Opera, Wolf

entrusted his go-between with a dictatorial demand to the director of the Mannheim Theatre that was simply impossible to fulfill. « Der Corregidor » could be staged neither on **May 22** nor even on the date proposed by the theatre (**May 31**), but only on **June 7**. Fortunately, Grohe seems to have recognized that passing on Wolf's completely unjustified demand to the Intendant Bassermann would have led to its certain rejection and, perhaps, even to a serious conflict with the management of the Mannheim Theatre. So, he intervened and managed to pacify the composer who, even then, was no longer in complete control of his senses.

By **July 9**, the whole 4 Act Opera was complete in piano score. In 9 months of feverish work, Wolf composed and orchestrated the entire Opera, which he designated as an « Opera » rather than a « Comic Opera ». The sufferings caused by adulterous passion were not, as he knew to his cost, comic at the core. The Opera was offered, unsuccessfully, to Vienna, Berlin and Prague. Wolf had quarrelled with Schott and, therefore, the score was printed by Karl Heckel in Mannheim - with some help from Grohe.

**Monday, 7 October 1895** : Autograph letter (correspondence-card) from Hugo Wolf sent to his friend and staunch advocate the pianist Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg, concerning his first (and only) Opera « Der Corregidor » :

« I have received your package. I shall send you the missing material from the 2nd Act shortly. I am working just now on the instrumentation of the intermezzo - i.e., on the transition to the transformation.

The Association has sent me an agreement form and their Rules. Having read them only with difficulty because of their clumsy style, and having finally worked-out that you have to pay all sorts of percentages and commissions to these people and constantly take on obligations that are out of all proportion to what the Association has to offer, I have decided that I will not be joining that club. Are you familiar with the Rules ? If not, I can send them to you. I still have not heard anything from Muck. That is typical of him !

I have frightfully little time, because the work is demanding so much of me. I had terrible difficulties in the 2nd Act. The Lipperheides are coming today or tomorrow. »

### The first monograph

**Monday, 8 April 1895** : Anton Bruckner receives a copy of his first printed monograph (« Dr. Anton Bruckner. Ein Lebensbild. », Dr. Anton Bruckner : A Biographical Sketch), written by his Vienna University student Franz Brunner. « Dr. Anton Bruckner, Ein Lebensbild », « erlag des Oberösterreichischen Volksbildungsvereins », Linz (1895) ; 43 pages - reprinted : « Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft », Vienna (1974) .

The monograph contains a poem entitled « Auserkoren » by Karl Teutschmann. For the occasion, the Austrian photographer Camillo Ichzenthaler (born on 10 July 1849 in Linz - working for the « Atelier » of F. Vismara, located on « Altstadt » Number 17, corner of « Klosterstraße », in Linz) as provided a studio picture of Bruckner. (Whether the book was already available at this time is currently unknown.)

**Sunday, 12 May 1895** : Vienna university student Franz Brunner's monograph on Anton Bruckner is officially released in Linz on opening-day of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the foundation of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » which culminates with the unveiling of a memorial plaque on the side of the old school of Ansfelden (Anton Bruckner's birth place which is now a museum) . But Bruckner is too ill to attend in person. He asks his brother Ignaz (who still lives in St. Florian) to replace him for the occasion. However, the composer will have the delicacy to send an official letter of thanks to the organizing committee.

The inscription reads :

To their honorary member,  
the famous composer  
Doctor Anton Bruckner  
Knight of the Franz-Josef Order,  
Imperial Court organist, lecturer  
at the Imperial University of Vienna,  
Honorary Citizen of Linz,  
born in this house, on September 4th, 1824  
the choral Society « Frohsinn » of Linz  
dedicates this plaque.

**May 1895**

**Sunday, 21 July 1895** : The « Ischler Wochenblatt » Number 29 announces on page 3, supplement 1, that Vienna university student Franz Brunner's small biography (brochure) on Anton Bruckner was released in Linz on May 12th, opening-day of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the foundation of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » which culminated with the unveiling of a memorial plaque on the side of the old school of Ansfelden.

**Sunday, 1 September 1895** : The « Neue Musikalische Presse » reports that university student Franz Brunner has published in Linz a biographical brochure on the Austrian composer Anton Bruckner.

Also by Brunner :

« Musikleben in Linz » , article published in the « Linzer Tages-Post » (1899) .

« Der Linzer Musikverein in den Jahren 1821-1901 » (1901) .

« Dr. Anton Bruckner » , article published in the « Deutscher Volkskalender » (1915) .

**Meißner stays after midnight**

**Saturday, 13 April 1895** (Holy Saturday) : Anton Meißner visits Anton Bruckner and stays with him after midnight. Bruckner thinks of St. Florian and of the Easter song sung there (probably in connection with the Finale of the 9th

Symphony) .

### The stubborn Bruckner

**Around 14 (Easter Sunday) - 15 (Easter Monday) April 1895** : Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger prevents Anton Bruckner of spending Easter in St. Florian. He is not able to attend the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , in Linz.

But because of the improvement of his condition, Eisenmenger allows him to go outside. But Bruckner rejects the offer because he is still not allowed to go to church.

The mayor of Vienna Doctor Raimund Grübl sends to Bruckner several ducats (gold or silver coins) in a case as an Easter present. Bruckner then bought a crucifix in a shop on « Stephansplatz » .

**April - May 1895** : Because of Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger's illness, Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr takes over the medical visits with Anton Bruckner.

### Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger

The Austrian laryngologist Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger was born on 29 January 1864 in Vienna ; and died on 11 December 1932 at the Hera Sanatorium in Vienna (9th District) . He was 67.

Victor Eisenmenger was the son of Emma Singer von Wyszogurska (1841-1907) and August Eisenmenger (1830-1907) , who was an accomplished Austrian painter of portraits and historical subjects and professor at the Academy of Fine-Arts of Vienna. Victor had 2 brothers : Ewald, who became a « Hofrechnungsrat » (civil servant of the financial administration) in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and Hugo, who moved to the United States becoming a well-known electrical engineer in New York. He married Anna Hoberg (1874-1944) and had 2 daughters, Anna, who became a talented sculptress, and Hilde, who was an accomplished tennis player. Victor followed his studies in Vienna. He attended the « Akademisches Gymnasium » , one of the oldest secondary schools in Austria. In the academic year of 1881-1882, he began his medical studies at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Vienna, obtaining his medical degree on February 23, 1889. Between 1889 and 1890, he was Assistant Physician in the 2nd Medical Department of the Vienna General Hospital (« Wiener Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») ; from 1890 to 1893, he worked as Surgical Assistant at the first Surgical Clinic of Professor Eduard Albert (1841-1900) , a Czech surgeon and innovator in orthopaedic surgery. Finally, after 1894-1895, he was appointed Assistant to Professor Leopold Schrötter (1837-1908) , Director of the 3rd Medical Clinic in Vienna, a well-known internist and laryngologist. Eisenmenger became one of his favourite pupils, but, because of his poor health, Schrötter had proposed him for the less rigorous position of personal physician to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand (1863-1914) , who had fallen ill with pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1895, Eisenmenger was appointed « Titular Hofarzt » (titular Court physician) and, 2 years later, « Wirklicher Hofarzt » (real Court physician) to the Archduke. Eisenmenger was elected member of the Society of Physicians in Vienna in 1893, becoming « Hofrat » (Court Councilor) and « Kaiserlich-Königliche Regierungsrat » (Imperial-Royal Senior Government Official) . In December 1901, he gave a lecture on cardiac cirrhosis at a Society meeting that subsequently was published. Eisenmenger

published 8 papers in medical publications between 1893 and 1902 covering tumors of the mouth and pharynx, pseudo-leukemia, and cardio-vascular disorders, the latter including the report that eventually gave birth to Eisenmenger's syndrome. In the late-1920's, he wrote a book describing his observations, travels, and experiences as personal physician to Archduke Francis Ferdinand from 1895 until 1914, when the Archduke and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo, a prelude to World War I.

## Main Achievements in Medicine

### Pathology

In 1897, an article by Doctor Viktor Eisenmenger entitled « Die angeborenen Defecte der Kammerscheidewand des Herzens » (The congenital ventricular septal defects of the heart) appeared in the « Zeitschrift für Klinische Medizin » (Number 32 Supplement ; pages 1-28) . Here, Eisenmenger described a powerfully built man of 32 years with a history of cyanosis and moderate shortness of breath since childhood. The cyanosis increased considerably with effort. He was able to lead an active life until January 1894, when his dyspnea increased and edema set-in. 7 months later, he was admitted to the hospital with heart-failure. Examination revealed marked cyanosis, clubbing of the fingers and toes, thickening of the distal joints, and poly-cythemia. He improved with rest and digitalis, but collapsed and died suddenly on November 13, following a violent hemoptysis. The clinical diagnosis of ventricular septal defect was based on the systolic murmur and thrill in the third and fourth left inter-spaces. At autopsy, a large ventricular septal defect was present with dextroposition of the aorta, over-riding the ventricular septum, and a dilated right ventricle and plaques in the main pulmonary artery. Eisenmenger interpreted the situation as follows : in a ventricular septal defect, the difference in pressure between the left and right ventricles ensured a left-to-right shunt ; the pulmonary circulation was, therefore, over-filled and the systemic circulation under-filled ; and increased stiffness of the lungs hindered ventilation and congestion hampered gaseous exchange. Cyanosis, however, depended more on the poor systemic circulation. He discussed the « riding aorta » at considerable length and concluded that this was caused neither by a congenital fault of rotation nor by the direction of blood flow through the defect, but that it was a more or less inevitable consequence of the position of the defect itself in relation to the normal anatomy of the parts concerned and was more apparent than real. Eisenmenger was unaware that the shunt was reversed in the case he described so carefully, despite his statement that a rise in pulmonary vascular resistance, for example, from multiple thrombi, would equilibrate the pressures in the 2 circulations and so prevent both shunt and murmur. During the years that followed, the anatomy, physiology, and diagnostic features of the abnormalities described in his report became better understood and increasingly relevant to the practice of cardiology. It was during these years that Eisenmenger's name became eponymously attached to this disorder, in particular thanks to the famous Canadian pathologist Maude Abbott (1869-1940) , who attributed the cyanosis of Eisenmenger's case to a right-to-left shunt through the defect on account of the over-riding aorta and ascribed the systolic murmur to the inter-ventricular shunt. She named the disease « Eisenmenger complex » . However, 50 years of cardiology failed to advance Eisenmenger's description, and the general opinion remained opposed to his belief that the over-riding aorta was irrelevant. It was not until the 1940's that everyone accepted his suggestion that obstruction in the pulmonary vascular bed would raise the pulmonary blood pressure and abolish both the left-to-right shunt and the murmur of uncomplicated ventricular septal defect, if pulmonary hypertension at systemic level with bi-directional shunt was demonstrated.

The part played by pulmonary hypertension may be summarized in Arthur Selzer's (1923-1994) words :

« The most characteristic feature of Eisenmenger's complex is the presence of severe pulmonary hypertension. »

According to the cardiologist Paul Hamilton Wood (1907-1962) , today, we distinguish between (1) Eisenmenger complex, which is a pulmonary hypertension with reversed inter-ventricular shunt, and (2) Eisenmenger syndrome, being pulmonary hypertension due to a high pulmonary vascular resistance with reversed or bi-directional shunt at aorta-pulmonary, ventricular, or atrial level.

...

Doktor Viktor Eisenmenger, österreichischer Laryngologe : geboren 29. Januar 1864 in Wien ; gestorben 11. Dezember 1932 in Wien, 9. Bezirk, Sanatorium Hera (wohnhafte 1, Reitschulgasse Nummer 2 ; Ottakringer Friedhof) .

Viktor Eisenmenger promovierte 1889 an der Universität Wien zum Doktor der Medizin. Nach seinem Studium wurde er als Assistent an der Klinik für Laryngologie sowie an der III. Medizinischen Universitäts-Klinik unter Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli zum Facharzt ausgebildet.

Er war Leibarzt Kaiser Franz-Josefs, der Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand und Kaiser Karl sowie Chef des Hofsanitätswesens. Die von ihm erstmals beschriebene Eisenmenger-Reaktion erhielt seinen Namen. Des Weiteren wurden das Eisenmenger-Syndrom und der Eisenmenger-Komplex nach ihm benannt.

...

Nach Studium an der Universität Wien (Doktor der medicinae universae 1889) wurde Viktor Eisenmenger als Assistent an der Klinik für Laryngologie sowie an der III. Medizinischen Universitäts-Klinik unter Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli ausgebildet. Franz-Josef I. , Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand und Karl I. diente er als Leibarzt und war auch Chef des Hofsanitätswesens. 1897 beschrieb er das heute noch seinen Namen tragende Krankheitsbild (« Eisenmenger-Komplex ») « Die angeborenen Defecte der Kammerscheidewand des Herzens » . (Zeitschrift klinische Medizin Nummer 32 (1897) ; Seite 1ff.)

## Werke

Über die plexiformen Sarkome des harten und weichen Gaumens, in : Deutsche Zeitschrift für Chirurgie, Nummer 39 (1894) .

Über die so genannt pericarditische Pseudoleberzirrhose, in : Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift (1900) ; Seite 249.

Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand. Seinem Andenken gewidmet von seinem Leibarzt, Amalthea Verlag, Zürich, Leipzig, Wien (1930) .

## Franz Marschner's application

**Monday 22 April 1895** : Letter from Joseph Ritter von Karabacek to Anton Bruckner :

Karabacek sends Franz (Ludwig) Marschner's qualification as university lecturer to Bruckner and asks for his opinion.

(Marschner studied counterpoint with Bruckner in Vienna, from 1883 to 1885.)

**Tuesday, 30 April 1895** : Anton Bruckner's hand-written report on Franz Marschner's qualification as university lecturer.

Letter from Anton Bruckner (probably written by his secretary Anton Meißner) to the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna :

« In response to the question of April 22nd, “ Herr ” Bruckner submits to you the attached report on Franz Marschner's qualification. »

Bruckner concluded that teaching harmony and counterpoint required a much more thorough preparation than demonstrated by Marschner with his 2 proposed musical pieces.

**Wednesday, 15 May 1895** : At a Commission meeting of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna, Dean Joseph von Karabacek reads Anton Bruckner's statement (dated April 30th, 1895) . Councilor Heinrich von Zeißberg regrets that Bruckner did not comment the 2 musical pieces submitted by Franz Marschner. Councilor Robert von Zimmermann thinks that Bruckner's letter « does not represent the opinion of an expert ... »

### Franz Ludwig Marschner

The teacher, composer, musician, music theorist and philosophical writer Franz Ludwig Marschner was born on 26 March 1855 in Leitmeritz, Bohemia (Litoměřice, Czech Republic) ; and died on 22 August 1932 in Weißpyhra near Pöggstall, Lower-Austria.

He was the son of school teacher Franz Vinzenz Marschner and the brother of jurist Robert A. Marschner.

Marschner studied history, geography and German philology at the Universities of Prague (Doctorate of Philosophy in 1879) and Vienna (1882) . From 1867 to 1869, he received his musical training at the Prague Academy of Music (« Sophienakademie ») . His teachers there were Karl Leibold, Julius Zeitler (1867-1868) and Josef Lugert (1871-1872) . From 1873 to 1875, he studied at the Prague Organ School under František Zdeněk Skuherský. From 1883 to 1885, he studied counterpoint with Anton Bruckner in Vienna.

From 1878 to 1882, Marschner taught geography and history in a secondary school of Prague. From 1884, he taught German, history and music at the « Kaiserlich-Königliche Civil-Mädchen-Pensionat Wien » (in the 8th District) until his retirement in 1910. (The school was founded in 1786 by Madame Luzac on permission by Emperor Josef II with the purpose of educating girls from the middle-classes to professional teachers. It was a pioneer institution in Austria for its time. It closed in 1919.)

Marschner spent the last years of his life in Weißpyhra near Pöggstall, and also Vienna.

The « Dr. Franz Marschner Association » (« Dr. Franz Marschner-Bund ») was created in Vienna in 1935. The society was devoted to the conservation of his philosophical and musical works. It was dismantled in 1938, the year of the « Anschluß » .

Franz Marschner and Hugo Riemann worked simultaneously (but independently) on a new system of harmony consisting of abbreviated symbols : the tonic, the dominant, the sub-dominant and the parallel.

### Joseph Karabacek

The Austrian Orientalist Joseph Maria Karabacek was born on 20 September 1845 in Graz and died on 9 October 1918 in Vienna. He was a papyrologist and director of the Imperial Library of Vienna.

Karabacek is the son of a soldier, Johann Baptist Karabacek (circa 1800 - 1875) , originally from Iglau, Moravia, and his wife, Johanna Ilwof (1812-18??) from Graz. Joseph Karabacek is married according to the Catholic rite on 24 May 1876 at the « Schottenkirche » (Scottish Church) in Vienna with Karoline Johanna Lang (born on 2 December 1852 in Vienna and died on 23 February 1914 in Vienna) Leopold Lang (1822-1880) , and his wife, Ernestine von Hofmannsthal (1828-1870) , who came from Jewish families converted to Catholicism.

Karabacek attended the « Gymnasium » (Classical lyceum) of Lemberg, then, the one of Temesvar, and finally finished high-school in Vienna, where he passed his maturity (equivalent to the baccalaureate) in 1863. He first studied Law at the « Rudolphina » , and then, in 1866, turned himself towards the studies of Oriental languages. He graduated in 1868, received his empowerment in 1869, at the end of which he became private lecturer (« Privatdozent ») in paleography and numismatics of the Islamic populations at the University of Vienna. In 1874, Karabacek was appointed associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») at the University of Vienna. From 1885 to 1915, he was appointed full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») at the Chair of History of the Orient and his Auxiliary Sciences.

Theodor Graf, the Viennese antique-dealer, owner of a subsidiary in Cairo, to whom Professor Karabacek financed excavations in the Arsinoe and Heracleopolis Magna archæological sites, acquired the property in 1881-1882 of more than 10,000 papyrus (most of them from the Fayyoun region) . From this point, he spent his life translating and studying them. Archbishop Rainier bought his collection in 1883, enabling Karabacek to study them and to have material support. The Archduke donated his collection in 1899 to Emperor Franz-Josef, who placed them in the Imperial Library of Vienna (« Hofbibliothek ») , of which he named Professor Karabacek at the head. He remained in this position until 1914.

His specialty is Arabic papyrology and especially the thousands of papyri of the collection of which he makes the catalog.

Karabacek received the title of adviser to the Court and was knighted (« von » Karabacek) by decree on 10 April 1904 as director of the Imperial Library (receiving his diploma on 2 February 1905) .



## Mahler and bicycle riding

Gustav Mahler loved to ride his bicycle. He was particularly obsessed with the traveling by « velocipede », in the 1890's, while he was resident in Hamburg, as detailed in his correspondence with music-critic Carl Wilhelm Zinne :

« When will velocipede lessons commence ? » , he wrote to Zinne, on **23 April 1895**.

Thereafter, a series of post-cards details Mahler's excitement at the new fad. Zinne taught him how to ride - no doubt while they discussed the shared interest in Anton Bruckner. Mahler, as ever, wasn't particularly patient, though he clearly relished being on his newly assembled bicycle :

« I'm admired by all and sundry on my bike ! I really do seem to be a born cyclist and shall certainly be appointed “ Geheimrad ” (“ Geheimrat ” means privy councillor, so Mahler is on “ rad ” (bicycle) rather than “ rat ”) once more. I'm at the stage when all horses get out of my way - it's only with bell-ringing that I have trouble. »

LETTER OF AN ENTHUSIASTIC HAMBURGER CYCLIST (Gustav Mahler) TO ANOTHER ONE (Hamburg music-critic, Carl Wilhelm Zinne) :

« Dear friend !

I'm leaving tomorrow evening. If we should not see each other again, let's organize a merry reunion after the Holidays ! I produce the general admiration with my bicycle. I really seem to be born for the wheel. I will definitely be appointed “ Geheimrad ”. So far, all the horses make way but I'm still shy ringing the bell. Occasionally, I accelerate to disperse who or what is in front of me ; it rises my heart beat (I would need a pedometer) . Actually, the ones who stop in the middle of these narrow streets have no consideration for zestful cyclists like me.

Sheers !

Yours faithfully Gustav Mahler on the move - the King of the Road ! »

With all the doom, boom and gloom of the accepted picture of Mahler, it's rather refreshing to think of the composer madly dashing down the lanes in Hamburg, throwing livestock and pedestrians to the curb.

The notes from Gustav Mahler to Wilhelm Zinne can be found in Herta Blaukopf's volume « Mahler's Unknown Letters » , which Richard Stokes translated brilliantly into English.

Carl Wilhelm Zinne (1858-1934) : Critic for the Hamburg Press and school teacher. Friend and supporter of Gustav Mahler in Hamburg, who shared Mahler's love of Bruckner and cycling, visited Bruckner in 1892, at the time of the Vienna Theatre and Music Exhibition. Göllerich-Auer quotes Zinne's own report of his meeting with Bruckner. In the rather bare, modest room, with manuscript paper and scores lying on the piano and harmonium, he sat-down with

Bruckner who « soon asks after “ his beloved Mahler ”, who he appeared to regard very highly. Let him prepare his Symphony - the 7th above all, which to Bruckner himself was the dearest. »

They drank a bottle of red wine, the conversation became more convivial.

« He expressed great joy over the enthusiasm of the Viennese for his works. He was pleased too by the Berliners and the performance of the “ Te Deum ” under Siegfried Ochs, who was probably a Jew, but that doesn't matter ; Mahler is also a Jew but he rails terribly against the Jews. All this in jest, as he was on this day uncommonly cheerful and in the mood for joking. »

### University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1895)

**May 1895** : Students of the Faculty of Philosophy inscribed at Anton Bruckner's university lecture (there names will then be deleted) :

Giacomo Braun, Victor Heinrich Junk, Georg Mihutowicz, Ewald Otto Schallinger and Michael Ursuleac.

### Ludwig Rochlitzer

**1895** : Styrian musician Ludwig Rochlitzer is noticed by Anton Bruckner who suggests to him, after his private hearing, to study music with him in Vienna rather than continue, according to the wish of his father, a legal career.

...

The Austrian composer and lawyer Ludwig Rochlitzer was born on 25 August 1880 in Voitsberg, Styria ; and died on 13 March 1945 in Vienna, 1st District.

During his high-school years in Seitenstetten (1890) , Rochlitzer was conductor of the student band and an organist. He studied law at the University of Graz (Doctor of law in 1903) , and, at the same time, at the School of the Music Society (« Musikverein ») of Styria. From 1902 to 1903, he was the rehearsal pianist of Ernst von Schuch at the Court Opera in Dresden. In 1903, he moved to Vienna. From 1904 to 1907, he studied counterpoint with Karl Nawratil (1836-1914) and completed his legal internship at the Vienna Regional Court. From 1913, Rochlitzer was an independent lawyer in Vienna. During the First World War, he enlisted as a volunteer in the Thirteenth Hussars. He composed songs, but especially Operas and Operettas, premiered in Prague, Vienna and Graz (using his own libretti) . His contrapuntal skill and rich melodies were praised by music-critics. Rochlitzer was on the Executive Board of the « Society of Authors, Composers and Publishers » (« Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten und Musikverleger » , or AKM) from 1926 to 1937. His varied work as a lawyer, especially in representing artists during the Nazi era, repeatedly caused severe distress, as he helped many of his Jewish colleagues from music and literature to flee Austria. He was investigated by the customs office in Vienna, and, on 5 May 1941, by the « Gestapo » . He was suspected of « assisting in the displacement of valuable jewellery abroad and defeating the official act » (Documentation Centre of

Austrian Resistance) . Rochlitzer died as a result of the bombing of Vienna, and the bulk of his musical works was destroyed.

## Stage Works

### Operas

« Marietta » , Opera on a libretto by Ludwig Rochlitzer, published by Joseph W. Stern & Co. (lost) .

« Myrthia » , Opera in 2 Acts on a libretto by Ludwig Rochlitzer (after Felix Dahn's « Ein Kampf um Rom ») , Prague and Graz (1907) .

« Prater Carolus » Opus 1, Opera in 3 Acts on a libretto by Ludwig Rochlitzer (1910) , Prague and Graz (1911) .

### Operettas

« Der erste Kufel » Opus 4, Operetta on a libretto by Wilhelm Otto and Wilhelm Frieser, premiered on 31 January 1914 at the « Carltheater » , Vienna.

« Goldma'del » Opus 2, Operetta on a libretto by Wilhelm Frieser (some acts lost) .

« Liebesheirat » Opus 3, Operetta in 3 Acts by Ludwig Rochlitzer (score lost, text survives) .

### Offering the pedal harmonium

At one point, Anton Bruckner asked Doctor Richard Heller if he would like to have his Matthäus Mauracher (from Salzburg) pedal-harmonium. Doctor Heller refused, saying that it was too important for someone to have in his private possession. So, he refused, but then told this story to his colleague Doctor Leopold Schrötter who immediately went to visit Bruckner to ask if he could then have the instrument.

**May 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Leopold Schrötter :

Bruckner asks Doctor Schrötter to accept his pedal harmonium as a souvenir.

Schrötter said yes. Bruckner gave it to him on the spot. When Doctor Richard Heller talked about this incident later, he could only do so with a sauer face.

**Monday, 8 February 1937** : Ernst Schwanzara published in the « Neuen Wiener Journal » the **May 1895** letter from Anton Bruckner to Doctor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli concerning the pedal harmonium. The article was mistakenly attributed to a certain « Schwengner » .

**Friday, 28 April 1944** : Letter from Ernst Schwanzara to Gertrud Maria Engelhart-Heller, the daughter of Doctor Richard

Heller :

Schwanzara sent an excerpt from his book (which has been printed by the « Musikwissenschaftliche Verlag » ,Vienna) to Gertrud. The topic of the donation of Anton Bruckner's pedal harmonium to Doctor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli (originally offered to Doctor Richard Heller) was probably addressed. On 8 February 1937, Schwanzara published in the « Neuen Wiener Journal » the letter from Bruckner to Schrötter (dated **May 1895**) . Max Auer was not aware of the existence of this letter and proposed a different version of the story in his own biography on the composer. Doctor Schrötter's visits to Bruckner were recorded in his pocket calendars. Schrötter's daughter Frieda lent the precious notebooks to Ernst Schwanzara.

### Karl Lueger

**May 1895** : In Vienna, Karl Lueger and his anti-semitic Christian-Socialist Party win the elections, setting the stage for a drastic change in Austrian politics that will lead to Lueger's becoming mayor of Vienna and, eventually, to Adolf Hitler's victories.

After the 1895 elections for the Vienna « Gemeinderat » , the Christian-Social Party took political power from the ruling Liberals with 2/3 of the seats and subsequently helped Lueger win the mayoralty. It did however take him 2 more years to prevail against the resistance of Prime-Minister Kasimir Felix Badeni and 3 refusals by Emperor Franz-Josef who allegedly loathed him as a person considering him a dangerous revolutionary. After personal intercession by Pope Leo XIII, his election was finally sanctioned in 1897.

Much of Lueger's popularity stemmed from his appeal to women ; his female followers were variously known as « Lueger's Amazons » , « the Lueger Garde » , or « Lueger Gretls » , and were organised in the Christian-Social Women's League. Although women could not vote, he calculated that they could significantly influence how their men-folk voted, and they also inculcated the Party ideology in their children. To maintain his female following, Lueger remained a bachelor and publicly disavowed any private life, claiming that he was too busy because he belonged totally to « my Viennese » . After his death, there was a scandal when his long-time mistress, Marianne Beskiba, published a tell-all memoir including fac-similes of love-letters from him ; the book provides useful information about his political tactics and how the Party was run.

### Concert in Monaco

**Before Friday, 10 May 1895** : Letter from Duchess Amélie of Bavaria (?) to Anton Bruckner :

Amélie probably inquires about Bruckner's health and reports of a planned concert in Monaco.

**Friday, 10 May 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Duchess Amélie of Bavaria (?) :

Bruckner thanks Amélie for her letter. Since the performance of the 2nd Symphony on November 25, 1894, he did not leave his apartment. The doctors have given-up. Bruckner received the last sacraments on December 8 and 9, 1894. He

now feels better. He thanks Amélie for interceding with Princess of Monaco (Marie Alice Heine) . Bruckner suggests a performance of the 7th Symphony there.

### Sketching the Finale

**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 9th soon. »

**Friday, 24 May 1895** : Immediately after moving at the Upper-Belvedere, Anton Bruckner began to work on the Finale of his 9th Symphony (**WAB 109**) .

In the words of Doctor Richard Heller :

« He threw himself into composing. »

**Saturday, 8 June 1895** : Sketches in particello of the first part (exposition) , quickly followed by further detailing and working on the score (sheet 1A) .

Bruckner tells Doctor Richard Heller that he has dedicated the 7th Symphony to King Ludwig II of Bavaria, and the 8th Symphony to Emperor Franz-Josef, and now, dedicates his ultimate Symphony to « dear God » . To conclude, he proposes the « alleluia » of the second movement of the 8th Symphony. He also plays at the piano some parts to Heller, which have not yet been written-down.

Göllerich-Auer 4/3, page 526 :

« You must understand, I have already dedicated 2 Symphonies to earthly majesties : one to poor King Ludwig as royal patron of the arts, one to our glorious, beloved Emperor (Franz-Josef I.) as the highest earthly majesty that I acknowledge (8th Symphony) , and now, I dedicate to the Majesty of all majesties, to dear God, my last work, in the hope that he will give me time to complete the same. »

**Autumn 1895** : Anton Bruckner makes the decision to add a fugue in the Finale of the 9th Symphony. Second part up to the beginning of the fugue and completion of the instrumentation of the first part (exposition) , including rewriting of specific heavily over-written and adhered sheets. There are indications that Bruckner decided, at this point, to introduce the idea of the fugue, as preliminary sketches of the second part consist of a set of variations on the main thematic motives in its reverse scheme, clearly leading to a non fugato reprise. In the composition process, the second part was finally remoulded, with the fugue concept established. The final scoring extended to the very beginning of the fugue (date in the score on bi-folio 17 : **12 December 1895**) .

**Monday, 16 December 1895** : Finale of the 9th Symphony - Most probably the beginning of the third stage, with

drafting the fugue and its progression (the date is mentioned in the score in Bruckner's hand-writing) . At this time, Bruckner also decided to introduce a new epilogue theme of the fugue and chorale recapitulation, including the significant triplets from the main-theme of the first movement. The work process was maintained until early summer of 1896, with the entire second part scored for strings, and incidental markings for the wind instruments. Sketches for the Coda date from **18 to 23 May**, corresponding with the statement of « Kapellmeister » friend Franz Bayer in the « Steyrer Zeitung » that the composer had (just) completed the sketch of the 9th's Finale (**10 May 1896**) .

**Sunday, 10 May 1896** : An article published in the « Steyrer Zeitung » reports that Anton Bruckner has completely sketched (« vollständig skizziert ») the Finale of his 9th Symphony. But Bruckner will admit to Franz Bayer, his « Kapellmeister » friend and organist at the old Steyr parish church (« Alte Stadtpfarrkirche ») , that he will not achieve his goal. (No global sketch of the last movement will be left behind.)

**May-June 1896** : Finale of the 9th Symphony - Final instrumentation and new parts of the exposition. At that stage, he had already reached the Coda, but sadly much of it got lost. Drafting part of the Coda and final cadenza : (**Tuesday**) **19**, (**Thursday**) **21**, (**Friday**) **22**, (**Saturday**) **23** (this corresponds with **May 1896**) . Bruckner returned to the beginning of the movement, presumably wrote a clean first bi-folio and divided the contents of the second bi-folio into 2 new bi-folios, renumbering all subsequent bi-folios by one higher. Further detailing of the instrumentation must have begun soon, thereafter, revising the development section (date : **14 June 1896**) .

**July 1896** : Although Anton Bruckner recovered from his pneumonia and, as from **mid-July**, started to compose again, it is quite unlikely that he felt vigorous enough to work consistently from mid July onwards. However, the last date in the manuscript, **11 August**, marks a very convincing extension of the beginning of the development section on 2 bi-folios ; the first numbered 13a by Bruckner, the continuing one, yet unnumbered.

It is likely that Bruckner finished the primary stage of the instrumentation in this period, with the main strings, woodwinds and brass lines noted down in his customary short hand-writing. We can distil this from the available bi-folios (including the continuity drafts or « Satzverlaufsentwürfe ») and his method of transferring the sketches directly to the score.

Bruckner had completed the first 3 movements of the 9th Symphony. But nothing is final unless the composer has decided so. The work does not contain his final « imprematur » and it remains far from clear whether he was ultimately satisfied with the music he had put to paper. (Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk will get their hands on copious sketches and manuscripts of the Finale.)

A total number of at least 40 bi-folios containing more than 600 bars of music, must have existed. Both the exposition and large portions of the development section had been fully completed. Bruckner completed 206 (208) fully-instrumented bars and 224 bars with strings and short-hand notes for woodwinds and brass. Furthermore, we have continuity drafts (Satzverlaufsentwürfe) of 122 bars. No such sketches survived of 111 bars, thus the music needed to be construed from both original (68 bars, by sequence, transposition, 1:1 repetition and adaptation) and free material (43 bars) , all together about 17 % of the Finale, or about 4 minutes of music. This all

makes a total of 663 plus 2 optional bars.

Furthermore, sketches have been found to the Coda, long believed lost - a crescendo passage of around 24 measures based on the opening motive and a brief ascending chorale phrase, as well as, most significantly, the movement's concluding 24 measure cadence. Finally, we know from the memoirs of Bruckner's last doctor, Richard Heller, that the Symphony was intended to conclude with a « song of praise » in D major, which Bruckner even played to him on the piano. In other words, although the final double barline cannot be found in the material which survives today, we still have a clear impression of the Finale as a whole. For only very few measures has no music whatsoever of Bruckner's survived.

The Fac-simile Edition also offers the closest approach to Bruckner's overall concept of the Finale, and although they are his last words on paper, we need to realise that they reflect his work in progress without the possibility to conclude it. Nothing in there can, therefore, be considered as final, not even the fully scored and instrumented portions, with passages either boldly over-written or cut, pasted and glued. Thus, we will never be able to grasp whether he had later on revised the Finale, or even the entire work, more or less. We deal with what is left, and it is of no use whatsoever to start speculating about what is not there. However, one should consider that already the surviving material contains numerous revisions and working phases, for instance, the first theme group survived in, at least, 6 different phases. Hence, it seems to be appropriate to assume that Bruckner, at least, came to a more or less « final » structure of the piece as such.

### Josef Schantl's tips : meat and beer !

Letter from hornist Professor Josef Schantl to his pupil Karl Stiegler, giving tips on his first important post at the Royal Theatre in Wiesbaden :

« Vienna, (Wednesday) 15 May 1895.

(...) Conduct your life in a balanced manner. Eat hefty meat and drink beer so that you can develop accordingly and become physically strong.

Always play with “ open tone ”. Evaluate the size of the room where you have to perform. The power and richness of tone, about which the player commands, is to be regulated accordingly (...) »

Schantl engaged himself very much with the restoration and renaissance of the hunting-music repertoire. So, he received many invitations by princes or other nobilities to coach their bands of hunting horn-players, which Schantl followed with great pleasure and energy, getting also the chance for a good hunting-game. Count Hans Wilczek asked him, to write special fanfares for the different bands, which he did. So, he is the real re-creator of the Austrian hunting-music.

...

Professor Josef Schantl was born on 8 February 1842 in Graz, Styria ; and died on 27 April 1902 in Amstetten, Lower-Austria. He was the son of the horn-player Florian Schantl in Graz. Even his grandfather, Franz Xaver Schantl, was a horn-player. 2 of his brothers and his uncle were also horn-players. Schantl began his Orchestra career with the Johann Strauß « Kapelle » (Orchestra) , where he encountered the « Tristan und Isolde » Prelude (first performed by this Orchestra, after the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra had refused it after too many rehearsals. This happened before the Munich world-premiere of the Opera.

Schantl became principal horn-player with the Vienna « Hofoper » and the Vienna Philharmonic from 1 October 1870. He premiered Johannes Brahms 2nd and 3rd Symphonies, Anton Bruckner 3rd and 8th Symphonies, and other important Symphonies with the Vienna Philharmonic.

« Prix » , a Bruckner supporter

**Friday, 17 May 1895 : Letter 163** from Hugo Wolf (« Matzen Schloß ») to Melanie Köchert (Traunkirchen) :

« Matzen Castle, “ recte ” (more accurately) hunter’s cottage,

May 17, 1895

Dear gracious lady !

Many, many thanks for your heartfelt lines, which gave me decidedly more pleasure than the magnificent bouquets of flowers set-up on all the tables to receive me in my pretty rooms. A letter also arrived from Schalk at the same time as your lines, but, of course, I broke open your letter first, so that you were still the first to welcome me in my new home.

Seldom has a train ride passed so pleasantly as this most recent one. I had the clever idea of requesting a 2nd Class compartment and learned only upon boarding the train that no more tickets for third class were available anyway, so great was the demand to Salzburg. There were 5 of us traveling from Vienna to Salzburg. From Salzburg on, I had a half-compartment all to myself as far as Jenbach, but the compartments on either side, 1st and 2nd Class, were almost completely empty, so that there was no disturbance of any kind. The sky cleared, oddly enough, in the Salzkammergut region and, for a good part, of the way Lady Sun accompanied us. The closer the train got to its destination, however, the darker the horizon became. In Saalfelden, it actually began to snow. The cold air made itself felt, despite the closed windows. I spent part of the time during the trip reading Mörike’s letters, the first half of which can be said to be weak and fairly un-interesting. But the other half met with my approval, although I had imagined the letters to be wittier and more original. A certain antiquated tone is all too prominent in them. We “ moderns ” have a different sensibility. I suspect we (Mörike and I) would not have gotten along well after all. I finally took-up the poetry of the “ Corregidor ” in the absence of any other intellectual enjoyment, whereupon, I felt myself wonderfully refreshed and stimulated. I also have to record several hours of sleep, “ nota bene ” just at the time when we were passing through the most beautiful regions. At 9:15 pm, I arrived in Jenbach and was met by the devoted servant Gustav (a valet “ par excellence ”) and delivered to my destination with equipage - i.e. , directly by coach to the hunter’s cottage.



Everything was already prepared. Unfortunately, they forgot to heat the rooms, which didn't happen until this morning. My bedroom is on the second floor. It's magnificently furnished. Nothing but "old" (antique) furniture. A Gothic washstand of huge dimensions. Gothic bed, very comfortable. To be sure no horse-hair pillow, but a firm feather pillow. Of course, "plumeaus" (feather quilts) with silk coverlets and very light-weight. Slept fabulously, but didn't get to bed until 12:00. A cold supper with wine and bottled beer was already set-out when I arrived. I ate it with pleasure. My serving girl, a good-natured Tyrolean, excused herself and I was alone in the midst of the splendour. No one around for miles. I wanted to shout for joy. I got-up at 7:00 am. It was snowing in large regular flakes as it only does in December or January. What a nice surprise! But what to do? My bedroom can't be heated, because it has no stove. But, on the other hand, it was comfortable in my work-room, a rustic room with a huge green tile stove surrounded by a wooden bench on which fox skins lie, which also cover every chair. My work-room on the ground-floor is most charming. 4 small windows to the south, 2 and 2 toward the east. A large square table that stands as firm as a stone-wall replaces the secretary for me. A natural wood ceiling with a cross-beam, white-washed walls. (The bedroom, on the other hand, is completely wood-paneled, which makes it very cozy.) There are benches all around the walls. My writing-desk is placed so that it's flanked on 2 sides by benches. At the moment, I'm looking at the "Rolandsbogen" as the mist is obscuring the view of the Stubai Alps. As for the rest, meadows and woods in splendidly cared-for condition. I spent the morning today arranging, unpacking, and settling in. The piano was moved around, so that I now have better light. It was pushed in front of a wall bench, so that I can use the bench instead of a stool. A small, carved wooden cup-board of marvelous workmanship conceals your picture in its velvet frame. It's my holy of holies. Steins of pewter and ceramic, old pictures, and delicate figurines decorate the ledges. In short, it is more livable, homey, and cozy than my most vivid imagination could have dared to envision.

It is almost noon time. I'm dining in the hunter's cottage until the Baron comes. The new house-keeper, an agreeable little Tyrolean woman too, set the table for me herself. I'm dining in the work-room, since it is the only one that can be heated. A delicious repast, everything most magnificently prepared. It's being served at this very minute.

I'm breaking-off here.

Just gulped-down the "first" course. Odd menu. Turnips with cold Braunschweiger.

I'll wait and see. In the meantime, as no one is coming, I can report that I have a fully-equipped kitchen at my disposal, with all the kitchen utensils. There are great numbers of baking pans and wooden mixing-bowls and whatever all these things are called. And everything shiny, new, and clean. Also, new brooms, whisks, dust-pans, feather dusters of ostrich plumes, and the like in abundance. The vestibules to both my rooms are splendidly appointed and in good taste. A well-filled credenza in the vestibule provides me with everything my heart could ever desire. In short, a real paradise. "Second" course: veal filet with potatoes and red beets. Very tasty. To finish, radishes, butter, cheese. All in plentiful quantity. Have really eaten well. As I just learned, the food is being prepared in my kitchen. I'm surprised that the people have managed to fix such an opulent meal in such a short time. It's just occurred to me that one of the small pocket handkerchiefs could be in the blue trousers intended for "Frau" Moser. Please look and see. 3 of the small pocket handkerchiefs are missing. I'd like to have all of my new suit here, the one I left behind, because the cold is horrendous. I need heavy socks for the knickerbockers in any case. Please get me 2 pairs in a pattern that

pleases you and add it to my account. I'll send you the money from here for the English material and for the socks. Today, it's miserable. Everything covered by thick clouds and mist, and dreadfully cold. I'm taking this letter to Brixlegg so that it will still go-out today. After my return, I'll get-down to business. I hope it'll work. If you hear nothing from me in the next few days, you can assume I'm buried in my work and that I feel my best then. How's my little friend Irmi doing ? Give her my best greetings. **Schalk didn't come on the evening he promised, because he was held-up by Bruckner. He apologized for this in his letter. By the way, the evening at Mayreders passed very pleasantly even without Schalk. Both of " Frau " Mayreder's brothers-in-laws are charming people and fairly musical, especially the one called " Prix ", who is also a friend and admirer of Bruckner.**

And now, I'll close ! Lipperheide is coming to Matzen Sunday or Monday. Rickelt has been off hunting since yesterday afternoon. I don't envy him the pleasure and prefer a warm room to any tallyho. Please put 1 or 2 pairs of thick socks in the package. I brought along only 3 pairs of the heavy kind. And now, thousands, but thousands of sincerest greetings from your always devoted,

Hugo Wolf. »

### Losing his temper

**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 9th 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 Höllenskandal ") . 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 9th Symphony to his faithful friend Doctor Karl Muck for safe-keeping ; they were only returned to Vienna long after the Master's death. »

This passage is the origin of 2 long-standing fallacies that became pillars of the « Old Bruckner » perception. The first is the statement that the scores of the 3 completed movements of the 9th « were only returned to Vienna long after the Master's death » , for regardless of what Bruckner may have given Muck, these manuscripts were among the scores received by the « Hof-Bibliothek » shortly after Bruckner died. The second is the notion of a final break between Bruckner and Josef Schalk, for it is clear that relations were soon restored. By 1 August 1894, Josef was telling Franz that he was planning to visit Bruckner in Steyr on the occasion of his 70th birthday, and, by October, Bruckner was writing to Josef again, asking him to play over the Mass in F minor to conductor Wilhelm Gericke in advance of a « Gesellschaft » concert in November 1894. The brothers' correspondence in connection with the 5th Symphony shows that Josef was visiting Bruckner regularly throughout 1895.

If the relationship was perhaps not quite what it had been, neither were the parties concerned. Bruckner was not well, and his nights out with his students were a thing of the past. Josef Schalk himself was in poor health and would not outlive Bruckner by very long. From this time dates Bruckner's increasing reliance on Anton Meißner, a former Conservatory pupil from 1878-1879, described by Göllerich-Auer as « a devoutly Catholic young man » whom Bruckner had taken to because he stood-out against the prevailing « free-thinking and Liberalism » . Meißner was to become Bruckner's secretary and assistant in his final years, writing letters on his behalf, even to his brother Ignaz, and helping to prepare manuscript pages for the Finale of the 9th by ruling bar lines and adding instrument names. He also entered a list of missing manuscripts into Bruckner's diary (entry for Friday 24 May 1895) that includes both « the original manuscript of the F minor Mass » (« Die Originalpartitur Der F. Messe ») and « the score of the F minor Mass sent for publishing » referred to above, probably Mus. Hs. 6015. The copy score was eventually returned. Paul Hawkshaw reproduces a page of the « Et incarnatus » with marginal comments in the shaky hand-writing of Bruckner's last years - but Bruckner never did recover his « Originalpartitur » .

### Prisoner of his flat

**Sunday, 2 June 1895** (Pentecost Sunday) : Until now, Anton Bruckner has not been able to leave his « Heßgasse » flat since 25 November 1894.

### The consecrated water from the Capuchin Church

**Wednesday, 19 June 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Bruckner hopes to recover. He is doing better, but he won't be completely healthy anymore. He gives 5 Florins to Laura (Rosalia's daughter) . The consecrated water is now available from the Capuchin Church (« Kapuzinerkirche ») . Greetings to the brother-in-law (Johann Nepomuk Hueber) and all the relatives. Soon, Bruckner will move to the Upper-Belvedere (gate-keeper's lodge) .

### Bach's excavated skull

**Saturday, 22 June 1895** : Johannes Brahms replies to Richard Heuberger's remark that the profile of Johann Sebastian Bach's (recently ?) excavated skull resembled Anton Bruckner's head, « Unfortunately ! » .

### Return to the milk diet

**After Thursday, 4 July 1895** :

Besides Doctor Richard Heller, medical care is also (less often ?) provided by Doctor Leopold Schrötter and Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr.

Bruckner reports in his dietary regulations that he has to replace beer with milk (again) .

Doctor Heller and Meißner are privileged witnesses of Bruckner's domestic devotions.

### The last flame

**After Thursday, 4 July 1895** : For the last time in his life, Anton Bruckner falls in love with a girl ; her name : Adele (from 4 July 1895 to 14 October 1896) .

### Moritz Sechter visits Bruckner

**After Thursday, 4 July 1895** : Moritz Sechter (a nephew of Simon Sechter) visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » . He reports to him the death of Jordan Kajetan Markus who wrote a biography on Sechter. Markus frequently accompanied Bruckner at different Viennese guest-houses.

### Too disturbing for the « Schloßkapelle »

**After Thursday, 4 July 1895** : Anton Bruckner goes regularly to Mass, most of the time celebrated by Father Heribert Witsch in the nearby « Schloßkapelle » . One day, he was asked to pray more quietly and less disturbingly. That is why he decided to go to St. Michael's Church on Sundays.

### The Belvedere Palace Chapel

The Belvedere Palace Chapel is located in the south-eastern corner-tower of the Upper-Belvedere in Vienna. It was designed by the Austrian architect Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt.

The chapel is decorated in red-brownish and stucco marbling with contrasting white walls and gold gildings. The impression evokes the 2 marble-halls in the Upper- and Lower-Belvedere. Hildebrandt used the best available artists for the decoration.

« The Resurrection of Jesus Christ » altar-piece was painted by Neapolitan painter Francesco Solimena over a period of 10 years and completed in 1729. A model of Solimena's altar-piece by Santino Bussi is displayed in the hall next to the chapel. Bussi was also responsible for the jewelry in the remaining halls of the Upper-Belvedere. The sculptures of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter were executed by Domenico Parodi from Genoa.

The ceiling fresco is by Carlo Innocenzo Carlone from northern Italy and depicts God the Father with the Holy-Spirit as a dove surrounded by angels. It was completed in 1723. The fresco figures of God the Father and the Holy-Spirit, along with Jesus Christ in the altar-piece, form a trinity.

Construction of the chapel was completed in 1723. The Palace Chapel was first opened to the public in May 1753. Up to this time, it had been reserved for the daily prayers of Prince Eugene and a select group of eminent individuals made-up of the nobility, artists, and scholars. An Inventory of the Imperial and Royal Palace Chapel in the Belvedere from 1776 lists all the articles required to hold a Holy-Mass. It can, therefore, be assumed with certainty that it was used for ecclesiastical purposes. At the end of WWI, in 1918, and the abdication of the last Emperor of the Habsburg Monarchy, the palace ensemble became State property. While both palaces were severely damaged during World War II, the Belvedere Palace Chapel survived intact.

The chapel initially remained unused, but was returned to its original use under the direction of Hans Aurenhammer. Commemorative Masses were celebrated each year on 2 occasions : on April 21, the anniversary of the death of Prince Eugene of Savoy ; and, on June 28, the anniversary of the death of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria. Hans Aurenhammer's successor as director, Hubert Adolph, initiated regular Sunday Mass in the Palace Chapel that was open to the public. This Mass was conducted on an alternating basis by priests from St. Elisabeth's Church and St. Paul's Church. In addition, Adolph had a small organ fitted in the chapel.

As Federal government property, the chapel is part of the Belvedere's museological collection. As part of an agreement with the Federal government, it is now open every Sunday at mid-day for Catholic Holy-Mass. According to ecclesiastical law, the chapel is situated in the Viennese parish of St. Charles Borromeo.

### St. Michael's Church

St. Michael's Church (« Michaelerkirche ») is one of the oldest churches in Vienna, and also one of its few remaining Romanesque buildings. Dedicated to the Archangel Michael, St. Michael's Church is located at « Michaelerplatz » across from St. Michael's Gate at the « Hofburg » Palace. St. Michael's used to be the parish church of the Imperial Court, when it was called « Zum heiligen Michael » .

Over its long history, spanning more than 8 Centuries, the church has incorporated a medley of architectonic styles. The church is a late-Romanesque, early-Gothic building dating from about 1220-1240. There is a document giving 1221 as the foundation date of the church, but this is most probably a 14th Century forgery. Over time, there have been many alterations, resulting in its present-day aspect, unchanged since 1792.

The interior of the church consists of a nave and 2 aisles that have conserved the ancient Gothic structure. The side-chapels were added later on.

It gives the impression of a robust 3 dimensional building, despite the church's low height. The polygonal apse was replaced in the 14th Century (1327-1340) by an early-Gothic choir with 3 bays. The central and the northern choir chapels were re-fitted in Baroque style.

The high-altar was designed in 1782 by Jean-Baptiste d'Avrange. It is decorated with the monumental stucco alabaster Rococo sculpture Fall of the Angels (1782) by sculptor Karl Georg Merville. It represents a cloud-burst of angels and cherubs, falling from the ceiling towards the ground. It was the last major Baroque work completed in Vienna. The centre-piece of the high-altar is Maria Candida, a Byzantine icon of the Virgin Mary, belonging to the Cretan School of hagiography and named after the former capital (now Heraklion) , displayed as being carried by 2 archangels.

In the northern chapel, the altar-piece « Adoration of the Child » is by Franz Anton Maulbertsch (1754-1755) .

The southern chapel, the « Nikolauskapelle » , has remained unchanged and retains its medieval aspect. Its traceried windows date from the 13th Century. It displays Gothic stone sculptures under a baldachin (St. Catherine and St. Nicholas) (1350) and a wooden crucifix by Hans Schlais (1510-1520) . This chapel was founded by a cook of the duke at about 1350, giving thanks to the Lord for being acquitted of a poisoning case. The triumphal arch between the transept and the choir dates from the 14th Century. Its spandrel is decorated with « The Last Judgment » . The recently rediscovered frescoes from the early-15th Century attest to the high-quality of the art of painting in Vienna in those times. The Baptistry shows us in a niche the wooden statue « Man of Sorrows » (1430) .

The gilded pipe organ (1714) by Johann David Sieber is the largest Baroque organ in Vienna. It was once played by the 17 year old Franz-Josef Haydn in 1749. Mozart's « Requiem » was performed for the first time in this church at a memorial service for the composer on 10 December 1791. As Mozart hadn't finished this work at the time of his death, only the existing part was performed. One of those who attended the « festive funerary honours » was theatre director Emanuel Schikaneder whose libretto was used by Mozart for the « The Magic Flute » .

The present façade was built in 1792 in a neo-Classical style by Ernest Koch, a typical style for the reign of Emperor Josef II. Above the entrance, on top of the pediment, resting on Doric columns by Antonio Beduzzi, stands a group with winged angels and « St. Michael slaying Lucifer » (1725) . These sculptural figures were executed by the Italian sculptor Lorenzo Mattielli, who also sculpted the Hercules figures at the « Hofburg » entrance, just opposite the church. The high polygonal Gothic bell-tower from the 16th Century has become one of the symbols of the Inner-City.

St. Michael's is famous for its « Michaelergruft » , a large crypt located underneath the church. Aristocrats were able

to access their family crypts through marble slabs marked with their coats of arms in the church floor. The coffin of a deceased member of the family could then be lowered directly into the crypt via these marble slabs.

Due to the special climatic conditions and constant temperature in the crypt, more than 4,000 corpses were kept well-preserved. Hundreds of mummified corpses, some still in burial finery or with a wig, are on display, some in open coffins, adorned with flowers or skulls, others decorated with Baroque paintings or with « vanitas » symbols. The most famous among them is Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) , the most famous writer of Opera librettos of the Baroque era.

Archæological excavations in the « Michaelerplatz » between 1989 and 1991 un-covered among other things the settlement of « Canabæ » associated with the Roman camp at « Vindobona » . This will have consisted primarily of the residences of soldiers' wives and children. The excavation site was made permanently accessible to the public in 1991 ; the design of the presentation is by architect Hans Hollein.

### The executor's address

**Wednesday, 10 July 1895** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entry by an unknow hand-writing (from September 1895) :

« 10 July 1895. Doctor Theodor Reisch - “ Gatterburggasse ” Number 19, Döbling, 19th District, Vienna. Formerly “ Theresienplatz ”. »

### Well but weak

**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 region will give him some strength.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries, the better Viennese society discovered the Semmering in Lower-Austria as a nearby summer resort destination.

The « Deutsche Volksblatt » Number 2341 reports on page 2 about Anton Bruckner's health-condition and his relocation to the Upper-Belvedere.

### Doctor George Wolf

**Friday, 12 July 1895** : Letter from « Kapellmeister » friend Franz Bayer (Steyr) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Bayer is pleased with the improvement of Bruckner's health - as mentioned in the July 7th letter. Greetings from Reverend (Johann Evangelist) Aichinger, who had already started to write a letter to Bruckner from the spa-town of (Bad) Wörishofen, in Bavaria. The water-cure did not help : Aichinger's condition is of concern to Doctor George Wolf.

Aichinger's responsibilities are now entrusted to Gutschik's successor, the newly-created Heuberger Cooperative. Would Bayer be able to visit Bruckner in July ? Everyone would be happy to see Bruckner come to Steyr.

...

From 1855, Sebastian Kneipp was sent to the convent of (Bad) Wörishofen. In addition to his religious ministry, he perfected his therapeutic methods and, in 1880, founded the first bathing establishment there.

Sebastian Kneipp :

« Doctor George Wolf has opened a new establishment in Traunstein. Doctor Wolf is of a quiet, thoughtful and noble character, has studied and practised my whole system in (Bad) Wörishofen for a long time, and I am sure I can highly-recommend this physician to all patients who wish to use my water-cure. Thus, my numerous friends and guests near and far, especially those in Austria, have a favourable opportunity of experiencing the wholesome effects of my water-cure under his direction ; for exactly patients from Austria and Hungary, so far off from here, have visited my own bathing-establishment with great delight, and after returning home have made known my system in grateful remembrance of the results produced by it.

It is a comfort to me to give evidence of the increasing number of physicians favourably disposed towards my system ; by these means the whole will gradually pass-over to professionals, and this will be my greatest consolation. »  
From Sebastian Kneipp's book, « My Water Cure » :

« So sind denn bereits eilf Auflagen von “ Meine Wasserkur ” hinausgegangen in die Welt als Rathgeber und Helfer in Krankheiten und allen verschiedenen Mühseligkeiten des irdischen Lebens, und es gereicht mir zum großen Trost, daß die leidende Menschheit durch das allgemein verbreitete Heilmittel, das “ Wasser ” Hilfe findet. Besonders aber tröstet mich, daß neue Heilanstalten entstanden und entstehen, so daß in den verschiedenen Gegenden die Leidenden nicht zu weit zu reifen haben, um Hilfe durch Wasser-Anwendungen zu bekommen. Das Jordanbad bei Biberach wurde eröffnet ; recht viele Kranke haben sich dorthin gewendet, und die Anstalt hat schon viele recht glückliche Kuren aufzuweisen. Eine 2. Gelegenheit ist geboten in Immenstadt ; auch von dieser Anstalt wird nur Rühmlisches gesagt, und deßhalb ist gute Aussicht für die Zukunft vorhanden, daß sich dieselbe immer weiter entwickeln werde.

Die 3. Wasserheilanstalt wurde eröffnet in Ulm und wird, wie ich schon öfters gehört, sich nach und nach immer weiter entfalten.

In Rosenheim ist auf allgemeines Verlangen der Stadt eine Anstalt nach meinem System kürzlich eröffnet worden, und ich habe bereits gehört von den guten Erfolgen ; denn Herr Doktor Bernhuber war längere Zeit in Wörishofen Badearzt und besitzt ein herrliches Talent für sein Fach. Er ist nicht bloß ein guter Arzt, sondern auch ein vorzüglicher Operateur ; derselbe hat oft erklärt :

“ Mit Wasser werden Krankheiten geheilt, wo andere Mittel keine Hilfe mehr bringen können. ”



Deßhalb hoffe ich mit Grund, daß gerade diese Anstalt sich recht segensreich entwickle.

Herr Doktor Georg Wolf hat in Traunstein, wo schon durch das frühere Bad die nöthigen Gebäude vorhanden sind, eine neue Anstalt eröffnet. Herr Doktor Wolf ist ein ruhiger, besonnener und edler Charakter, hat in Wörishofen durch längere Zeit mein ganzes Heilverfahren gründlich erlernt und eingeübt, und ich glaube, daß ich diesen Arzt mit Recht den Patienten für das Heilverfahren meiner Wasserkur auf's Wärmste empfehlen kann. So haben meine vielen Freunde und Gäste in der Nähe und in der Ferne, namentlich die in Österreich, eine günstige Gelegenheit, die guten Wirkungen meiner Wasserkur unter seiner Leitung kennen zu lernen ; denn gerade Leidende aus Österreich und Ungarn, soweit von hier entfernt, haben mit großer Begeisterung meine hiesige Wasserkur-Anstalt besucht und nach der Heimkehr, in dankbarer Erinnerung an die erzielten Erfolge, mein Heilverfahren weiter vorbreitet.

Wörishofen, den 3. Dezember 1889. Der Verfasser. »

#### Doctor von Weißmayr on vacation

**Saturday, 13 July 1895** : The « Linzer Zeitung » , the « Linzer Tages-Post » and the « Ostdeutschen Rundschau » (Number 189, page 7) report on Anton Bruckner's relocation to the Upper-Belvedere (July 4, 1895) .

Doctor Richard Heller takes-over from Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr (who probably left on vacation) to take care of Anton Bruckner. Heller visits him « every 2 to 3 days » .

#### Doctor Heller writes to his « fiancée »

**Sunday, 14 July 1895** : Letter from Doctor Richard Heller to his « fiancée » , Irma Maria Theresia von Lakrovits :

« (...) Since yesterday, I have also taken the treatment of Bruckner instead of Weißmayr and I must go to the (High-)Belvedere every 2 or 3 days. (...) »

#### 1895 : Mahler visits Brahms in Ischl

**July 1895** : Gustav Mahler makes his second annual visit to Johannes Brahms, at (Bad) Ischl. Brahms has been considering writing a « Cantata Symphony » which, later, transforms into the « Vier ernste Gesänge » (4 Serious Songs) . Mahler takes the waters for a few days.

#### The Monte Carlo project

**Probably before Wednesday, 31 July 1895** : Letter from Archduchess Gisela of Austria to Anton Bruckner :

The Archduchess supports the idea of a Bruckner concert in Monte Carlo (performance of the 7th Symphony ?) . Access to the music-scores must be solved.

**Wednesday, 31 July 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Duchess Amélie of Bavaria :

Following her advice, Bruckner immediately asked music-publisher Albert J. Gutman, who is out of Vienna, to send the music-scores (of the 7th Symphony ?) to Monte Carlo. Since the beginning of July, Bruckner lives on the Upper-Belvedere, by the grace of the Emperor. He is still not completely healthy.

#### Giving news to his brother

**Wednesday, 31 July 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Name-Day congratulations. After moving to the Upper-Belvedere, Bruckner is slowly getting better. « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr asks Ignaz to give greetings to St. Florian's music teacher Karl Aigner, Prelate Ferdinand Moser, the clergy, the priests, and especially, Bruckner's friend Professor Bernhard Deubler. She also mentions that Archduchess Marie Valérie, Duchess Amélie and the Princess of Monaco (Marie Alice Heine) had often written to Bruckner.

#### Summer without any discomfort

**Around July - August 1895** : Anton Bruckner spent the summer without any discomfort. He often goes-out on his own again, leaving the small sector of the Belvedere.

#### Bruckner plays to Doctor Heller

Anton Bruckner became indifferent to performances of his works on the international scene. He also distanced himself from his friends. He spent most of his time in his arm-chair. Occasionally, he attempted a musical chord on his old « Bösendorfer » grand piano, and then, tried to transcribe it with a trembling hand. All his thoughts were directed at the Finale of the 9th, a movement that evokes distress and existential questioning, and the composer's struggle with the « Almighty God ». Faced with fatality and his extreme state of weakness, he began to work on a transition from the Adagio to the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) .

**Sunday, 25 August 1895** : Doctor Richard Heller writes in his personal diary :

Anton Bruckner has played to me on his Bösendorfer piano the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) accompanying figure of the Finale of the 9th Symphony.

Heller tells how Bruckner « went over to the piano and played me parts of the Symphony with shaking hands, but with undiminished accuracy and strength. I have often regretted the fact that I cannot play or write down music after one hearing because, then, I might be able to give some idea of the end of the 9th Symphony. »

Heller felt sure that the composer « had drawn-up a contract with his “ dear God ”. If “ He ” willed that the Symphony, which was indeed to be a hymn of praise to God, should be finished, “ He ” should give Bruckner the time he needed for his task ; if he died too soon and his musical offering was left incomplete, God had only himself to

blame. »

Bruckner's biographer Max Auer also claimed that he saw a page of the score (either at or near the end of the Finale) in which all the leading themes are « piled on top of each other, as in the Finale of the 8th Symphony » .

In his very sure footed Bruckner biography (« Wege zu Bruckner » , Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg, 1942, 1944, 211 pages) , Peter Raabe quoted Doctor Heller :

« I believe, to be able to clarify some pronouncements from Bruckner, that in his ideas he had to some extent concluded a contract with God. If the dear Lord wanted him to complete the Symphony, which is intended to be a canticle to God, then He must bestow life for as long as is needed ; should he die earlier, then it is God's own fault if He receives an uncompleted work. Devoutness was, by the way, a principal feature of this great genius. He prayed diligently, and even when these prayers sometimes took on very peculiar forms, they were nevertheless deeply felt and piously brought forth. As no one could disturb him when he was at prayer, which he carried-out on his knees before his large crucifix, I had the opportunity several times, standing quietly in the room, to hear his prayers. He praised a number of “ Our Fathers ” and “ Hail Marys ” and closed with a fully freestyle prayer, such as, “ Dear Lord, let me be in good health again soon, look, I need my health so that I can complete the 9th ”. He uttered this last passage in a somewhat impatient manner, closing with a triple “ Amen ”, whereby, on a few occasions, with the 3rd “ Amen ”, he struck against his thighs with both hands, such that one couldn't help but think that he thought to himself :

“ If the dear Lord does not hear that now, then it is not my fault ! ” »

The Symphony was intended to conclude with a « song of praise » in D major, which Bruckner even played to Heller on the piano. But D major had not merely to be arrived at, it had to be won as the culminating act of a comprehensive tonal process. Bruckner had given, in the 5th Symphony, the definitive demonstration of the difference between attaining and confirming a tonic ; but, unfortunately, the connected thinking necessary was the now the hardest thing for him to achieve. We are left with images - Bruckner playing the ending of his Symphony to Heller ; Heller vainly urging Bruckner to write it down ; Bruckner, in one of his brighter moments, playing a « Ländler » for Heller and his wife ; and Heller in his later days in Salzburg (he lived until 1934, 2 years after the first performance of the « Urtext » version of the 9th) with the ending of the 9th locked in the recesses of his memory.

Although the final double barline cannot be found in the material which survives today, we still have a clear impression of the Finale as a whole. For only very few measures has no music whatsoever of Bruckner's survived.

### The annual grant

**Tuesday, 3 September 1895** : Anton Meißner's entry in Bruckner's pocket calendar (from December 1895) :

The annual honorific grant of 400 Florins from the Upper-Austrian Parliament allocated to Anton Bruckner (on 30 October 1890) was handed-over to lawyer Theodor Reisch on September 3, 1895.

**Thursday, 30 October 1890** : 10th Session of the Upper-Austrian Parliament, chaired by Abbot Leonhard Achleuthner (Coordinators : Baron von Puthon, Councilor Karl Heyß) . Bishop of Linz Franz Maria Doppelbauer's request to pay an annual honorific grant of 400 Florins to Anton Bruckner is unanimously accepted.

Telegram to Bruckner :

« TELEGRAM Number 8447 to Imperial organist Anton Bruckner, Vienna (hand-writing : « Heßgaße Number 7 »)

(Stamp on the left : « 30/10 Linz 102 (/) 12 30 (time ?) »)

« To Vienna from Linz. 577 19 (?) 30/10 12.

During today's assembly, the Upper-Austrian Parliament was unanimously pleased to vote an annual honorific grant of 400 Gulden. Doctor (Max) Edlbacher (Lawyer) . »

### Resuming his lectures

**September 1895** : Anton Bruckner announces to the University of Vienna that he will resume his lectures in the Winter Semester 1895-1896. However, on the recommendation of his physicians, he had to abandon this plan later.

Eduard Stummer had inscribed in the Faculty of Philosophy (entry later deleted, again) .

Bruckner's pocket calendar entries (unknown hand-writing) :

Addresses of Doctor Theodor Reisch (with date addition : 10 July 1895) .

Address of Anton Bruckner on the Upper-Belvedere (draft of a future business-card ?) .

**Tuesday, 10 September 1895** : According to the « Deutsche Volksblatt » Number 2401 (page 2) , the « Österreichische Volkszeitung » Number 248 (page 2) (« Neuigkeitsbote ») and the 2 « Kreuzer » edition of the same newspaper (page 4) :

Since Anton Bruckner has recovered from his illness, he will resume his lectures at the University of Vienna.

### Visit of a university student

**Around September - October 1895** : Student Karl Kobald, registered at the University of Vienna since September, visits Anton Bruckner at his Upper-Belvedere apartment.

### Pocket calendar entries

**October 1895** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entries (unknown hand-writing) :

Address of Doctor Richard Heller and Liezent.

Name : Ploteny.

### Bruckner can no longer eat chocolate

**Sunday, 13 October 1895** : The international press reports that Anton Bruckner told a friend who visited him a few days ago that he wanted to complete his 9th Symphony, which he devoted to God, like his « Te Deum » (WAB 45) .

Rehearsals of the String Quintet (WAB 112) are planned to be held in his Upper-Belvedere apartment.

« Anton Bruckner can no longer eat chocolate, and if he leaves his room for a few moments in order to take some fresh air outside in the park, he is confronted with chilliness and has to retreat immediately. And yet, the Master is tireless in composing. He has completed his 9th Symphony up to the Finale, and carries on with the idea of composing a transition-part to his “ Te Deum ” as a conclusion.

The genius man said to a friend who came to visit him a few days ago :

“ I have dedicated the 8th Symphony to my dear Emperor and the 9th Symphony to the dear God in deep reverence, therefore, I should end with a ' Te Deum ', and then, I will lay-down the pen forever. ”

Doctor Leopold Schrötter takes care of the sick Bruckner with self-sacrificing love.

The Bohemian Chamber Music Association will play the String Quartet of the Master during their concerts in Vienna. To make Bruckner happy, the rehearsals will take place in his apartment. »

### The uncle of Ernestine Korda

**Wednesday, 16 October 1895** : The uncle of Ernestine Korda, Anton Albert, visits Anton Bruckner at his Upper-Belvedere apartment in the morning.

### Must see Ernestine again

**Wednesday, 16 October 1895** : Letter from Anton Albert to Ernestine Korda :

« Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr is helped by a « new cleaning lady » . Doctor Leopold Schrötter's assistant, Alexander von Weißmayr, is visiting Bruckner every 2 days (he is here today) . Bruckner is feeling quite well, but for now, he is victim of exudation. He wants to see Ernestine again.

### Leopold Schönchen

**Tuesday, 22 October 1895** : Letter from sculptor Viktor Tilgner to Anton Bruckner :

Artist Leopold Schönchen (1855-1935) was commissioned to paint a portrait of Anton Bruckner in Munich. Archduchess Gisela of Austria wants Bruckner to sit for him. « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr would make the necessary arrangements.

The painter, graphic artist, and sculptor Leopold Schönchen was born in 1855 in Augsburg, and died in 1935 in Munich. His grave is at the « Nordfriedhof » (Northern Cemetery) . From 1877, he studied with Hermann Baisch at the Academy of Fine-Arts in Munich ; he also studied in Karlsruhe. He worked in Holland, Belgium, England, and Scandinavia - but not in Munich. Some of his paintings are exhibited at the Munich State Gallery. He was married to female painter Beatrice Frederickson.

### Waldeck pays tribute to Bruckner

**Sunday, 27 October 1895** : Letter from Linz organist Karl Waldeck to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Waldeck wrote after the « glorious » performance of the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) in Linz, in October 1895 :

« Like me, every discerning listener will be convinced anew that Anton Bruckner is the most powerful of living composers and one of the greatest composers of all time. »

### Ignaz wants to come to Vienna

**Sunday, 27 October 1895** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to his brother Anton (Vienna) :

Ignaz wants to learn about his brother's improved health-condition. Ignaz talked to St. Florian's Prelate Ferdinand Moser on his Name-Day. The latter was delighted with the relocation of Bruckner at the Upper-Belvedere. Some choirmen from St. Florian's monastery left for Linz to be part of today's concert. Ignaz will probably come to Vienna only after the New Year since his presence would be too much due to the upcoming rehearsals leading to the performance of the 4th Symphony on January 5. Greetings to « Frau Kathi » .

**Wednesday, 30 October 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Anton tells his brother not to come now to Vienna. Bruckner is still suffering. If friends from St. Florian want to write, Ignaz should notify him first. Name-Day greetings (4 November) to Prelate Karl Aigner.

« (...) Do not come now, wait till next year. I am still suffering. Give my respects to the holy Prelate ! (...) If anyone should write, please let me know in advance.

Your brother Anton.

Vienna, 30 October 1895. »

« (...) Komme jetzt nicht, - bis künftiges Jahr. Ich bin noch immer leidend ! Hochwürdigsten Herr Prälaten meinen Respekt ! (...) Sollte jemand schreiben, so melde gleich im Voraus meinen Dank.

Dein Bruder Anton.

Wien, 30. Oktober 1895. »

This poignant letter is concerning his health, stating that he is still suffering and will not be coming before the following year, sending his respects to the clergy and to « Herr » Aigner at St. Florian, sending the latter congratulations on his Name-Day, and expressing his thanks in advance should anyone write.

The letter follows one of 27 October 1895 from the composer's younger brother Ignaz in which the latter informs Bruckner about the performance of his 4th Symphony conducted by Adalbert Schreyer at the « Linzer Redouten-Saal » which is part of the first « Musikverein » Concert of 1896. Mentioned in warm terms here is Bruckner's friend, and sometime copyist, the St. Florian music-teacher Karl Aigner.

1 page, 8vo (20.4 x 12.8 cm) , integral blank, central horizontal fold, Vienna, 30 October 1895, some later pencil annotations, erased, to head of letter, traces of mount to verso of integral.

Ignaz Bruckner was employed as organ blower at the Monastery of St. Florian. He could afford to have a « private organ » . With his savings, he bought that organ (by the firm Mauracher, 1901) which is still used today in the Lady Chapel (annex to the Collegiate Church) .

### Writing to Ernestine Korda

**Wednesday, 30 October 1895** : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Ernestine Korda :

Bruckner thanks Ernestine for her letter. His suffering is less intense.  
He says : « Like a prisoner, I wait for redemption. »

### Bruckner, the godfather

**Thursday, 31 October 1895** : The son of the Almeroth couple is born. His friend Anton Bruckner is chosen as godfather. Hence, the origin of the child's first name : Karl (the father) and Anton (the godfather) . The small family resides in Steyr at « Dukartstraße » Number 11.

**Monday, 25 November 1895** : Karl Almeroth's son, Carl Anton, is baptized at the parish of Maria Treu. « Frau » Tilgner (the wife of sculptor Viktor Tilgner) is the godmother. Due to his bad health-condition, Bruckner the godfather is

replace by Hugo Abbass.

Steyr's hair-dresser : Josef (« Sepp ») Stöger

**Thursday, 3 February 1916** : Article in the « Steyrer Zeitung » reporting on : the « Kränzchen » Men's Choir Society (« Männergesangverein ») ; the legacy from August Riener : a score-sheet from the 9th Symphony (**WAB 109**) ; and the legacy from the local « Friseur » Josef (« Sepp ») Stöger : a rounded frame containing Bruckner's hair.

Bruckner always stopped at Stöger's « salon » when he was in town (visiting him sometimes 3 times a week !).

It is said that Bruckner could not bear the « mechanical » hair-clipper.

He said to Stöger :

« Turn-off that devilish machine ! »

As instructed, Stöger had to use the « regular » scissors to cut every hair almost to the root !

(Upper-Austrian villagers wore their hair very short.)

...

« A member of the Liedertafel “ Frohsinn ” in Linz said Bruckner might possibly have looked like a Cæsar in the later years of his life. At the time he knew him, Bruckner had no such expression at all in his dear, good face. He wore his hair cut so short that many people remembered him as bald. In fact, this habit was very peculiar, for the identifying mark of the musician in those days was his long mane. I remember his haircut impressed me strongly when I met him. Some writers claim he was actually beardless, but in reality he wore a very short moustache, which was almost invisible. These differences in description are very interesting, for they are part of the general uncertainty surrounding his whole personality. »

(Werner Wolff. Anton Bruckner - « Rustic Genius »)

...

When the session was finally over, Stöger took the time to carefully collect the hair of his famous guest.

Bruckner exclaimed :

« What are you doing ??? »



Stöger replied that he was collecting his hair as a souvenir.

Bruckner retorted :

« “ Sö san a Schlaucherl. ” But you are quite right, perhaps a fool would give 100 Guilders for them. »

Stöger put them inside a decorated frame and wrote on the back :

« Ich bestätige mit Ehrenwort und Unterschrift, daß ich diese im Bilde befindlichen Haare von dem ehrwürdigen Haupte des verewigten Meisters der Tonkunst Doktor Anton Bruckner geschnitten habe. »

« I confirm with a word of honour and signature that I have cut the hairs included in this frame from the venerable head of the immortal Master of Music, Doctor Anton Bruckner. »

(Josef Stöger, hair-dresser. Steyr, 10 March 1937.)

Josef (« Sepp ») Stöger was born in Steyr (at « Werndlgasse » Number 5) on 21 January 1869. The son of a factory-worker, he had 2 sisters and 1 brother. Stöger went to the « Volksschule » (Elementary school) located near the Church of St. Michael - his teacher was Ignaz Schmid. After his training and apprenticeship as a hair-dresser with Henry Eidenböck, Stöger traveled to Switzerland. He has been a self-employed « Friseur » in the town of Steyr since 1900. He first established his « salon » on « Direktionsstraße » (« Direktionsberg ») in the « Volksmund » sector ; then, in 1911, in the city-centre at « Zwischenbrücken » Number 1.

Stöger was very much connected to his community and homeland.

He was a member (singer) of the « Kränzchen » Men's Choir Society.

His poetic talent emerged only after the First World War, where he served as a military of inferior quality (« Landsturmmann ») .

He was the author of 2 books : « I bi à da » and « A so san ma » .

He wrote dialect poems based on text by H. Hack.

This gentle and lovable man distinguished himself by a Socratic lifestyle. His charismatic humour attracted many people who opened their hearts.

Many famous Styrian personalities came to his barber-shop :

Painter Adolf Reich ; Steyr painter Jörg Reitter ; painters Götzinger, Konstantin Stoitzner, Jung, Diltsch, Therese Kratky,

Pamperl-Kautsch, and Dworschak.

Styrian poets Albert Bachner, Hermann Landsiedl, Franz Spindler, and Linus Käfer.

Writers Ludwig Huna, Fritz Stüber-Gunther, Viktor Trautzi, and Franz Resl.

Dialect writers Karl Seuffert, Anna Zelenka, Gregor Goldbacher, and Wilhelm Schaumberger.

Music composers Eggermann, Franz Xaver Müller, Josef Brauneis, Karl Seuffert, Wagner-Schönkirch, Franz Wegscheider, Albert Weinschenk, and Wodniansky.

Opera singers Feichtmayr and Sergl.

The Kittel String Quartet.

Singers Otto and Maria Perkonig.

In 1938, the Steyr citizens celebrated Stöger's 70th birthday, although he was just 69.

Josef Stöger died on 30 April 1938. He did not live to see his 70th year ...

### Bruckner's possessions

**November 1895** : Anton Meißner's entry in Bruckner's pocket calendar :

Meißner gives back a black time-clock to someone (Bruckner ?) . He also keeps Bruckner's honorary doctoral ring and a jar full of ducats.

### Doctor Lorenz's address

**December 1895** : Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar entries :

Unknown hand-writing : Address of Doctor Adolf Lorenz.

Anton Meißner's hand-writing : Hand-over of the document from the Upper-Austrian Parliament (31 October 1890) to Doctor Theodor Reisch (on 3 September 1895) .

Anton Bruckner's hand-writing : Payment of 50 Florins to Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr, covering the period from August 1895 to the end of January 1896.

### Berlin : Mahler conducts the « Resurrection »

**Friday, 13 December 1895** : Gustav Mahler conducted the premiere of his 2nd Symphony in Berlin under terribly discouraging circumstances.

First, in order to finance the concert, he had to use his own funds and borrow money from friends. To fill the hall, tickets were given away to musicians and students from the Berlin Conservatory. Some critics refused to attend the concert and, to top it all off, on the day of the concert, Mahler was struck-down by a massive migraine. Nevertheless, he dragged himself to the podium and forced himself to conduct. After the performance, he collapsed in his dressing-room. What happened during the concert was a transcendent moment in musical history. Those in the hall knew they were witnessing a once-in-a-life-time experience of creation.

### Help from Wilhelm Jahn

**Monday, 30 December 1895** : Hugo Wolf calls on Wilhelm Jahn, the director of the Vienna Opera, to personally present the score of his recently completed Opera, « Der Corregidor » . He is told by a bureaucrat that he may not see Jahn and must submit his score in the usual way.

### Sacrament of death in succession

Anton Bruckner repeatedly received the sacrament of death, most recently by the chaplain of the Belvedere Castle, Father Heribert Witsch.

### WAB 109 : Final choir

Rudolf Weinwurm suggests Anton Bruckner to use the German Easter hymn « Christ ist erstanden » (Christ is risen) as a final choir for the 9th Symphony. Bruckner informs choir-Master Franz Schneiderhan (Austrian Culture functionary and member of the Board of directors of the Vienna Men's Choir Society (« Wiener Männergesangsvereins »)) after a rehearsal at the « Musikvereinsaal » .

### Undated New Year greetings

**End of December 1895 (?)** : New Year greetings' letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) - cited by Max Auer, and then, Andrea Harrandt :

Based on its lettering, the letter dates more probably from the end of 1893 (or earlier) than the end of 1895.

Perhaps, Anton Bruckner wrote a second New Year greetings' letter as he reports in his letter of August 11, 1896. 3 unanswered letters were sent to his brother Ignaz (however, with a large time intervals !).

### Hans Stadler

**Before 1896 (?)** : Ivory miniature by Hans Stadler (1848-1916) based on a portrait of Anton Bruckner.

Hans (Johann) Stadler was born in 1848 in Bamberg, Germany ; and died in 1916 in Vienna. He is first mentioned as working in Vienna in 1872. Stadler studied at the Academy of Munich (under Georg Hiltensberger) and was also a pupil of Georg Raab at the Vienna Academy. Besides ivory, he also used porcelain for his miniatures. From 1883, he was a member of the « Wiener Künstlerhaus » .

### New Year greetings to Kitzler

Writing from St. Florian, 17 years later, Anton Bruckner sent Otto Kitzler warm greetings for the New Year and thanked him for his offer to conduct the 4th Symphony (**WAB 104**) . Because of his declining health, however, it was unlikely that he would be able to come to the performance. Once again, he referred to himself as « your former pupil » . A few months later, Bruckner supplied Kitzler with further information about his ill health. He mentioned that he had retired from both the « Hofkapelle » and the Conservatory and was no longer allowed to play the organ. As he had to avoid situations which might cause stress, there was a great deal of uncertainty about his travelling to Brno to attend Kitzler's projected performances of the 4th Symphony and « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) with the « Musikverein » Choir and Orchestra.

### « Now, it's all too late »

**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 » .

5th 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 4th 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 Gætz, 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 4th 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. »

Just a week later, on **Sunday, 12 January 1896**, Bruckner heard his « Te Deum » at one of the « Gesellschaft » concerts. It was the last time he was to hear one of his own works, for there was no question of his being able to travel to Brünn (Brno) to hear Otto Kitzler conduct his 2nd Symphony on **Wednesday, 25 March 1896**.

### Brahms recommends the « Te Deum »

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 « 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 « 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 : Richard von Perger.

Severe depression and a tendency to religious mania start to appear for Bruckner.

### Vienna academic Wagner Society

Am 2. Februar 1873 behördlich genehmigter Verein, der im Allgemeinen die Förderung der Reformbestrebungen Richard Wagners und im Speziellen die Aufführung von dessen Ring des Nibelungen in Bayreuth / Deutschland im Auge hatte. Obwohl sich bereits 1871 ein Wagner Verein in Wien konstituiert hatte (1876 aufgelöst) , der im Prinzip dieselben Ziele verfolgte, kam es 1872 zu einem Gründungsaufwurf für den Akademischer Wagener-Verein (Gründungsversammlung am 10. November 1872) durch Karl Goldmark, Johann von Herbeck, Otto Dessoff, Johann Hellmesberger senior, Gustav

Schönaich, Josef Standhartner und Josef Lewinsky. Die Vereinsmitglieder rekrutierten sich vor allem aus dem Bürgertum und der Studentenschaft, wobei einige Mitglieder auch in führenden Funktionen in der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien beziehungsweise später in der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft tätig waren. 1901 zählte man 227 ordentliche, 138 unterstützende und 20 Ehrenmitglieder. Zur Erreichung des Vereinszwecks wurden Konzerte (Bösendorfer-Saal, kleiner Musikvereinssaal), interne Musikabende und Vorträge veranstaltet, 1881 erfolgte die Gründung eines Vereinschors. Nach der erfolgreichen Uraufführung des gesamten Rings (1876) erfolgte (1879) eine Neuorientierung des Vereins samt einer Statutenänderung, 1883 eine weitere Neugestaltung als Zweigverein des in Nürnberg / Deutschland gegründeten Allgemeinen Richard Wagner Vereins. Vermehrt wurden nun auch die Werke Franz Liszts, Anton Bruckners (ab 1879) und Hugo Wolfs (ab 1887-1888) gepflegt, jedoch gelangten vereinzelt auch Kompositionen von Orlando di Lasso und Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina sowie aus dem Barock und der Wiener Klassik zur Aufführung. Ab 1898 finden sich weiters Namen wie Richard Strauß, Christian Sinding, Ludwig Thuille, Hans Pfitzner und Joseph Marx auf den Konzertprogrammen. Der Verein konnte in den 1880er Jahren jährlich zwischen 1.100 und 1.600 Florins zur Unterstützung nach Bayreuth senden, später waren es dann meist rund 1.000 Florins. Ab 1884 organisierte man Fahrten zu den Bayreuther Festspielen in Sonderzügen. Der Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein wurde 1939 durch die nationalsozialistischen Machthaber aufgelöst, sein Vermögen und Archiv ging an die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Als Nachfolgevereinigungen wurden 1951 der Richard Wagner Verband und die Österreichische Gesellschaft der Freunde von Bayreuth ins Leben gerufen, erstere besteht heute (2006) noch.

Als künstlerische Leiter des Wiener akademischer Wagner-Vereins fungierten und andere Felix Mottl (1873-1880), Hans Paumgartner (1880-1881), Eduard Schütt (1881-1887), Josef Schalk (ab 1887) und Ferdinand Foll (um 1902). Prominente Mitglieder des Vereins waren und andere Anton Bruckner (ab 1873, 1885 Ehrenmitglied), Gustav Mahler (1877-1879), Hans Rott (1875-1879), Guido Adler (1873-1885) und Ludwig Bösendorfer (Ehrenmitglied).

Weitere mit Wagner in Verbindung stehende Wiener Vereine des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts waren der Deutsch akademische Verein Walhalla, der aus einer Abspaltung des Wiener akademischer Wagner-Vereins hervorging, antisemitisch ausgerichtet war und bis 1902 bestand, sowie der Neue Richard Wagner-Verein, der 1890 ebenfalls als Zweigverein des Allgemeinen Richard Wagner Vereins gegründet wurde.

...

The first Richard Wagner Society was launched in Mannheim (Germany), in 1871, 1 year after the premiere of the German composer's Opera « Die Walküre », in Munich. The brainchild of Wagner's longtime friend, the music-publisher Emil Heckel, the first Society was a simple, locally-conceived venue for celebrating Wagner's music. In the wake of Wagner's difficulties in securing interest in the public subscription for his future Bayreuth Festival, Heckel suggested to the composer that he sponsor additional Societies to help secure support. Wagner embraced the idea enthusiastically and, by 1872, Societies had been established in Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and London - the latter founded by Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905), the author of « Richard Wagner : His Tendencies and Theories », published in 1873.

Richard Wagner's dream, as described in a letter written in 1882, was that his Bayreuth Festival would be free for everyone to attend, however, this was never possible because of the extremely high costs to organize and produce it. Nonetheless, based on Wagner's desires, Societies refocused their efforts and began making it possible for promising

talented musicians to attend. Public interest in supporting subscriptions to fund scholarships was initially tepid but, from 1919 forward, the number of Societies increased steadily.

Guido Adler's invocations of chauvinistic rhetoric might be dismissed as a reflection of his youthful involvement with the Reading Society for German Students and the Viennese Academic Wagner Society. After all, his association with these groups preceded the publication of these essays by nearly a decade. The Reading Society was an organization dedicated to advancing an openly « *graffdeutsch* » cultural agenda in deliberate contradistinction to the supra-national vision of Austrian identity cultivated by Habsburg officialdom. The Wagner Society was, likewise, deeply concerned with national questions and with Wagner's contributions to the discourse on German cultural identity, in particular. In its early years, that Society published, in each of its annual reports, a single essay by one of its members addressing an issue of pressing concern for the organization as a whole. And in each of its first 3 years of operation, its featured essay considered Wagner's positions on German cultural nationhood. In its first annual report (1873), the Society published « *Richard Wagner and the National Idea* », in which the future « *Gymnasium* » teacher Adalbert Horowitz recounted Wagner's emerging consciousness of his German heritage during his years in Paris. The report for the following year featured the essay, « *Richard Wagner and German Art* », in which the architect Camillo Sitte argued that Wagner's music-dramas had effected the « *revival* » (« *Wiederbelebung* ») and « *re-awakening* » (« *Erwachen* ») of German art by casting themes and images of German mythology in a modern guise. And, in 1875, Baron Hans von Wolzogen, in « *German Folk Poetry as Foundation for a National Festival* », described Wagner's Bayreuth Festival as a phenomenon equivalent, in its nation-building potential, to the political unification of Germany under Otto von Bismarck.

Wolzogen argued that :

« The Festival is an echo of the victorious period of 1870 and 1871 in that it celebrates and portrays a united and energetic expression of the national spirit (“ *Nationalgeist* ”) and a powerful awareness of its nature and effects. »

Though Guido Adler was not among the authors of the essays published in these reports, he was, as a guiding member of the Society, certainly privy to the discussions from which they arose.

But while we might be tempted to account for Adler's lectures on Mozart, Bach, and Händel, by emphasizing his early associations with a figure like Wolzogen, we must remember that those lectures were written long after he had ceased active participation in both the Reading Society and the Wagner Society.

...

Many Viennese born in the late-1840's and the 1850's were deeply affected by Austria's loss of influence in the German Empire to Prussia in 1866, and they associated this loss with the post-revolutionary Liberal government. The « *völkisch* », German national movement had begun among university students with the establishment in 1871 of the Society of German Students in Vienna (« *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens* »), a group that based much of its philosophy for the regeneration of German culture on the ideas of Nietzsche and Wagner. The founding of the Vienna academic Wagner Society, 2 years later, strengthened student interest in Wagner's theoretical writings. Their generation shared with Wagner an enthusiasm for the ideas of Schopenhauer, and the Society espoused their belief in

music as the direct expression of the undifferentiated Will. These student groups sparked discussions and ideas that would shape the members' later political and artistic careers.

The Society of German Students was dissolved by the government at the end of 1878 as a danger to the State. At that time, it included not only students but 135 professors, among them 18 Imperial Counselors (« Hofräte ») and 24 members of parliament. Its list of members ranged from music-patron Nikolaus Dumba to budding German nationalist Georg von Schönerer (brother of theatre director Alexandrine von Schönerer). Feelings of German artistic and political nationalism belonged not merely to those of a fringe group or transient students, but rather reached into the upper echelons of Viennese society. During the last year of the Society's existence one of its members, Siegfried Lipiner, gave a lecture, « On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present », in which he equated religion with transcendent emotion, and as a show of respect the Society published his speech at its own expense. In 1881, a few of the more artistically inclined former members of the Society of German Students formed their own group, the Saga Society (« Sagengesellschaft »), devoted to German myth and music. Of their members, Lipiner went on to write the libretto to Karl Goldmark's « Merlin » and Richard von Kralik worked throughout the 1880's and 1890's on editions of German sagas and folk-stories of early Christianity.

...

When Richard Wagner reappeared later in Vienna to supervise performances of « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin », he was surrounded by admiring crowds wherever he went. « Lohengrin » was already established as a great favourite with the Viennese. However, certain aspects of the performances showed particular respect for Wagner's wishes. They were given without cuts, despite the usual practice in Vienna, and showed an attention to detail which confirmed that Wagner had had a hand in all elements of the production. He also had the benefit of the conductorship of Hans Richter ; the latter had begun his reign at the Vienna Opera with a performance of « Die Meistersinger » earlier that year and was later to conduct the first Bayreuth Festival.

Nevertheless, when Wagner was finally called upon to respond to the public ovations after the last performance, he dismayed his hearers by saying the whole had been a success « as far as the present resources would allow ». This remark aroused much resentment and, indeed, became notorious. His scornful dismissal of the city's artistic capacity undoubtedly spurred on the Viennese critics in their hostility to the Bayreuth Festival in the following year. They answered the composer's slight by implying that he had now created an artificial public which he ruled like an aristocratic despot.

Such judgements could not necessarily be easily dismissed in Vienna, where the critics wielded an unusual amount of power. Wagner himself attributed some of the outcome of his dealings in Vienna in the early 1860's to the influence of Eduard Hanslick, while later both Hugo Wolf and Anton Bruckner knew what it was to suffer from critics' boycotts in Vienna. Wolf attributed some of the critics' influence to the natural indolence of Viennese audiences. Their conservatism was undoubtedly encouraged by the pride with which they might identify Mozart or Beethoven as their composers. This was exploited by certain critics at Wagner's death. The « Neue Freie Presse » pointed-out that while money was being collected for a Wagner memorial, Mozart had not been given such an honour. When Wilhelm Jahn came to conduct the « Faust » Overture in Wagner's memory at a Philharmonic concert on 25 February 1883, the



public responded with a demonstration in Mozart's favour. Afterwards, the critics declared that the « natural » composer Mozart had triumphed over the « unnatural » Wagner.

It was incidents such as this which justified the forming of the Vienna Wagner Society into a « battle unit » against Viennese philistinism.

The Vienna academic Wagner Society (« Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein ») was created on **Sunday, 10 November 1872** and was officially confirmed on **Sunday, 2 February 1873** by one of its founders, Guido Adler. Like its model in Germany, it was aimed to promote and disseminate the works of Richard Wagner. (A first Wagner Society appeared in Vienna in 1871 but was dissolved in 1876 - it was one of the oldest registered associations in the world. Karl Goldmark, Johann von Herbeck, Otto Dessoff, Johann Hellmesberger senior, Gustav Schönaich, Josef Standhartner and Josef Lewinsky were members.) . After the second performance of the « Ring des Nibelungen » in 1876, Richard Wagner who worked for a quarter of a Century on the realization of the Bayreuth Festival, personally met the new Viennese members and expressed his gratitude. His concern was now focusing on how to fill the « Festpielhaus » in anticipation of the third performance of the Tetralogy. During the same period, a Wagner Museum was opened in Vienna.

The Vienna academic Wagner Society was founded to help raise funds for the Bayreuth Festival ; it was one of many Wagner Societies that were linked to the work of the Society of Bayreuth Patrons. Written into its statutes was also the general aim « to promote the knowledge and appreciation of Wagner's reforms in music and drama through discussion and performances » .

Baron Hans von Wolzogen emphasized, through the pages of the « Bayreuther Blätter » , the importance of people coming to know and accept the whole of Wagner, writer as well as musician. Thus, although there seemed no particular lack of Wagner performances in Vienna, with Hans Richter ensconced as conductor of the Vienna Opera and Philharmonic concerts, the battle for greater understanding had to continue.

While the Vienna Wagner Society's aims initially coincided with those of Bayreuth, their methods of promoting a sense of Wagner's significance were rather different. Their internal concerts were run essentially as members' evenings without music-critics being invited.

Apart from Wagner's works, the Vienna academic Wagner Society also advocated those of Franz Liszt, Anton Bruckner (from 1879) , and Hugo Wolf (from 1887-1888) . Compositions by Orlando di Lasso and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, as well as from the Baroque and Viennese Classical music, were also performed. Artistic directors : Felix Mottl (1873-1880) , Hans Paumgartner (1880-1881) , Eduard Schütt (1881-1887) , Josef Schalk (from 1887) , Ferdinand Foll (around 1902) . Prominent members : Gustav Mahler (1877-1879) , Hans Rott (1875-1879) , Guido Adler (1873-1885) and Ludwig Bösendorfer (honorary member) .

Numerous pupils and students of Bruckner belonged to it. In the so-called « Internal Evenings » and weekly meetings of the Society, the first important performances of Bruckner's Symphonic works were performed in arrangements for piano (2 or 4 hands) mostly in the « Bösendorfer-Saal » , or in the small hall of the « Musikverein » . The pianists,

in charge at these events, were : Hans Paumgartner, Felix Mottl, Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann, and Ferdinand Löwe.

Later, the Society also organized full-performances of the Symphonies in the « Musikvereins-Saal » , under the direction of Hans Richter. Richter ought to be reckoned one of the most outstanding interpreters of Bruckner's music. He was one of the regular conductors at the Bayreuth Festival and conducted all of Bruckner's Symphonies, up to the 5th and 6th, in the composer's lifetime, not only in Vienna but also abroad.

Bruckner himself joined the Society after his return from Bayreuth, in **October 1873**, and remained a member to the end of his life. In **1885**, he was made an honorary member.

From **1884 to 1893**, Doctor Viktor Boller (1853-1904) , a judge of the Austrian Court of Appeal, acted as president of the Vienna academic Wagner Society.

The first performance of Bruckner's 9th Symphony was conducted by Ferdinand Löwe with the Vienna academic Wagner Society and the Vienna Concert Society on **Wednesday, 11 February 1903**.

The Society was dissolved in **1939** by the National-Socialists. Its money and archives were transferred to the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . But the Society was reactivated in the **1950's**. Some music-scores and manuscripts are now preserved at the City Hall Library.

...

Inquisitiveness and a fascination with the past were the target of Richard Wagner's attacks on Jews, whom he saw as reaching back into history, in order to compensate for a lack of originality. Yet, it was also the steady dominance of Jewish musicologists and thinkers that would further divide the Austro-German house between musical progressives and conservatives. On the one side, there was Eduard Hanslick and Heinrich Schenker, who held to the ideals of Classical sobriety and balance, along with the scholar Guido Adler, who chose to classify Wagner as a conservative, in stark contrast to the prevalent view of the time. The music-critic Robert Hirschfeld, a virtual contemporary of Adler, was seen by many as the leader of Vienna's anti-Mahler press. Nevertheless, Hirschfeld singled-out Anton Bruckner, rather than Johannes Brahms, as the culmination of abstract musical purity. It was the pupils and followers of these scholars and writers who would not only solidify Jewish support for musical tradition, but also provide a basis for progressive thinking. With Karl Goldmark, Robert Hirschfeld, Guido Adler and Julius Korngold, we see the dogmatic lines held by Hanslick rendered meaningless, as a new generation of Jews see in Wagner a composer who was not predominantly an anti-Semite but rather an artist who redefined the purpose of music.

In a lecture delivered to the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , Franz Schalk criticized artistic careerism, taking aim at technically proficient but uninspired orchestral performances and at institutions of music education that emphasized mechanical skills at the expense of spiritual understanding :

« It may, after all, have even been an impediment to the appreciation of Bruckner that his music is more German than anything else that we have had, until now, in purely instrumental music. To be sure, not more German than Bach

or Beethoven in so far as their basic character and that of their work is concerned, but more German in the form of expression.

Noting that Richard Wagner had made many Germans conscious of themselves as a people for the first time, Schalk asserted that many others continued to be alienated from the German spirit and concluded that Bruckner's power must seem like shapelessness to them ; his warmth-like childish ingenuousness. For the most un-German thing about us is precisely our artistic activity. To be German means, as our Master splendidly explained : to do a thing for its own sake. »

Schalk dwelt upon Bruckner's « German » artistic idealism ; he did not refer to the « Other » of German. Indeed, the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , the original audience for his address, included many Jews. This organization, which Theodor Helm likened, in 1889, to « a miniature Bayreuth for Bruckner » , declined to support the anti-Semitic politics that began to pose a serious threat to Viennese Liberalism, in the 1880's.

According to the critic Josef Stolzinger, the Society went so far as to force-out members like himself « who reminded the directorate whether, in a subtle or blunt manner, that Wagner was an anti-Semite until the end of his life » . Still, a covert anti-Semitism can be discerned in the reviews of so eminent and steadfast an associate as Hans Paumgartner, for as Stolzinger's remark suggests, anti-Semitism was an inevitable part of the Wagnerian world-view. As is well-known, this often took the form of rejecting cultural traits considered « Jewish » , but accepting as « German » Jews who did not exhibit the objectionable traits : an ambiguous formulation that allowed for Jewish Wagnerites.

...

Franz Schalk's article on Anton Bruckner showed that he was prepared to be more flexible in his view of a Wagnerian « school » . He saw the absolute nature of Bruckner's Symphonies as part of Wagner's general spiritual view of music as the « eternal feminine » . There was certainly no question of Schalk not being dedicated to all aspects of Wagner's art, literary and musical. In some ways, his championing of Hugo Wolf alongside Bruckner in the Vienna Wagner Society completed the picture of Wagner's significance, since Wolf's songs followed Wagner in poetic content, though often not in style. The reports of the Society continued to group Bruckner and Wolf together, as examples of Wagner's influence in the complementary spheres of the Symphony and Song. Schalk confirmed that he did not intend to place either composer alongside Wagner himself. Nevertheless, the way each was singled-out for comment and the number of times their works were performed in the Society showed they were deemed worthy of consideration in their own right and not just as part of a group of Wagnerian after-effects.

The frequency with which Wolf's songs were performed in the Vienna Wagner Society aroused particular opposition. A year after regular informal gatherings to hear Wolf perform began in 1887, the music-critic Hans Paumgartner, an influential member of the Society, wrote to the Vienna « Abendpost » complaining that the Society was developing a Wolfian cult and bringing disgrace on Wagner's art. Bayreuth also seemed aware that Wolf's songs might pose some kind of threat. In December 1889, Baron Hans von Wolzogen enthused at great length over Wolf's ability to bring-out the variety and nuances of poetry in his Mörike songs. His enthusiasm continued in the editorial advertisement for the

Goethe songs in January 1890, but he now rebuked those who were calling Wolf the « new Schubert » . The accompanying recommendation to Wagner Societies to use the songs to fill-out their programmes was both an endorsement of Wolf and a reminder of his rightful position, as foil to the Master rather than genius in his own right. From this time, Wolf's name appeared less and less in the « Bayreuther Blätter » , to be overtaken by those of Martin Plüddemann and Hans Sommer, song-composers who showed less bewildering variety in their music and more obvious allegiances to Wagner. In his essay of 1892, Arthur Seidl had placed Wolf within his list of the Wagnerian « school » , but in the years 1898 to 1900, he revised his opinion and tried to show that enthusiasm for Wolf's songs as a Wagnerian product was misplaced.

Schalk was clearly not afraid if his support for Wolf separated him from Bayreuth or other Wagnerians. When it was discovered that the Vienna Wagner Society's statutes did not allow any money to be given to Wolf, since all its resources were to be employed for Bayreuth's purposes, Wolf's supporters formed their own smaller group within the Society. It is not surprising that those who wished to keep the Society's focus upon Wagner began to register their unrest in partisan demonstrations and eventually, in 1890, formed their own « New Vienna Wagner Society » . Yet, more was at stake for Schalk and other Wagnerians than merely the welfare of Hugo Wolf. Schalk saw his policy of promoting Wolf and Bruckner as a way of ensuring that Wagner's significance did not fall into the past, and thus, become part of a new conservatism. He quoted Wagner's own words that the concept of the monumental was antithetical to art. Schalk believed Bruckner and Wolf helped one to see Wagner with the eyes of the present, just as Wagner had given a new perspective to the Classical Masters. They were the confirmation of Wagner's place within history, the sign that he had encouraged a development larger than himself and so gained a true universality.

By placing Wagner within the flow of history, Schalk was opposing not only Vienna's reactionary critics, but also the Bayreuth establishment. For both believed that Wagner's art was a world in itself, even if the former group implied that this world was artificial and must soon die, and the latter that Wagner's world was the only real one and would outlast any other. Most important, Schalk implied that one must reach out beyond Wagner himself in order to perceive his significance, rather than relying upon the composer's own view of his art. Wagner himself spoke of the aim of the artist needing to be completely absorbed into his work, and of true art being part of the irresistible flow of life. This might conflict with the evidence in Bayreuth of his wishing to impose his personal will on all aspects of his creation. However, arguments over which represented the Master's true intentions (the Bayreuth Wagnerians with their emphasis on fixing an internal tradition, or Schalk's more open-view) would intractable he became. Friedrich Eckstein speaks of Schalk and Wolf continuing to spend much time discussing Nietzsche's views of Wagner together, particularly « The Case of Wagner » , which first appeared in 1888. Wolf differed from Schalk in approving Nietzsche's love of Frédéric Chopin and Georges Bizet's « Carmen » , though he would also argue on Wagner's behalf in these debates. The issues for and against the Master never seemed entirely resolved in Wolf's mind, and in his letters Wagnerian and Nietzschean ideas intermingled freely.

A similar mixture of influences was seen in the artistic and philosophical discussions of the famous « Café Griensteidl » , which Wolf frequented from the late 1870's. Here, Wagner was discussed alongside not only Nietzsche, but also topics such as Shelley, Ibsen, neurology, psychiatry, and socialism. Wagner, by no means, ruled in these debates ; some of his « Religion and Kunst » (Religion and art) aroused much disagreement when it appeared in 1880. However, this

circle did not exist in opposition to the Vienna Wagner Society. There was a large overlap between the 2 circles and members of the Society were described as joining in the discussion of « all possible kinds of problems concerning Wagner » .

When the Viennese music-critic Max Graf completed his own survey of the « Wagner-Probleme » at the beginning of the 20th Century, he saw himself as part of a new generation of Wagnerians emerging in Vienna. They were sceptical of the heroic, all-conquering picture of the artist painted by the Wagnerian « old guard » . Though they gave Wagner an apparently more limited role, they were a generation who had actually lived and breathed his music. While first generation Wagnerians, such as Franz Schalk, had to fight to establish Wagner's importance, the new generation was able to take it for granted. They approached his music through their own situation, seeing reflected within it the modernist concerns with sickness and renewal. Graf made a point of stressing the suffering of the heroes in Wagner's music-dramas, as they looked to new worlds but were unable to bring them into being. Wagner became seen as one who had realized the need for a new culture, even if he had not been able to realize it himself. The modernists were primarily concerned with the search for a future after Wagner. However, they created new pictures of his significance in the process, which brought the composer with them into the present. After the incipient struggles of the Vienna Wagner Society, such a generation confirmed that freedom from any narrow loyalty to Wagner helped open the way for his music to become part of a greater history.

### Vienna New Richard Wagner Society

An elaborate wake held by German-national university students in **March 1883** marked the occasion of Richard Wagner's death. Wagner's extreme popularity extended even to those students who did not belong to the Vienna academic Wagner Society, for as Hermann Bahr wrote, « every young person was a Wagnerian then. He was one before he had even heard a single measure of his music. » The closely policed event attracted 4,000 mourners from all ranks of society. German national fervour was inspired by the music performed, such as the battle hymn from the Opera « Rienzi » , « Wach' am Rhein » , and selections from « Tannhäuser » , and by charismatic speakers like Georg von Schönerer and the young Bahr, who was later expelled from the university for his participation in the almost treasonous event. The kind of passionate politics practised by these young men, filled with appeals to cultural patriotism and emotion, marked a deliberate departure from the cooler, more rational methods of their Liberal forefathers.

...

Reception of Richard Wagner's music and, even more, his writings had a direct impact on the volatile brands of mass politics that evolved in the city during the 1880's. 3 parties of lasting importance developed out of the chaotic anti-Liberal movement of that decade : the Right-wing Pan-Germans and Christian-Socials and the Left-wing Social-Democrats. During that decade, leaders or future leaders of all 3 parties belonged to the « Wiener akademischer Richard Wagner-Verein » (Vienna academic Richard Wagner Society) . Adam Wandruszka writes, moreover, that the parties' origins can be traced back « until one finally finds the “ founding fathers ” of all 3 camps (and thus of Austrian Party and domestic history in the 20th Century) gathered together in a single circle around the young Georg

von Schönerer. »

The basic condition that permitted political change was a gradual transition to universal male suffrage that began in 1882, when the vote was extended on the national level to lower middle-class men. But the insurgents succeeded because they refused to accept as a discursive premise the appeals to reason that supported the Liberal world-view. In the late-1870's, Schönerer and his circle came-up with a political style they called the « sharper-key », calculated to excite emotion rather than engage the intellect. Schönerer's youthful followers came from the same middle-class backgrounds as most establishment politicians ; Carl Schorske analyzes their anti-Liberalism as to some extent a rebellion against their fathers' generation. Populism, cultural anti-Semitism, and jingoistic pride in German culture-like that of Liberals, but more extreme-all bolstered and in part inspired by Wagner's legacy, formed the foundation of their program. Because of the ties between Jews and Liberalism, the deliberate arousal of anti-Semitic feelings became the most potent tool in the fight to dislodge the Liberals from power.

An effective anti-Liberal movement began to coalesce in Vienna shortly after lower middle-class men gained the vote at the local level in 1885. The historian John Boyer attributes the changed style of politics to this new class of voters :

« Much of the irrational behaviour which has been imputed to Karl Lueger and other Christian-Social leaders on the basis of their wild rhetoric was actually a commonly understood and accepted system of public discourse current among the particular strata to which the Christian-Socials appealed. »

This does not fully-explain the new political style's origins. Although Lueger, often portrayed as the ultimate pragmatist, habitually resorted to the « sharper-key » to exploit a tense political situation, the earlier group around Schönerer had conceived it. Some of the most prominent members were Jewish and ...

« had long accepted a form of cultural anti-Semitism as part of their " völkisch " reaction against the bourgeois Liberalism of their parents. (...) Since they saw themselves as members of the German " Volk ", even the Jewish members (...) felt it essential to reject what they regarded as Semitic cultural traits. As (George) Mosse observes, the Jew was seen in stereotype as being intellectual and artificial, rootless and alienated from nature. »

Only when the racial cast of Schönerer's anti-Semitism became obvious in the spring of 1883 did these Jewish members break with him. Schönerer's public avowal of racial anti-Semitism virtually coincided with the incident involving University of Vienna's Rector Friedrich Maaßen, in which the Liberal « élite's » own German-nationalist prejudice came to the surface. Shortly thereafter, Schönerer founded his own organ, « Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte » (Unadulterated German Words) , in contra-distinction to the « Deutsche Worte » published by his erstwhile followers.

Schönerer's new scandal sheet offered running commentary on the marked presence of Jews in the city's music life, for example in the « Wiener Tonkünstler-Verein » (Viennese Musicians' Society) . (Johannes Brahms was closely associated with this organization, which formed a kind of Classicist or « Liberal » counterpart to the Vienna academic Wagner Society.)

In 1887, Schönerer's periodical, not a paper given to subtlety, named some members of the « Tonkünstler-Verein » and remarked on how « verjudet » it had become in the year or so of its existence :

« This list of names at the same time shows the complete Jewish domination of art in Vienna, in the conservatory, and in the music-shops. Indeed, the Viennese “ Tonkünstler ” Society should really be called “ Cohnkünstler ” Society. »

The following year, 1888, Schönerer and some of his associates went much further. They physically attacked the staff of the « Neues Wiener Tagblatt » because the paper had issued a premature report of the German « Kaiser's » death. Schönerer's subsequent conviction for the assault led to a 5 year ban on his participation in politics. Following his trial, the government cracked-down on German nationalist groups, which meant that most Pan-Germans put their support for the time being behind Karl Lueger and the emerging Christian-Social Party to bring about the collapse of Viennese Liberalism.

...

While the Vienna academic Wagner Society had ostensibly chosen a non-political stance, the group's report for the year 1891 suggested otherwise. Thanking « the progressive champions for our cause in the Viennese press » , in particular Theodor Helm, the report reiterated the frequently observed connection between Liberal politics and conservative tastes in art. A contradiction was noted, in that the « politically “ most Liberal organs ” believe they must behave in a thoroughly reactionary manner in artistic and especially musical questions, even today » .

A group of young Wagnerites with a number of Jews in prominent positions had, in fact, envisioned and developed the emotional or « sharper-key » style of politics that later became a powerful tool of the anti-Semites. Under Engelbert Pernerstorfer's leadership, these Wagnerian idealists had espoused radical social reform and extreme German nationalism.

Pernerstorfer's circle initially backed Georg Ritter von Schönerer as their representative in Parliament, but that his fanatical anti-Semitism caused many of his followers, including Pernerstorfer himself, in **June 1883**, to fall away. Schönerer eventually lost his right to participate in politics for 5 years after he and some associates assaulted the staff of the « Neues Wiener Tagblatt » , in **1888**, for issuing a premature report of the German « Kaiser's » death. Following Schönerer's disgrace, the government cracked down on German-nationalist groups, and most of the Pan-Germans transferred their support, for the time being, to the candidates of the emerging Christian-Social Party.

At the end of the 1880's, a few members of the Vienna academic Wagner Society left for political and ideological reasons. The Society, which had always included Jewish members, split over the question of anti-Semitism, with Schönerer and his followers forming a separate, explicitly anti-Semitic « New Richard Wagner Society » .

...

**Thursday, 20 March 20 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 Volksblatt » 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, Josef Stolzing, Camillo Horn, and Hans Puchstein working for 2 new anti-Semitic newspapers, the « Deutsches Volksblatt » and the « Ostdeutsche Rundschau ». Were also present : Emil Maria Steininger, Hubert Steiner, Josef Czerny, Alfred Mortenthaler, Ludwig Eisner, August Püringer, and Josef Reiter. Among other attendees at this celebratory event were official delegations from several of Vienna's student fraternities, the very groups in which racial anti-Semitism had first begun to take hold in Vienna some 10 years earlier. Haller and Josef Reiter played a arrangement for piano 4 hands of the Adagio from Bruckner's String Quintet (**WAB 112**) .

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. »

...

The role of Wagnerism in the new parties' origins is better-known than are later developments that show the continuing connections between Wagnerism and Viennese politics. After Wagner's death in 1883, the number of members in the Vienna academic Wagner Society increased dramatically, with many members advocating both active involvement in anti-Liberal politics and the exclusion of Jews from membership. When the Wagner Society finally rejected these proposed measures in **March 1890**, Schönerer and a splinter group of Pan-German sympathizers left to form the « Neuer Richard Wagner-Verein » (New Richard Wagner Society) . According to the music-critic Josef Stolzing, the Vienna academic Wagner Society had forced-out those like himself « who reminded the directorate whether in a subtle or blunt manner that Wagner was an anti-Semite until the end of his life » .

...

It was a simple matter for these young radicals to use Wagner's call for a regeneration of German civilization in the face of the ruinous effect of Jewish-bourgeois materialism as a weapon to wield against Vienna's « debased » musical culture, in which Jews seemed to play an out-sized role. This can be seen in the inaugural issue of the « Ostdeutsche Rundschau », which appeared on **Sunday, 6 April 1890**, and included a brief report on a concert produced by the newly-founded Society that included piano performances of 3 Symphonic-poems by Franz Liszt, as well as Hans Sachs's final number from « Die Meistersinger » and a handful of shorter vocal pieces. After proudly mentioning the large number of bedfellows who had already come together in the « most fervent cultivation of national music », the anonymous author of this notice extended an enthusiastic invitation to all « art-understanding and art-enthused comrades » to join the New Society, which aimed to deliver « an astonishing, joyful, and audaciously liberating of



excommunication of a non-German power that is hostile, in art and life as well as in music, to the Germanic-idealistic world-view » .

The « Deutsches Volksblatt » gave an approving account of the founding of the « Neuer Richard-Wagner-Verein » ; both it and the « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » continued, moreover, to make use of Bruckner's growing fame in their reports on the Society's activities.

In **April 1893**, for instance, the « Deutsches Volksblatt » reported that he might attend a meeting set to feature a performance of his String Quintet (**WAB 112**) and a talk by the notorious Houston Stewart Chamberlain, « on Wagner's Relationship to the Social-Religious Question » :

« The Society looks forward to a large turnout of members and guests, especially since Professor Bruckner himself has held-out the prospect of appearing at the interesting evening, which through the Master's presence might lay claim in more than one respect to being called a Bruckner evening. »

The fact that political radicals had taken-up Bruckner's cause did not pass unnoticed, and it complicated matters for his more moderate supporters. When Bruckner received an honorary Doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1891, Göllerich had been his official biographer for some time. As such, he was an obvious choice to speak at a celebratory gathering of students (« Commers ») on **December 11**. Because Göllerich's outspoken anti-Semitism made him too controversial, the University eventually asked him to withdraw.

Having already prepared a speech, he published it in the « Deutsches Volksblatt » as :

« Anton Bruckner. The formal address by August Göllerich not given at the Bruckner celebration. »

(« Anton Bruckner. Die beim Bruckner-Commers nicht gehaltene Festrede von August Göllerich. »)

Anton Bruckner had for some time been receiving support in the press from Theodor Helm and another music-critic associated with the Vienna academic Wagner Society, Hans Paumgartner (as well as from a third critic, Ludwig Speidel, who had no use for Wagner) . While Helm and Paumgartner, critics for long-established newspapers, couched their reviews of Johannes Brahms in language with anti-Liberal overtones, critics for the new papers borrowed the linguistic innovations of « sharper-key » politics. Indeed, in 1901, Carl Hrubý, a student of Bruckner in the years around 1890, explicitly connected the gains that had finally been made on that composer's behalf to the political changes.

« During the Liberal era, now defunct, one believed (...) that everything must be handled with kid gloves and that in all things one had to maintain the wonderful so-called “ parliamentary tone ”. (...) That has fortunately changed in recent times. »

According to Hrubý, the sober uses of language previously considered appropriate had been inadequate to counter the attacks on Bruckner. As part of the contemporary dialectic of action and reaction, the Liberal critics' reception of

Bruckner had given rise to anti-Liberal reception of Brahms, expressed in the idioms of the new political style.

...

A « Probeblatt » for the « Deutsches Volksblatt » (Saturday, 15 December 1888) included a front-page article that borrowed the title of Wagner's essay « Was ist deutsch ? » and quoted at length from it. Proclaiming that the « Deutsches Volksblatt » was the belated realization of Wagner's wish for a newspaper representing « true Germanness » , the anonymous author articulated a belief that German music could heal modern society's ills, but stressed the extremity of those ills. That this article projecting an attitude of twisted idealism toward music appeared on the very first page of a newspaper later deemed « the most significant German-national, anti-Semitic organ in Austria » underscores the continuing presence of Wagnerism in Viennese politics.

...

It is easy to see why Houston Stewart Chamberlain loved Vienna. His spacious apartment was only a few minutes walk from the wide, tree-lined « Ringstraße » , encircling much of the city-centre and built by special command of Emperor Franz-Josef a few decades before to match the boulevards of Paris. The Court Opera, the grandest building on the « Ring » , offered fine performances that reached stellar heights after the fiercely uncompromising Gustav Mahler became director in 1897.

Theatres, museums and libraries equalled any in the German-speaking world and the ubiquitous coffee-houses offered an ideal combination of club and second home for rich and poor alike. Besides, as Chamberlain gleefully noted to a French friend, the city abounded in pretty women of easy morals. Despite his long-standing ailments and intense intellectual pursuits (not to mention his marriage) , Chamberlain had found time to philander even before his arrival in Vienna. Once there, he became involved in new love-affairs, including a lengthy one with an actress called Lili Petri whom some of his friends thought he might one day marry. But, in the end, it was the attraction of belonging to the Wagner clan that Chamberlain found irresistible.

What Chamberlain most loathed about Vienna is plain too : its Jews. Hitherto his anti-Semitic comments had been intermittent and, despite the influence of Bayreuth, usually marked more by disdain than hatred. In Dresden, he had actually claimed to feel real sympathy for Jews after hearing brutish charges made against them there at a tub-thumping rally. But he soon began to change his tune in fast-growing Vienna, focus of the social and political unrest seething throughout the multi-national Empire. Jews were more visible there than in most German cities, thanks to the often poverty-stricken « Ostjuden » with their distinctive dress and habits who (to the embarrassment of many already-established brethren) streamed in from the east to find work. Moreover, although they made-up less than 1/10 of the population of greater Vienna, Jews already accounted for nearly 1/3 of the students at the university and, in some faculties like medicine, almost a half. They were prominent in music even before Gustav Mahler took-over at the Opera and highly-active in the press and publishing. To the hyper-sensitive, intellectual newcomer from Dresden, the Jewish influence that had seemed an irritation started to loom as a threat.

At first, Chamberlain's growing hostility was directed largely at Jews, not at other groups from all over the Empire that helped people Vienna. He even said he was elated to live amid such a colourful mix of Magyars, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and the rest. But that feeling gradually changed too. During his long trip on horseback with Anna through the Balkans in 1891, Chamberlain began to be obsessed with race - comparing what he regarded as degenerate Slavs with pure, fair-haired Serbs. He also joined the « Neuer Wagner-Verein » (New Wagner Society) , a group that had broken-away from Vienna's main Wagner Society and which, unlike the parent body, flirted with nationalist politics - even with proto-fascists like Georg von Schönerer, leader of the (Austrian) Empire's pan-Germans. Chamberlain despised Schönerer and had become involved with the « new » Society mainly because the old one had increasingly criticized Cosima's imperious rule in Bayreuth. But the more he came into contact with nationalist circles and observed the Jews and Slavs around him, the more he began to see history in terms of racial conflict - with the Germans the highest-strain, but gravely endangered.

Why did Adolf Hitler make such an impression on the Bayreuth Circle in the early 1920's ? Brigitte Hamann's study of Hitler's early years in Vienna allows us to answer this question with confidence. To begin with, Chamberlain's main-work, « The Foundations of the 19th Century » , was written in Vienna, and its author was connected to factions that exerted potent influence on the young Hitler. Chamberlain was an honorary member of the « Neuer Wagner-Verein » co-founded by Georg von Schönerer, and he stood in close contact with the so-called « Alldeutschen » (Pan-Germans) . Chamberlain's racial anti-Semitism, with its insistence on an incompatibility of Jewish and Aryan principles, exerted impact on a variety of racist movements.

As Hamann writes :

« The mixture of nationalities, which in the Danube monarchy had been normal for Centuries, was now suddenly seen as a threat to one's own community ( " eigene Volkstum " ) , whereby racial supremacy was claimed by the Germans at the expense of other groups. »

### Wolf and the Wagner Society

**Sunday, 8 April 1883** : Concert of the Wagner Society. Hans Richter conducts Ludwig van Beethoven's 9th Symphony.

Hugo Wolf attends the concert. He is also present at the dress-rehearsal of Saturday.

**Friday, 6 July 1883** : Hugo Wolf, Felix Mottl, Gustav Schönaich and other members of the Wagner Society leave Vienna to attend the premiere of « Parsifal » at the Bayreuth Festival on 8 July 1883.

**Wednesday, 13 February 1884** : Concert of the Vienna Wagner Society at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » animated by Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen.

Programme :

Chorus « In Memory of Richard Wagner » (« Zu Richard Wagner's Gedächtniß ») .

« Grail Celebration » from the 1st Act of the « Parsifal » .

Hugo Wolf writes a music-critic about this evening.

**Monday, 22 December 1884** : Concert of the Vienna Wagner Society at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » .

Ferdinand Löwe plays at the piano the first movement of Bruckner's 4th Symphony (WAB 104) .

Josef Schalk plays at the piano the third movement of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony (WAB 103) .

Löwe and Schalk perform the version for 2 pianos, 4 hands (by Löwe) , of Bruckner's 1st 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.)

**February 1889** : The 28 year old Hugo Wolf finishes the 51 songs of the « Gæthe Song-book » . The Wagner Society made amends for its rudeness to him.

**End of March 1889** : The Wagner Society of Vienna gives Hugo Wolf's « Mörike » Lieder a tremendous reception. What he had sworn-off a few weeks earlier, Wolf now embraced once again : vanity and society. Unto another familiar temptation, he cleaved as well. The good weather let the Kocherts use their country villa, in Rinnbach, once more, thus, easing his trysts with the lady of the house.

**Monday, 11 April 1892** : Concert (of the Vienna academic Wagner Society ?) at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » with songs by Hugo Wolf accompanied at the piano by Josef Schalk.

**Thursday, 20 April 1893** : Evening concert of the Wagner academic Society. On the programme, songs by Hugo Wolf.

**Saturday, 6 May 1893** : Evening concert of the Wagner academic Society. On the programme, songs by Hugo Wolf.

**Thursday, 28 November 1895** : Third private music evening of the Vienna academic Wagner Society at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » . On the programme, songs by Hugo Wolf. Also, Ferdinand Löwe will play at the piano the first 3 movements of Bruckner's 5th Symphony.

It is hardly to be wondered at that Hugo Wolf's fame grew very slowly in Vienna, in spite of the fact that nearly a 140 of his songs were now published. The work was too original to attract either the ordinary singer or the ordinary amateur ; and Wolf had made so many enemies for himself by his criticisms that he could hardly expect the official cliques to go-out of their way to help him. Now and then, a song or two of his would appear on some programme or other. Paula von Goldschmidt, for example, the wife of the composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt, an old friend of Wolf's, had given the « Mausfallensprüchlein » at a private musical evening some years before the date at which we have now arrived ; and, in **March 1888**, Rosa Papier had introduced the « Morgentau » and « Zur Ruh, zur Ruh ! » at one of her song-recitals. But it was through the instrumentality of the Vienna « Wagner-Verein » that Wolf's reputation first began to spread. In **November 1888**, « Fräulein » Ellen Forster sang « Der Knabe und das Immlin, Zitronenfalter in April » , and « Er ist's » at one of the musical evenings of the Society. A month later, Josef Schalk arranged a concert at which Ferdinand Jäger sang 9 of the Mörike, Eichendorff, and Gøethe songs, Wolf himself accompanying at the piano. From that time onward, Schalk and Jäger laboured with incessant devotion in his cause, Jäger singing the songs not only at his own concerts but at the recitals of instrumentalists and at the « evenings » of various Societies. It is pleasant to read that, after a number of the Gøethe songs had been given before the Vienna « Gøethe-Verein » in **March 1890**, the members of the Society sent Wolf a letter of thanks for the new illumination his music had given to the poems. Jäger further interested Hans von Wolzogen, the well-known Wagnerian, at that time editor of the « Bayreuther Blätter » , in Wolf's work. He sang a number of the songs to Friedrich Hofmann, a high-official of the Graz « Wagner-Verein » , who was so taken with them that he instantly bought everything that was then published of Wolf's, and arranged for a recital by Jäger before the members of the Society on **Saturday, 12 April 1890**. Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg, who later became one of Wolf's best friends, was the accompanist. The success was enormous, many of the songs having to be repeated 3 times.

Schalk not only interested the Vienna « Wagner-Verein » in Wolf, but managed to get the composer to conquer his dislike for publicity and attend some of the meetings of the « Verein » , where he would occasionally play and sing his new songs. But it was not long before a strong party was formed in the « Verein » against Wolf and Schalk. Many of the members no doubt thought that too much fuss was being made of a young and unknown man ; the concert of **Tuesday, 11 December 1888**, of which mention has already been made, scandalized them because it was devoted entirely to Beethoven and Hugo Wolf - a juxtaposition of names which a few solemn noodles were unable to stand. Others perhaps felt that a « Wagner-Verein » , in giving-up so much of its energies to the propaganda of Wolf's work, was rather losing sight of its original mission. Wolf himself was deeply hurt at the opposition to him. He wrote to Schalk, expressing his resolve to have nothing more to do with the public ; henceforth, he will belong more than ever to no one but himself. He will, he says, avoid the « Wagner-Verein » , because an artist like himself, impulsive by nature, is not at home with people who act by rule of reason and logic and do not understand the artist. He will make no attempt to capture the public, which means nothing more than the infamous mob.

« I will be just a private person. Oh, if I were only a cobbler like the incomparable Hans Sachs ! How happy, how cheerful would my life be ! Cobbling on work-days and composing on Sundays in my holiday clothes, simply as a hobby, just for myself and a friend or two - say you, Löwe and Hirsch. Yes ! that would be an existence. You see, dear friend, it is a case of being a philosopher. I am not enough of one to disregard the envy and the machinations of my enemies, but just enough of one to live for myself alone and ignore publicity entirely. Had I not wanted to give public

expression to my gratitude to you and “ Franciscus ” (i.e. , Franz Schalk) ... no power would have got me to publish the Eichendorff songs. Therewith is an end to it once for all. I really do not see why I should worry about the “ Wagner-Verein ”, since the sole ground for enduring vexations and persecutions turns out to be insufficient - I mean material profit. (...) Is it not much better and finer to be loved and understood by a few men than to be heard and reviled by thousands ?

The devil of vanity and ambition will not again lay hold of me by the forelock, you may depend on that. I am not a deranged Mahomet, to spread my things by fire and sword, and not a hair of the head of any of my friends shall be hurt on my account. »

Wolf, accordingly, refuses to have anything more to do with the « Wagner-Verein » .

### The Hugo Wolf Society

Both materially and spiritually, Hugo Wolf was supported by a large circle of friends. In Vienna, his patrons included the Lang, the Köchert, and the Werner families. In Germany, Hugo Faißt, Emil Kauffmann and Oskar Grohe were important friends. Volumes of letters testify to these friendships and offer important insights into the composer's life and work. In particular, the Vienna Academic Wagner Society played an important role in the first performances of Wolf's works ; the Hugo Wolf Society emerged from the Society in **1897** and helped promote Wolf through its publications.

**Thursday, 30 January 1896** : Paul Müller and the Austrian folklorist and Indologist Michael Haberlandt are some of the founding members of the « Hugo Wolf Society of Berlin » (« Hugo Wolf-Verein Berlin ») . Singers everywhere are taking serious notice of his songs. The new association does excellent work in furthering performances of Wolf's songs in Germany as appreciation of Wolf's remarkable gifts as a Master of Lied began to find recognition abroad.

On his 38th birthday, Wolf received many congratulations and telegrams from various places in Europe. But for him, it was too late.

The inaugural concert is staged in hall « B » of the « Architektenhauses » . 2 songs are performed for the first time :

« Gleich und Gleich » to words of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and « Das verlassene Mägdlein » to words of Eduard Mörike.

Gustav Schur of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society, along with many other Wagnerians, had supported the founding of a « Hugo Wolf Society of Vienna » (« Hugo Wolf-Verein Wien ») in **1897**. Schur left in protest when these comments appeared at the head of a series of essays on « Der Corregidor » published by the « Hugo Wolf Society » in **1899**. The split was perhaps inevitable. The newly-formed « Wolf-Verein » acknowledged the role which the Wagner Society had played but sought to distance itself from any Wagnerian propaganda. For example, the singer Ferdinand Jäger was

not invited to become a member despite having been so strongly associated with Wolf's music in the past. The new Society felt the Wagnerian style of his performances failed to bring-out the melodic qualities of the songs and distorted the public's view of them.

The « Wolf-Verein » even felt it had to be distanced from the composer himself. His personality always attracted controversy and the Society wished to allow the focus to fall upon his music, to let it speak for itself in all its subtlety. For in the view of Michael Haberlandt, the « Wolf-Verein's » Chairman, Wolf's music never imposed itself on an audience in « flashy effects ». In its « deep inwardness, it holds back like Cordelia and scorns to speak in the open market-place ». Here was a kind of admission that Wolf's music had been steam-rolled by a cause not its own and a plea to listen with a new attentiveness. Yet, the comparisons with Cordelia are perhaps a little over-done. In Song, as in Opera, Wolf was quite prepared to challenge any Wagnerian assumptions openly as well as subtly. And although the genre of the Lied was not always considered of the greatest critical significance at the time, with hindsight one can see that attitudes to song actually played a highly-important role in the make-up of Wagnerian music-drama and its influence. Thus, far from shying away from the main-stream of musical ideas as some have thought, Wolf continued to place himself at the centre, eventually revealing song as a most fertile battle-ground for a critic of Wagner like himself.

**Monday, 22 February 1897** : Exactly 6 years before his death, Hugo Wolf appeared for the last time in public, at a « Liederabend » in Vienna, devoted to his songs. The audience was small but very enthusiastic ; both artistically and financially, Wolf was satisfied with the results of the evening. It was after this concert that his friend Michael Haberlandt suggested to him the founding of a « Hugo Wolf Society » in Vienna to help to bring his work before the public. Haberlandt told him frankly that they would act independently of him, sometimes, indeed, in opposition to him, for he was often his worst enemy - a remark which will evoke a sympathetic response from the bosom of all who know how difficult it is to manage a young musician and to teach him the ways of the world. The plan was soon matured. Meanwhile, on his birthday, **Saturday, 13 March 1897** (the last he was to spend in health) , he played « Der Corrigedor » through on the piano to a little circle of friends ; the « séance » was 3 hours long. Academic Vienna rose in horror at the idea of a « Hugo Wolf Society » , and the Wolf enthusiasts had the usual battle to wage with ignorance and detraction. The Society came triumphantly into being, however, on **Monday, 22 April 1907**. It has done incalculable good to Hugo Wolf's reputation and to music ; it brought-out his songs, grouped in handsome volumes, and so, gave the public a chance of learning for itself, at first hand, how wide and rich and varied was the new kingdom this man had won for the art.

The « Hugo Wolf Society of Vienna » begins on the collecting and systematic sorting of Hugo Wolf's unpublished works as early as **1900**. Most of the works are in print by **1905**, though the publishers in some instances make incisive changes in accordance with the spirit of the time. Some works, such as the « Intermezzo » , the « Scherzo and Finale » , and most of the youthful composer's songs, are not considered worthy of publication.

**Saturday, 20 October 1900** : Gustav Mahler is in Munich for a successful performance of his 2nd Symphony at a « Hugo Wolf Verein » concert.

The smear campaign organized by the Hugo Wolf Society against Gustav Mahler not only considerably strengthened the great-German and anti-Semitic opposition to his work at the Opera, but also leads to Wolf universally going down in history as a martyr, as a victim of the Opera-director Mahler who drove him to insanity. This has always been viewed in the various publications purely from the stand-point of the Wolf party.

...

It was chiefly Hugo Wolf's friends, filled with excessive hatred for Mahler, who strove in words and print to blame him for Wolf's outbreak of madness. Since Wolf was no longer in a position to care for himself after the onset of his brain condition, which was quickly revealed to be paralysis, his friends, having founded the « Hugo Wolf Society » in 1895, in Vienna, paid for his maintenance in an asylum and looked after the interests of his works. The treasurer of the « Hugo Wolf Society », which was closely connected to the Wagner Society, was the well-known jeweller Theodor Köchert at whose Estate, « Puschacher » near Traunkirchen, Wolf had often stayed. Köchert was a radical great-German and anti-Semite who would later exercise a disastrous influence in Republican Austria on the transformation of the Vienna « Concert-Hall Society » (« Mener Konzerthausgesellschaft », of which he was president) into a cleverly disguised illegal Nazi organization. One can imagine the kind of smear campaign that was carried-out on the part of the « Hugo Wolf Society » against Mahler, the Opera director.

Between 1938 and 1945, the Vienna « Konzerthaus » suffered from cultural depletion. Under the destructive pressure of the National-Socialist dictatorship, the « Konzerthaus » became a location abused for propaganda and Nazi (« non-degenerate ») entertainment and was largely deprived of its central cultural content. Many artists had no choice but to emigrate.

...

It was in this spirit of music, renewing its very purpose, that Karl Weigl, Alexander Zemlinsky and Arnold Schönberg founded the Society of Creative Musicians (« Vereinigung schaffender Tonkünstler »), in 1904, with Gustav Mahler as honorary president. In 1907, Mahler would defend Schönberg against hisses and boos at the premiere of the latter's 1st String Quartet, Opus 7, in the « Bösendorfer-Saal », while admitting privately that he was not sure what the music meant.

« Indisposition » or « disease »

**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 » .

The last 8 months

**February 1896** : Doctor Richard Heller will take care of Anton Bruckner during the next 8 months.



## Doctor Lorenz prescribes hip baths

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 behaviorist 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 9th Symphony, and on the mother of Rudolf Krzyzanowski ...

« 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 ” Krzyzanowski (1) (whose son Rudolf studied under Bruckner at the Conservatory at the same time as Mahler) (2) visited Bruckner in his bath !

It happened like this :

Bruckner, who had been ill, had to take a daily hip-bath on doctor's orders (\*) . So as to pass the time while sitting in the bath, he used to take music-paper with him and compose. One day, deeply absorbed in this occupation, he was surprised by “ Frau ” Krzyzanowski. She knocked at the door, and was greeted by a friendly “ Come in ! ” Imagine her shock when, on entering, she beheld Bruckner's corpulent figure in the bath, as naked as the good Lord had made him ! The incident did not end there : while she stood as if rooted to the spot, up got Bruckner with a polite greeting and a smile. Dripping, and quite devoid of any kind of covering, he approached the horrified lady - who rushed from the room with a piercing shriek, thus, finally bringing poor Bruckner to himself and to an awareness of his state.

And this had to happen to Bruckner, of all people - Bruckner, who was paralyzed by self-consciousness in the presence of the “ fair sex ” and blushed like a school boy if he so much as looked at or spoke to a 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 appears to have collaborated with him on the piano-duet version of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, 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 9th Symphony which remained unfinished at his death.

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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.

### Cold Hip Bath

The water temperature should be 10°C to 18°C. The duration of the bath is usually 10 minutes, but in specific conditions, it may vary from 1 minute to 30 minutes. If the patient feels cold or is very weak, a hot foot immersion should be given with the cold hip bath.

The patient should rub the abdomen briskly from the navel downwards and across the body with a moderately coarse wet cloth. The legs, feet and upper-part of the body should remain completely dry during and after the bath. The patient should undertake moderate exercise, after the cold hip bath, to warm the body.

A cold hip bath is a routine treatment in most diseases. It relieves constipation, indigestion, obesity and helps the eliminative organs to function properly. It is also helpful in uterine problems like irregular menstruation, chronic uterine infections, pelvic inflammation, piles, hepatic congestion, chronic congestion of the prostate gland, seminal weakness, impotency, sterility, uterine and ovarian displacements, dilation of the stomach and colon, diarrhoea, dysentery, hemorrhage of the bladder and so on. The cold hip bath should not be employed in acute inflammations of the pelvic and abdominal organs, ovaries and in painful contractions of the bladder, rectum or vagina.

### Hot Hip Bath

This bath is generally taken for 8 to 10 minutes at a water temperature of 40°C to 45°C. The bath should start at 40°C. The temperature should be gradually increased to 45°C. No friction should be applied to the abdomen. Before entering the tub, the patient should drink 1 glass of cold water. A cold compress should be placed on the head. A hot hip bath helps to relieve painful menstruation, pain in the pelvic organs, painful urination, inflamed rectum or bladder and painful piles. It also benefits enlarged prostatic gland, painful contractions or spasm of the bladder, sciatica, neuralgia of the ovaries and bladder. A cold shower bath should be taken immediately after the hot hip bath.

Care should be taken to prevent the patient from catching a chill after the bath. The bath should be terminated if the patient feels giddy or complains of excessive pain.

### Neutral Hip Bath

The temperature of the water should be 32°C to 36°C. Here too, friction to the abdomen should be avoided. This bath is generally taken for 20 minutes to an hour. The neutral hip bath helps to relieve all acute and sub-acute inflammatory conditions such as acute catarrh of the bladder and urethra and subacute inflammations in the uterus, ovaries and tubes. It also relieves neuralgia of the fallopian tubes or testicles, painful spasms of the vagina and pruritus of the anus and vulva. Besides, it is a sedative treatment for erotomania in both sexes.

### Alternate Hip Bath

This is also known as revulsive hip bath. The temperature in the hot tub should be 40°C to 45°C and in the cold tub 10°C to 18°C. The patient should alternately sit in the hot tub for 5 minutes, and then, in the cold tub for 3 minutes. The duration of the bath is generally 10 to 20 minutes. The head and neck should be kept cold with a cold compress. The treatment should end with a dash of cold water to the hips.

This bath relieves chronic inflammatory conditions of the pelvic viscera such as salpingitis, ovaritis, cellulitis and various neuralgias of the genito-urinary organs, sciatica and lumbago.

### Doctor Adolf Lorenz

The Austrian orthopaedic surgeon Adolf Lorenz was born on 21 April 1854 in Weidenau, Austrian Silesia (today : Vidnava,

Czech Silesia) ; and died at the age of 92 on 12 February 1946 in Altenberg (town of St. Andrä-Wördern near Vienna) . He was the father of famed behaviorist Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989) .

Lorenz was born to a very ordinary family. His father was a simple inn-keeper and harness-maker. A very bright young man, Lorenz was admitted to the medical school at the University of Vienna at age 20.

The « Vienna Schools of Medicine » were very prestigious, as the first College of Medicine in the world had been established in Vienna in 1365, and, by 1784, a large general teaching hospital was operational. Some of the significant physicians and surgeons that came from the « Vienna Schools of Medicine » included Ignaz Semmelweis (1818-1865) , Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) , and Sigmund Freud (1881-1938) . As with other doctors of that era, Lorenz started growing a beard in medical school and proudly wore it throughout the rest of his life.

Adolf Lorenz graduated at the age of 26. He is remembered for his work with bone deformities. He chose to become a surgeon and was assigned to the second department of surgery in Vienna as the first assistant to professor Eduard Albert (1841-1900) . Unfortunately, within 4 years, during the 1880's, Lorenz developed a severe allergy to the carbolic acid a compound that was routinely and extensively used for asepsis in the operating-rooms ; contact with acid resulted in tremendous skin lesions on his hands. Although the condition prevented him from performing traditional surgical operations, he continued in the medical profession as a « dry surgeon » (as opposed to a « wet surgeon ») , treating patients without cutting into skin or tissue.

Lorenz was one of the founders of the German Society of Orthopædic Surgery in 1901, and, a year later, at the age of 48, he was at the peak of his career and, consequently, was given the nickname « The Bloodless Surgeon of Vienna » . His techniques became known as bloodless surgery, reflecting his non-invasive techniques.

Lorenz developed a huge reputation for his manipulative treatment of club-feet, which he accomplished by essentially stretching or breaking the tendons, ligaments, and epiphyseal plates until the foot was appropriately aligned. Once proper alignment was accomplished, he would apply a cast until the foot healed in that position. He was also involved with the treatment of scoliosis, using pulleys and traction to achieve a correction, and then, applying a cast to maintain the correction. However, he was most famous for his treatment of congenital dislocation of the hip.

He was renowned for his treatment of congenital dislocation of the hip in children. His technique involved putting the patient under light anesthesia, placing the child in a plaster spica cast in abduction, then, using external rotation as the child matured. Also, he added a specialized walking frame to give the patient a measure of mobility.

Tuberculosis was very common in those days, and painful lesions of the spine or other joints were treated by plaster immobilization until the area fused spontaneously and the pain diminished.

Due to his fame in orthopedics, he became acquainted with several dignitaries, including U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt. During his travels in the United States, he gave an inspirational exhibition in Dallas, an exhibition that became a catalyst in the creation of the Texas Baptist Memorial Sanitarium, later known as the Baylor University Medical Center and Baylor Health-Care System.

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The interest taken by the public in the professional visit to this country of Doctor Adolf Lorenz, of Vienna, is an indication of a great humanitarian interest in this country and a matter of congratulation. Doctor Lorenz was called over by a wealthy American to perform an operation on his little daughter, to correct congenital dislocation of the hip. Having performed this operation (which might more correctly be styled manipulation, since Doctor Lorenz's work is bloodless) , the famous physician has remained in this country giving clinics and treating, as an act of charity, whatever cases have been brought to his attention. Doctor Lorenz was at one time one of the principal exponents of what has been termed the bloody method of treating congenital hip diseases, and the results obtained by Lorenz of Vienna, and Albert Hoffa of Würzburg, made profound sensations in the world of surgery. This method included actual operation, incision, and it was accepted as the best-known to science. But Doctor Lorenz himself became dissatisfied with this « bloody » method, and after the closest investigation and analysis of its results, abandoned it for his now famous bloodless method. This method is described as « the forcible stretching of all the soft parts about the hip, sometimes even to the breaking of the skin (which is rare) , until the head of the bone can be brought to the place where the socket should be. Bandages, plaster of Paris, or other appliances are then used to keep the bone in place, until a socket can form itself about its head.

Doctor Lorenz has been particularly successful with this method of which he is the ablest exponent. The method has been known to medical science for about 10 years and has been used during that time in Europe and America with varying success. The debt which posterity may owe to the patience. Science and skill of this eminent Viennese is scarcely conceivable.

...

Doctor Adolf Lorenz, an internationally famous orthopædic surgeon from Vienna, was the honoured guest at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association held in New Orleans in 1903. This is the story of how Doctor Lorenz' subsequent visit to Dallas became the inspiration for the Texas Baptist Memorial Sanitarium, which developed into Baylor University Medical Center and Baylor Health-Care System.

Texas was a frontier State in the early 1800's. In 1839, an Arkansas lawyer named John Neely Bryan (1810-1877) , who could speak 3 Indian languages, traveled through the area that is now Dallas in hopes of developing a trading-post on the Trinity River. He returned 2 years later to find that the Indians in that region had been relocated by the U.S. government. Therefore, the concept of a trading-post was not reasonable, but he liked the area and decided to settle. He joined with a few people who called themselves « Peters' Colony » . Most of these settlers came from Kentucky when they were each promised 640 acres of land to settle in North Texas. Bryan soon became the mayor of Peters' Colony and, in 1845, named the community « Dallas » after the vice-president of the USA at that time, George Mifflin Dallas.

The year 1845 also saw a surgical milestone when inhalation anesthesia was discovered by Wells and Morton. They demonstrated their discovery in the famous « Ether Dome » at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, using a mixture of nitrous oxide and ether, which put a patient to sleep and allowed surgery to be performed painlessly.

A second milestone in surgery (the beginning of antisepsis) occurred during that Century. In 1869, Joseph Lister (1827-1912), professor of surgery at the University of Glasgow in Scotland, noted that there were very few flies and other signs of decomposition around a garbage dump outside of Glasgow where carbolic acid had been sprinkled on top of the waste. He then began to experiment with the use of carbolic acid to sterilize the medium in the operating-room and to sterilize bandages. At that time, post-operative sepsis killed 40 % to 50 % of patients. Soon, carbolic acid spray became a common feature, and surgeons would also dip their hands into solutions of carbolic acid before operating. In 1877, Lister's theory gained acceptance when he successfully wired a broken patella without sepsis. This was one of the first instances in which a closed fracture was converted into an open one, and the patient did well.

A third major medical milestone occurred in 1895 : the discovery of X-rays by William Conrad Roentgen. Roentgen accidentally discovered that rays emitted from his cathode ray generator (and called « X » -rays because they were unknown) could pass through soft tissues and demonstrate the underlying bones on a photographic plate. The first X-ray picture ever taken of a human was that of his wife's hand. For this discovery, Roentgen was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1901.

In 1850, the population of Dallas was 430, and, by 1860, it was over 2,000. By 1875, the population had soared to over 7,000, boosted by the arrival of 2 railways linking Dallas to St. Louis and Chicago in the north and to Galveston in the south.

Doctor Charles McDaniel Rosser was one of the best and busiest physicians in Dallas in 1900. He conscientiously worked to improve the health care of the citizens of Dallas and was subsequently made officer of health for the city. He was also appointed medical officer for the 2 railways. In 1900, Rosser started a medical school and called it the Medical Department of the University of Dallas. Staff and students combined numbered approximately 73, with 1 female student. Medicine was a popular profession at that time, possibly because it was cheaper to become a doctor than it was to become a farmer. A medical license cost \$ 15, whereas horses, plows, and land cost a great deal more. The training of doctors in the United States was commonly done in small medical schools such as the University of Dallas Medical Department, primarily with books and lectures but with minimal exposure to actual patients. Aspirin, the « wonder drug » at that time, competed with various « tonics » that contained mainly alcohol. 90 % of the physicians had no college education, and fake licenses to practice medicine were not uncommon.

In 1902, with the financial help of some colleagues, Doctor Rosser purchased the 14 room home of Captain W. H. Gaston, which existed close to where Roberts Hospital of Baylor now stands. The old house, which was also known as « Hopkins' Place », was remodeled and used as a teaching hospital for Doctor Rosser's medical college. There were 25 beds and 1 operating-room in this building, and it was named the Good Samaritan Hospital.

Statistics show that, in 1903, the average life expectancy in the nation was only 47 years, and 95 % of births took place at home. The leading causes of death at that time were infections such as pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, and diarrhea, along with heart-disease and stroke.

Many problems affected the musculo-skeletal system at that time, and papers presented at the 1903 meeting of the

American Orthopædic Association, then in its 6th year of existence, covered topics such as tuberculosis of bones and joints, club-feet, congenital dislocation of the hip, rickets, polio, osteomyelitis, and trauma. However, since life expectancy was only 47 years, degenerative arthritis was rarely diagnosed and never treated.

In 1903, the sanitary conditions in Dallas were terrible, infant mortality was high, and infectious diseases were rampant. The population of Dallas had grown to 43,000. There were 2 other small hospitals, Parkland and St. Paul's Sanitarium, and neither was connected to a sewage system. It was to improve these poor conditions that Doctor Rosser enacted public health ordinances.

Doctor Edward H. Cary, a colleague of Rosser and a graduate of New York's Bellevue Hospital Medical School, became the second Dean of the medical school in 1903. At that time, Abraham Flexner had been commissioned by the American Medical Association to study the quality of medical education in the United States. The « Flexner Report » of 1910 recommended that all medical schools be affiliated with major universities and emphasized the need to close sub-standard schools. Doctor Cary, having trained in the Northeast and being aware of the advantages of having a medical school associated with a major university, negotiated an affiliation of the University of Dallas Medical Department with Baylor University in Waco. A charter was subsequently granted from the State of Texas on October 16, 1903, and the name of the medical school was changed to « Baylor University College of Medicine ». It was also in 1903, at the American Medical Association annual meeting in New Orleans, that Doctors Rosser and Cary first met Doctor Adolf Lorenz.

Philip Armour, a wealthy meat-packing magnate in Chicago, was concerned about his 12 year old daughter who had a congenital dislocation of the hip. One effort at surgical relocation of the hip had failed. Armour invited Lorenz to come to Chicago to treat his daughter. Lorenz was reluctant because of the age of the girl and the fact that a prior surgical effort had been made, which minimized his opportunity to get a successful reduction. Lorenz' wife, however, convinced him to go while negotiating a huge (for that time) fee of \$ 30,000 (later rumored to be \$ 1 million) .

Consequently, in 1902, Lorenz traveled to Chicago and treated the girl by manipulating her hip and putting her in a plaster cast. This was associated with tremendous publicity, and he was promoted as one of the most distinguished surgeons of the world. He was subsequently invited to meet with President Theodore Roosevelt and other dignitaries of that time.

« Medical Record » (31 January 1903) :

« Doctor Adolf Loren has arrived in Vienna, after tarrying for a while in Liverpool and London and demonstrating the “ bloodless ” treatment of congenital dislocation of the hip to such English surgeons as cared to attend his clinics. There was no triumphal progress there, however, and his reception did not even border on the hysterical. In an interview with a correspondent of the Associated Press, after his return home, Doctor Lorenz commented on his cool treatment in England, which he modestly attributed to a lack of enterprise in the British.

He said :

“ American physicians represent progressiveness while English physicians are extremely conservative. In America, it was difficult to accommodate the doctors and students who desired to attend my clinics, while during my week in London, many of the most eminent surgeons showed no interest in the new methods. And others who were present declared the old way the best. ” »

In 1903, Lorenz returned to the United States, primarily to follow-up on his young patient in Chicago. Advance publicity of his return visit prompted an invitation from the American Medical Association to attend its annual meeting in New Orleans and to demonstrate his techniques. It was such a big event to have a world-renowned surgeon come to the United States at that time that Doctor Rosser and Doctor Cary went to New Orleans to see Lorenz and, if possible, to invite him to visit Dallas. Lorenz informed them that he was not sure that he could go to Dallas because he had a commitment to visit Mexico and to meet its president. However, he did arrive in Dallas on May 20, 1903, with the intention of staying only 2 days. News of his visit brought a huge number of sick and lame patients, who came from all over Texas to be seen and treated by the great man. Lorenz stayed a week and conducted 2 clinics each day at the Good Samaritan Hospital.

At the end of that week, a farewell and thank you dinner was held at the Oriental Hotel, which was the finest hotel in Dallas at that time.

Lorenz continued to work at his clinic in Vienna, he traveled a great deal and came to the United States for yearly visits. For several years, he conducted a clinic in New York with his eldest son, Albert, who also was an orthopædic surgeon.

Professor Lorenz finally trimmed his long, flowing white beard on a trip to India in 1922 when he was 68 years old. In 1923, Lorenz was nominated for the Nobel Prize but apparently lost by one vote. He retired from active practice in 1924. Ironically, his second son, Konrad, won the Nobel Prize in 1973 for his work in ethology.

Adolf Lorenz, the catalyst for the development of Baylor University Medical Center, died in 1946 at the age of 92. Part of his legacy is the Baylor Health-Care System, with 14 hospitals, 8 senior health-centers, 14 affiliated ambulatory surgery centers, and approximately 2,500 beds. The Department of Orthopædics at Baylor is now recognized as one of the top orthopædic centers in the country and is the busiest surgical service in the hospital. It is fitting that an orthopædic surgeon was responsible for the hospital's creation.

...

Adolf Lorenz (geboren 21. April 1854 in Weidenau, Österreichisch-Schlesien ; gestorben 12. Februar 1946 in Altenberg - Gemeinde St. Andrä-Wördern bei Wien) war ein bekannter Orthopäde und Vater des Orthopäden und Schriftstellers Albert Lorenz (1885-1970) und des Verhaltensforschers Konrad Lorenz.

Adolf Lorenz entstammte einfachen Verhältnissen. Sein Vater war ein Sattlermeister und Gastwirt in Weidenau. Die Mutter war eine Bauerntochter. Durch Johann Gregor Ehrlich, einen seiner Onkel, der Benediktiner und später Abt des Stiftes



St. Paul im Lavanttal war, erhielt er die Möglichkeit, das dortige Stiftsgymnasium zu besuchen. Sein Medizinstudium konnte er durch ein kleines Stipendium sowie eine Tätigkeit als Hauslehrer finanzieren. 1884 heiratete er Emma Lecher, Tochter des Chefredakteurs der österreichischen Tageszeitung Die Presse. 1885 wurde der erste Sohn Albert geboren, der später ebenfalls Orthopäde wurde und eine gemeinsame Praxis mit dem Vater betrieb. 1903 wurde sein Sohn Konrad geboren.

Als Chirurg spezialisierte er sich auf die operative Heilung von angeborenen Hüftgelenksverrenkungen und anderen anatomischen Missbildungen. Da es bei diesen Methoden immer wieder zu Todesfällen durch Blutvergiftungen kam, begann er sehr frühzeitig, an alternativen Heilmethoden zu arbeiten, bei denen Streckverbände und Gipsschalungen eingesetzt wurden. Seine Bemühungen, Knochendeformationen durch Geräte zu korrigieren verstärkte er, nachdem ihn eine Allergie gegen Karbolsäure zwang, die Chirurgie aufzugeben. Dank großer und spektakulärer Erfolge mit dieser neu entwickelten Heilmethode war er ab 1902 ein weltbekannter Mediziner. Regelmäßig hielt er sich bis in die 1930er Jahre in den USA auf, wo er vor allem in New York praktizierte.

Die wachsende Bekanntheit ging einher mit großem Wohlstand. Zwanzig Kilometer nordwestlich von Wien ließ er in Altenberg einen Landsitz errichten. Die mondäne Villa, die in einer Stilmischung aus Italienischer Renaissance und Jugendstil gebaut wurde, liegt in einem großzügigen Garten, der einer etwas verwilderten englischen Parkanlage gleicht. In diesem Haus wuchs der zweite Sohn von Adolf und Emma Lorenz auf, Konrad Lorenz, der in diesem Garten eine große Schar von Tieren halten konnte. Dieser Sohn wurde zu einem Zeitpunkt geboren, als Adolf bereits 49 und Emma Lorenz 42 Jahre alt waren. Konrad Lorenz hat in seinen Erinnerungen darauf hingewiesen, auf welchen glücklichen Umständen seine Karriere als Verhaltensforscher basierte.

Während des I. Weltkriegs verlor Adolf Lorenz sein Vermögen, das er in österreichischen Kriegsanleihen investiert hatte. Er praktizierte nach Ende des I. Weltkrieges gemeinsam mit seinem mittlerweile ebenfalls zum Mediziner ausgebildeten Sohn Albert, und andere auch wieder in New York. Auch Konrad Lorenz zwang er, zuerst ein Medizinstudium zu absolvieren, bevor dieser sich seiner eigentlichen Neigung, der Zoologie zuwenden durfte.

Adolf Lorenz ist auf dem Ortsfriedhof in St. Andrä-Wördern in der Familiengruft beigesetzt.

...

Im zwölften Lebensjahr verließ Lorenz mittellos die schles. Heimat, wurde von seinem Onkel, Pater Gregor, Ordenskapitular in der Benediktinerabtei St. Paul (Kärnten), als Sängerknabe untergebracht und erhielt einen Freiplatz im Untergymnasium. Mit 14 Jahren ging er nach Klagenfurt auf das Obergymnasium und verdiente hier seinen Lebensunterhalt durch Nachhilfeunterricht, zeitweilig als Hauslehrer auf einem Gut in Ungarn. Nach der Reifeprüfung zog Lorenz zum Medizinstudium nach Wien, erhielt ein Stipendium und wurde später Demonstrator der Anatomie bei Carl Langer von Edenburg. Nach der Promotion 1880 setzte er seine Ausbildung als « Operationszögling » in der I. Chirurgischen Klinik Dumreichers in Wien fort. Diese wurde nach einem Jahr von Eduard Albert übernommen, dessen berühmtester Schüler Lorenz wurde. Nachdem er bereits zum « Klinischen Assistenten » aufgerückt war, löste der Listersche Carbol spray bei ihm ein therapieresistentes Handekzem aus, das ihm jegliches Operieren verbot. Albert riet dem Lieblingsschüler, es mit der « trockenen Chirurgie » zu versuchen, den Knochen- und Gelenkerkrankungen, deren

Behandlung damals weitgehend ohne Messer und Antisepsis auskam, und die, durch das Aufblühen der Höhlenchirurgie an den Rand gedrängt, sich später als Orthopädie von ihrem Mutterfach löste. Albert übergab ihm sämtliche orthopädischen Fälle seiner Klinik, und gleichzeitig gründete Lorenz eine orthopädische Praxis. 1884 habilitierte er sich für Chirurgie mit einer Arbeit über Skoliose, nachdem er zuvor bereits ausführlich über den Plattfuß geschrieben hatte. Danach begann Lorenz mit dem Aufbau einer « Orthopädischen Klinik » in der alten, unbrauchbar gewordenen Küche des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses. Eine Bettenstation wurde ihm nicht zugestanden ; heimlich mußte ihm sein Schwager Rudolf Frank auf seiner Abteilung einige Betten für seine schweren unblutigen und bald auch wieder für seine blutigen Operationen zur Verfügung stellen. Lorenz hatte unterdessen seine eigene Antisepsis mit Hilfe einer alkoholischen Lösung entwickelt, die in den Operationssälen noch jahrzehntelang verwendet wurde, nachdem das Carbol wegen seiner Toxizität außer Gebrauch gekommen war. 1889 wurde er zum außerordentlichen Professor für Orthopädische Chirurgie und Leiter dieser Klinik ernannt. Erst wenige Jahre vor dem I. Weltkrieg (er war bereits weltberühmt und 1903 in einem wahren Triumphzug durch den nordamerikanischen Kontinent gereist) gelang ihm die Einrichtung einer regulären klinischen Abteilung mit Bettenstation und Kinderpavillon. Die Errichtung eines orthopädischen Lehrstuhls jedoch haben weder er noch sein Nachfolger Spitzzy erreicht. 1924 trat er siebzigjährig mit dem Titel eines o. Honorarprofessors in den Ruhestand. Er hatte in all seinen Amtsjahren keinerlei Gehalt bezogen und erhielt auch keine Pension ; zur Einrichtung der Klinik hatte er in erheblichem Maß aus eigenen Mitteln beigesteuert. Nach seiner akademischen Entpflichtung begann für Lorenz von neuem eine Zeit harter Arbeit. Als « Ambassador of peace and mercy » reiste er nach USA, um für die amerikanische Nachkriegshilfe an Sach- und Lebensmitteln zu danken, die auch seiner Klinik zugute gekommen war. Nachdem seine 1903 in Illinois erworbene ärztliche Lizenz auf New York übertragen worden war, behandelte er hier orthopädisch Kranke zunächst kostenlos und später gegen geringes Entgelt, von dem er den « Lorenzfonds » gründete, dessen Mittel armen Wiener Kindern und Studenten sowie verarmten Lehrern und Künstlern zugute kamen. Zum eigenen Unterhalt baute er sich eine Privat-Ordination auf und praktizierte seitdem gemeinsam mit seinem Sohn Albert bis zum 83. Lebensjahr regelmäßig das Winterhalbjahr in New York und das Sommerhalbjahr in Wien. Dann erst setzte er sich endgültig zur Ruhe.

Lorenz's Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der deutschen Orthopädie kann kaum überschätzt werden, zumal Albert Hoffa, sein unmittelbarer Zeit- und Weggenosse in Berlin, allzu früh verstarb. Lorenz begriff die Orthopädie als « die Kunst, Krumme gerade und Lahme gehend zu machen » . Sie wurde unter ihm zur Wissenschaft von der Erforschung, Vorbeugung und Behandlung angeborener und erworbener Schäden und Mißbildungen am menschlichen Halte- und Bewegungsapparat. Tiefsinnige Theorien lagen ihm nicht, dafür verdankt ihm die Praxis fast auf jedem Teilgebiet des Faches entscheidende Neuerungen oder Anregungen. Auch war es stets sein Bestreben, notwendige Eingriffe durch schonungsvolles Vorgehen zu entschärfen und, wo möglich, blutige durch unblutige Operationen zu ersetzen. So verwandelte er in der Klumpfußbehandlung das « brisement forcé » der französischen Schule in sein behutsam « modellierendes Redressement » , das den Fuß in mehreren Sitzungen etappenweise ohne Weichteilschädigungen neu formte. Diese Methode übertrug er auch auf die jungen Röhrenknochen bei angeborenen O-Beinen oder X-Beinen, und für hartnäckige Fälle erfand er hier zur Vermeidung einer blutigen Operation die Osteoklasie, das Einbrechen der langen Röhrenknochen am Ort der Wahl, mit Hilfe eines von ihm entwickelten Werkzeugs, des Osteoklasten, um so eine Begradigung zu erzielen. Voraussetzung für den Erfolg solcher Behandlungen bildeten Fixationsverbände in genauer Korrekturstellung, und so wurde die Gipstechnik an seiner Klinik zu einer bis dahin unbekanntem Virtuosität gebracht. Das wiederum befähigte Lorenz, tuberkulös erkrankte Knochen und Gelenke zur Ausheilung in exakten Gipsverbänden

ruhigzustellen. Die Erfolge dabei ermutigten ihn zur Erfindung seines « Reklinations-Gipsbettes », das zunächst zur Behandlung der Wirbel-Tbc gedacht war, später von ihm aber auch bei Wirbelbrüchen und ohne Reklination in der Behandlung der seitlichen Wirbelsäulenverkrümmungen wirksam eingesetzt wurde. Schon früher hatten seine und seines Lehrers Forschungen zur Skolioseentstehung wichtige pathogenetische Fragen aufgeklärt. Doch hatte sein gymnastisches Übungsprogramm nicht nur den Wert, sondern auch die Grenzen solcher Behandlungsformen bei diesem Leiden aufgezeigt, das wie der Schiefhals auch seinem modellierenden Redressement getrotzt hatte. In seinem Bestreben, schwere Eingriffe durch milde zu ersetzen, hatte er hier die konservativen Korrekturmöglichkeiten überschätzt.

Derselbe Grundsatz führte ihn jedoch in der Behandlung der so genannt angeborenen Hüftverrenkung zu Weltruhm. Seine Abmilderung des von Hoffa entwickelten blutigen Einrenkungsverfahrens durch Schonung der Hüftmuskulatur genügte ihm nicht. Schon vor ihm war Gabriel Pravaz (1791-1853) die unblutige Einrenkung geglückt, doch vermochte dieser den eingerenkten Hüftkopf nicht in der Pfanne festzuhalten ; nicht die Reposition, sondern die Retention schien dabei das Hauptproblem zu sein. Lorenz verschaffte sich das anatomische Becken-Bein-Präparat eines Luxationskindes und fand bald den einfachsten Repositionsweg. Um die Retention aber kämpfte er erbittert und entdeckte, daß sie sich nur in der äußersten Abspreizung der Oberschenkel erhalten ließ, die er « Frosch » -oder « Hampelmannstellung » nannte, und die heute seinen Namen trägt. 1895 begann er erfolgreich mit der Anwendung am Patienten und konnte damit unzähligen vom Krüppeltum bedrohten Kindern zu einem normalen Leben verhelfen. Lorenzs « Königsgedanke » kam historisch im richtigen Augenblick, denn die Gipstechnik war weit genug, um eine Fixation in so extremer Stellung über längere Zeit zu gestatten. Vor allem aber entdeckte Röntgen im selben Jahr seine X-Strahlen : Trotz der anfänglichen Unzulänglichkeiten überzeugte die Röntgendiagnostik die vielen Zweifler von der tatsächlichen Einrenkung aller geeigneten jugendlichen Fälle. Gleichzeitig regte diese Lorenz an, für die therapieresistenten, veralteten Luxationen, die zuvor schon von Hoffa (1899) empfohlene « schiefe subtrochantere Osteotomie » als « Bifurkation » zu entwickeln. Zunächst aber lehrte die Röntgenkontrolle die Forderung nach der Früh- und Sofortbehandlung, einer der größten Fortschritte in der Orthopädie, der die weitere Entwicklung der Spreizbehandlung auf der Grundlage von Lorenzs Erkenntnissen einleitete. Welche medizinhistorische Bedeutung ihr zukommt, zeigt sich darin, daß er vorzüglich ihretwegen zum Nobelpreis vorgeschlagen wurde, zu dessen Verleihung ihm nur eine Stimme fehlte.

Diesem Erfolg waren harte Auseinandersetzungen vorangegangen. Denn als Lorenz 1897 auf dem Berliner Chirurgenkongreß seine ersten geheilten Fälle vorstellte, lehnte der Chirurg Franz König das neue Verfahren mit ungewöhnlicher Schroffheit ab. Dieser Streit hat ohne Lorenzs Zutun entscheidend zur Lösung der Orthopädie aus der Chirurgie und der Gründung einer eigenen Fachgesellschaft beigetragen. Lorenz hielt 1944 auf ihrem 36. Kongreß in Wien noch einmal die Eröffnungsansprache, nachdem er zuvor als « Vater » und « Begründer » der deutschen Orthopädie gefeiert worden war.

...

Doktor Albert Lorenz, Orthopäde, Sohn des Adolf Lorenz : geboren 2. September 1885 in Wien ; gestorben 23. Juli 1970 in Wien. Nach dem Studium an der Universität Wien (Doktor der medicinæ universæ 1910) trat Lorenz in die II. Chirurgische Universitätsklinik im Allgemeinen Krankenhaus Wien unter Julius von Hochenegg ein, wo er nach dreijähriger Tätigkeit eine orthopädische Station einzurichten begann. Nach dem I. Weltkrieg konnte die klinische

Tätigkeit nicht fortgesetzt werden, sodaß Lorenz als Privat-assistent seines Vaters weiterarbeitete. 1943 habilitierte er sich für Orthopädie. Erst nach dem 2. Weltkrieg konnte er die orthopädische Station der I. Chirurgischen Universitätsklinik (unter Leopold Schönbauer) übernehmen. 1951 in den Ruhestand versetzt, übte Lorenz weiterhin seine Praxis aus und versah 1953-1959 Dienst im orthopädischen Ambulatorium der Wiener Gebietskrankenkasse (7. Bezirk, Andreasgasse Nummer 11) . Zu seinen Hauptarbeitsgebieten zählten Arbeiten über Amputation und Prothesenversorgung, Schenkelhalsfraktur, Hohlfußdeformität und Pfannendachplastik.

## Genealogie

Vater : Johann, Sattlermeister und Gastwirt in Wien ; Mutter : Agnes, Tochter der Ackerbürgers Ehrlich in Wien ; On Eduard Ehrlich, Chirurg und Arzt in Trofaich (Steiermark) , führte der Jennersche Kuhpockenimpfung mit e. bereits aseptisch hergestellten Lymphe in der Steiermark ein, Johann Ehrlich (Klostername Gregor, 1831-1912) , OSB, Abt der Klosters St. Paul (Kärnten) ; Bruder : N.N. , Chef-Ingenieur der Australische Eisenbahnwerke, Commander der Australische Lokomotivwesen ; verheiratet Wien 1885 Emma (1859-1936) , Tochter der Konrad Lecher (1829-1905) , Schriftsteller, 1. Präsident der Schriftstellerverein « Concordia » in Wien, und der Luise Schwarzer von Heldenstamm ; Schwager Ernst Lecher (gestorben 1926) , Physiker ; Schwägerin Hilda Lecher (verheiratet Rudolf Frank, gestorben 1913, Chirurg) ; 2 Sohn : Albert (1886-1970) , Dozent für Orthopädie in Wien, Nachf ; Konrad Lorenz (geboren 1903 ; gestorben 1989) , Verhaltensphysiologe.

## Erinnerung

Gedenktafel für Adolf und Albert Lorenz in Wien I, Rathausstraße Nummer 21.

Adolf-Lorenz-Gasse in Hietzing (1959) .

Gedenktafel am Haus Rathausstraße (Wien) 21.

## Ida Krzyzanowski-Doxat

According to Gustav Mahler, Rudolf Krzyzanowski's wife, « Frau » Ida Doxat, was a mediocre dramatic soprano at the Weimar Court Opera (until 1904) .

...

Ida Krzyzanowski-Doxat (häufig falschgeschrieben Ida Krzyzanowski-Dorat, geborene Ida Doxat) , österreichische Opernsängerin (Sopran) : geboren 24. Jänner 1867 in Senozec, Krain ; gestorben 8. März 1947 in Graz.

Ida Doxat, die Tochter eines Kaiserlich-Königliche österreichischen Bezirkskommissärs, wurde von Marie Wilt entdeckt. Sie nahm Gesangsunterricht bei Louise Dustmann und begann ihre Bühnenlaufbahn 1889 in Halle, wo sie als « Elisabeth » im « Tannhäuser » debütierte, wirkte 1890 in Elberfeld, von 1891 bis 1895 am Stadttheater in Leipzig, vom September 1896 bis Frühjahr 1898 am Stadttheater in Hamburg und anschließend am Hoftheater in Weimar bis 1904.

Sie galt als ganz vortreffliche Wagnersängerin. So wurde sie eingeladen, bei den Mustervorstellungen in München die « Isolde » und « Senta » zu singen, beteiligte sich am Wagner-Zyklus in Dresden, wo sie die « Brünnhilde » verkörperte, erschien im November 1894 dreimal als Gast am Hofoperntheater in Wien, sowie alljährlich bei den großen Wagnerkonzerten in London.

Die Kritik bezeichnete sie als eine hervorragende Darstellerin auf dem Gebiet hoch-dramatischer Erscheinungen, von besonderer Wahrheit und Tiefe der Empfindung, von glühender Leidenschaft und dabei großer Selbstbeherrschung. Ihre ausdauernden und wohlgebildeten stimmlichen Mittel wurden rühmend hervorgehoben.

Zu ihren Glanzrollen zählten nebst Wagnerrollen auch Giacomo Meyerbeers « Valentine » , wie « Fidelio » , « Donna Anna » , etc.

Die Künstlerin, die infolge ihrer Verdienste zur herzoglichen Kammersängerin ernannt wurde, war verheiratet mit dem Weimarer Hofkapellmeister Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

Seit 1911 lebte sie in Graz, sie starb hochbetagt am 8. März 1947 im Pflegeheim Lamberg, wo sie ihre letzten Lebensjahre verbracht hatte.

### Death of Prince Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst

**Friday, 14 February 1896** : Death of Chief-Intendant of the « Hofoper » , Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst, at the age of 67.

Prince Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst became honorary member of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in 1870.

During the years 1870 to 1875, the Danube River was regulated for the first time, leading to the disappearance of the swamps. Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst was responsible for transforming the Imperial hunting-reserve into the large « Prater » public park - the site of the Vienna International Exposition of 1873.

He was named honorary curator of the Academy of Fine-Arts in Vienna, and honorary curator of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry. Along with conductor Johann Herbeck, Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst engaged in reforming the Imperial Music Chapel (« Hofmusikkapelle ») . Court-organist Anton Bruckner dedicated his « Romantic Symphony » to the Prince.

### Richter visits Bruckner

**Monday, 17 February 1896** : Hans Richter visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Bruckner plays a part of the Finale of the 9th 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 9th 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 (« Karmelitenkloster ») 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 « Hofmusikkapelle » in memory of Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst.

### Another performance of the « Te Deum »

**Monday, 23 March 1896** : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Gratitude and Charity Concert to fund the Ljubljana Musicians' Society. Matej Hubad conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » and the « Glasbena Matica, Chor Laibach » . Soloists : Marián Ševčík, Sophie Chotek sopranos ; Eugenie Hofmann, alto ; Josef Lašek, tenor ; Václav Kliment, bass ; Karl Hoffmeister, organ.

Viktor Kutschera, announcer.

Acknowledgments by Josef Stritar, representing the city of Laibach.

Jacobus Gallus : « Musica noster amor » , Madrigal for 6 part mixed-choir « a cappella » , based on a text by Josef Mantuani.

Anonymous : 6 Slovenian folk-songs arranged by Matej Hubad.

Zdeněk Fibich : « Frühlingsromanze » (Spring Romance) , song for soprano, bass, mixed-choir and orchestra, Opus 23.

Anton Nedvĕd : « Zurück ins Alpenglück » (Back to Alpenglück) , song for « a cappella » choir.

Anton Förster : « Das Liebchen » (The Sweetheart) , song for « a cappella » choir.

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

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### Linz : The « Romantic »

**Wednesday, 25 March 1896** (5:00 pm) : First « Musikverein-Konzert » of 1896 in Linz. Adalbert Schreyer conducts the 4th Symphony by Anton Bruckner at the « Redouten-Saal » . The nice weather brings a good attendance.

Once again, the « Linzer Tages-Post » , the « Linzer Volksblatt » and the « Linzer Zeitung » draw attention to the

concert.

### Kitzler conducts the Second

**Wednesday, 25 March 1896** : Otto Kitzler conducts the 2nd Symphony by Anton Bruckner (**WAB 102**) with the Brünn (Brno) « Musikverein » Orchestra.

« The Symphony in C minor by Bruckner was performed in Brünn. As far as we know, no other work has been given with such success in recent times. »

The concert also featured tenor Felix Oplustil and cellist Lucy Herbert Campbell.

Bruckner was unable to attend the performance but sent a letter of thanks.

### Concert sponsored by the « Schubertbund »

**Wednesday, 25 March 1896** : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Concert sponsored by the Vienna Schubert Association. Richard Heuberger and Adolf Kirchl conduct the « Wiener Philharmoniker » and the « Wiener Schubertbund » male-choir. Soloists : Olga von Türk-Rohn, soprano ; Hermann Jessen, bass.

Franz Schubert : « Rosamunde » Overture from the melodrama « Die Zauberharfe » (The Magic Harp) (D. 644) .

Franz Schubert : « Gesang der Geister über den Wassern » (Song of the Spirits over the Waters) for double-choir and orchestra (D. 714) .

Anton Bruckner : « Träumen und Wachen » (Dreaming and being awake) , song in A-flat major for tenor and male-choir (**WAB 87**) .

Richard Heuberger : « Nun grüße dich Gott, Frau Minnel ! » (Now you greet God, Mrs. Minnel !) , song for male-choir and orchestra, Opus 31 (1887) .

Franz Mair : « Frühlingsahnung » (Hint of Spring) , song for choir.

Arnold Krug : « Fingal » , Symphonic Cantata for soloists, male-choir and orchestra.

### Bruckner's last public appearance

**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.

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. »

### Holy Week celebrations

**Beginning of April 1896** : Anton Bruckner takes part in the Holy Week celebrations at St. Michael's Church (« Michaelerkirche ») . « Frau » Kathi must accompany him.

### Signing a student-book

**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 » .

### Oberleithner visits Bruckner

**After Easter 1896** : Former student Max von Oberleithner visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

### Godfather again



**Friday, 10 April 1896** : Anton Bruckner becomes the godfather of Anton Zachhuber, the son of his nephew (2nd degree) Eduard Zachhuber from Wolfers 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 godfather at the baptism of Anton Zachhuber, the son of his nephew (2nd degree) Eduard. He asks Bayer to stop writing letters.

**Wednesday, 22 April 22 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 godfather at the baptism of Zachhuber's son, Anton (the family was closely related to Bruckner's mother, Theresia Helm) .

### Help from Kathi's daughter

**May 1896** : « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr (who as been unable to leave the « Kustodenstöckl » for a long time) asks her daughter Ludowika Kutschera for help again.

### Praise from Hugo Wolf

**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.

### Josef Schalk visits Bruckner

**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.

### Brahms' liver and pancreas

Johannes Brahms felt fatigue and illness at the end of **May 1896**. He lost weight and had developed jaundice by **July** of that year - the signs of pancreatic carcinoma. The « Second Viennese School of Medicine » was at its heights then,

and Brahms was seen by the best doctors of that time. One of them was Leopold von Schrötter, another was Hermann Nothnagel, a German-born specialist of internal medicine (Sigmund Freud did practice at his department) who had moved from the University Clinic of Jena (Germany) to Vienna to become head of the first medical department. The patient's situation worsened with inter-changing episodes of hunger and nausea, generalized itching, growing immobility and bleeding episodes.

All these are the typical signs of malignant pancreatic disease with worsening chronic liver failure (jaundice, generalized itching, coagulopathy, loss of appetite, nausea) . Unclear episodes of ravenous appetite and concomitant loss of weight at the beginning of the symptoms are suggestive of neuro-endocrine symptoms of Brahms' fatal disease. Liver carcinoma has been mentioned as the musician's cause of death several times. But now, it appears that it was neuro-endocrine pancreatic cancer with liver metastases and liver failure.

Only recently molecular biology (as in many fields of modern medicine) appears to be able to explore the pathology of the disease down to its origins, maybe making effective precision medicine possible in the future. But until now, the death toll has not yet been changed. Johannes Brahms died of pancreatic cancer.

### Doctor Hermann Nothnagel

The German internist Doctor Carl Wilhelm Hermann Nothnagel was born 28 September 1841 in Alt-Lietzegörick (Polish : Stare Łysogórki) , nearby Bärwalde in der Neumark (Polish : Mieszkowice) , Brandenburg ; and died on 7 July 1905 in Vienna.

The son of a pharmacist, Nothnagel studied from 1858 to 1863 under Ludwig Traube, Carl Westphal and Rudolf Virchow at the University of Berlin. From 1865 to 1868, he was an assistant to Ernst Viktor von Leyden at the University of Königsberg (Kaliningrad) where, in 1866, he was habilitated for internal medicine. From 1868 to 1870, he worked as a military physician and lecturer in Berlin, and later, served in the same roles at Breslau (1870-1872) .

In 1872, Nothnagel relocated at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau and, in 1874, was appointed full-professor at the medical clinic in Jena. From 1882 until his death in 1905, he was appointed professor and head-physician of the First Medical Clinic in Vienna. One of his better-known students was Constantin von Economo (1876-1931) . In 1879, he became a member of the « Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina » .

Doctor Nothnagel made a name for himself particularly through his publications on « angina pectoris » and on the physiology and pathology of the nervous system and the intestines. In 1876, he described the irregular pulse associated with atrial fibrillation. At the time, he referred to this finding as « delirium cordis » . The eponymous « Nothnagel's syndrome » is named after him, a disorder characterized by ipsilateral oculo-motor palsy and contra-lateral cerebellar ataxia.

Nothnagel is interred at the Protestant Cemetery of Matzleinsdorf (top middle vault, Number 109) . In 1922, medical historian Max Neuburger published his biography entitled « Hermann Nothnagel, Leben und Wirken eines deutschen

Klinikers » .

...

Doktor Carl Wilhelm Hermann Nothnagel, deutscher Internist : geboren 28. September 1841 in Alt Lietzegörice in der Mark Brandenburg ; gestorben 7. Juli 1905 in Wien.

Carl Wilhelm Hermann wurde als ältester Sohn des Apothekenbesitzers, sowie späteren Arztes Albert Nothnagel und dessen Frau Ottilie Neider geboren. Er entstammte einem alten Kaufmannshause in Güstebiese. Aus der Ehe der Eltern stammt noch 1 Bruder und 3 Schwestern. Er besuchte die Mittelschule in Königsberg in der Neumark.

Nothnagel studierte von 1858 bis 1863 bei Ludwig Traube, Carl Westphal und Rudolf Virchow an der Universität Berlin. In Berlin promovierte er am 6. August 1863 mit der Arbeit « de variis renum affectionibus, quae nomine " Morbus Bright " vulgo comprehenduntur » und war dann als Unterarzt bei Traubes Klinik an der « La Charité » tätig. Ab 1865 bis 1868 arbeitete er als Assistent von Ernst Viktor von Leyden in Königsberg, wo er 1866 in Innerer Medizin habilitierte. Von 1868 bis 1870 war er als Militärarzt und Dozent in Berlin und in gleicher Funktion von 1870 in Breslau tätig. Auch hier hatte er sich habilitiert und wurde beim Ausbruch des deutsch-französischen Krieges nach Frankreich gezogen, wo er am Militärkrankenhaus in Charlos sur Marne wirkte und im Anschluß an den Feldzug wieder nach Breslau zurückkehrte.

1872 wurde er ordentlicher Professor der Medizin an der Universität Freiburg. Jedoch währte seine dortige Tätigkeit nicht lang. 1874 zog man ihn als Professor der speziellen Pathologie und Therapie an die Universität Jena. Hier wurde er Direktor der medizinische Klinik, man ernannte ihn zum Hofrat und er war im Sommersemester 1881 Rektor der Salana.

1882 wechselte Nothnagel als Professor und Direktor an die I. Mediziner Klinik der Universität Wien. In Wien blieb er bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1905. Einer seiner dortigen Schüler war Constantin Economo. Sigmund Freud machte 1882-1883 bei ihm ein sechsmonatiges Praktikum.

Bereits 1879 wurde er in die Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina aufgenommen. Hermann Nothnagel wurde auf dem Evangelischen Friedhof Matzleinsdorf (Gruft Mitte oben, Nummer 109) in Wien beigesetzt. 1910 wurde ein Denkmal für Hermann Nothnagel im Arkadenhof der Universität Wien enthüllt.

Nothnagel verheiratete sich im 26. Juli 1870 in Breslau mit Marie Teubner (geboren 25. Juni 1848 in Kehl am Rhein ; gestoreben 23. Juli 1880 in Jena) , der Tochter eines Steuerrates in Freistett (Baden) . Er hatte mit ihr 4 Kinder.

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Über den epileptischen Anfall. (Richard von Volkmanns Sammlung klinischer Vorträge) , Leipzig (1872) .

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Vorträge über die Diagnose bei den Gehirnkrankheiten. Wien (1887) .

(Mit Kollegen) Specielle Pathologie und Therapie. 24 Bände (1894-1905) .

Die Erkrankungen des Darms und des Peritoneum. in : Handbuch der speciellen Pathologie und Therapie, Band 17, Wien (1898) .

### Mayfeld and Richter visit Bruckner

Before the summer began, many people came to see the dying Bruckner before they left for their holidays. The composer was desperately trying to complete the Finale of his 9th Symphony but he was too weak to work for any length of time. Hans Richter was one of his visitors ; he came to announce his intention of performing the 7th Symphony at the opening-concert of the 1896-1897 Season, on November 8. When the conductor saw how the unfinished state of the 9th Symphony was distressing Bruckner, he suggested that the « Te Deum » could be played as its Finale. He need not look far for a precedent for a choral Finale to a 9th Symphony. The old man was grateful for the idea, even if he saw it only as a last resort.

**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 7th Symphony with the « Philharmoniker » during the next season. He advises Bruckner to complete the 9th Symphony with the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) .

According to Anton Meißner, Bruckner plans to add the « Te Deum » to the 9th.

Bruckner discusses the details of his funeral with Josef Kluger, the Provost of Klosterneuberg Abbey. 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.

### Praying more and more

**May - June 1896** : With age, the amount of prayers wrose sharply in Bruckner's note-book. An effort, perhaps, to will away his religious doubts.

### Premiere of « Der Corregidor »

Hugo Wolf's fervid behaviour on the occasion of the Opera's premiere was passionate, arrogant, and therefore unrestrained. It was not as a petitioner that he approached Director (Intendant) Bassermann ; instead (with his friend Judge Oskar Grohe always acting as intermediary) , he insisted on his rights in a way that is truly astounding.

**Sunday, 7 June 1896** : The 4 Act Opera « Der Corregidor » (The Magistrate) is premiered to resounding success at the « Großherzogliches Hof- und Nationaltheater » in Mannheim under the baton of Hugo Röhr with curtain-calls for the composer. But the rehearsals were prolonged and tense because of inaccuracies in the copied parts, Wolf's customary outspoken criticism of the performers, and fluctuations of his own mental state (continuing to be plagued by insomnia)

The German libretto was written by Rosa Mayreder-Obermayer, based on the short-novel « El sombrero de tres picos » (The three-cornered Hat) by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón.

### Cast

Don Eugenio de Zuniga, Corregidor : Hans Rüdiger (« buffo » tenor) .

Juan Lopez, Alcalde : Georg Döring (low-bass) .

Pedro, his secretary : Anton Friedrich Erl (tenor) .

Tonuelo, the usher : Hermann Hildebrandt (bass) .

Repela, the Corregidor's servant : Karl Marx (« buffo » bass) .

Tio Lukas, the miller : Joachim Kromer (baritone) .

A neighbour : ? (tenor) .

Donna Mercedes, the Corregidor's wife : Anna Sorger (soprano) .

Frasquita, the miller's wife : Helene Hohenleiter (mezzo-soprano) .

Duenna, Donna Mercedes's house-keeper : Helene Seubert-Hansen (contralto) .

Manuela, the Alkalde's maid : ? (mezzo-soprano) .

(Gustav Mahler made an arrangement of the Opera's prelude.)

### Synopsis

In and around an unnamed village in Andalusia, in the year 1804. The « corregidor » Don Eugenio de Zuniga has designs on Frasquita, the charming wife of the miller Lukas. Frasquita and Lukas make fun of the old lecher who swears vengeance furiously. He goes to the mayor, informing his wife that he will spend the night in the town-hall. The mayor does him the favour of ordering Lukas there, too, and while he is on the way to the town-hall, Don Eugenio approaches Frasquita undisturbed. But once more, his plan fails. When Frasquita, who does not let herself be bribed by her nephew's appointment as Court secretary, hurries away indignantly, he makes himself comfortable in the miller's bed. Still sure of his success, he orders his servant to get Frasquita back. In the meantime, Lukas has seen through the conspiracy and has escaped from the town-hall. At home, he finds the « corregidor's » clothes in front of the bedroom, believes what he sees and sets out to recoup himself with the « corregidora » for the alleged infidelity of Frasquita. Don Eugenio, who, lacking his own clothes, takes on the miller's ones, is surprised by the returning Frasquita and the judge who are looking for Lukas in the mill. Frasquita senses Lukas's designs, and all hurry to the « corregidor's » house. There, the « corregidora » gives her judge a good talking-to, and the miller and his wife become reconciled and embrace each other.

Nothing would induce Wolf either to sit in the Intendant's box or to wear a coat suitable to the solemnity of the occasion. He donned his usual light summer-suit and sat in the second gallery with Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg, where he could see and hear without being seen or disturbed. « Frau » Mayreder and other friends had come to Mannheim for the performance. At the end of the 2nd Act, « Frau » Mayreder made her way up to the second tier and spoke to Wolf, who was lost in « rêverie » ; he started up at the sight of his poetess, and without speaking a word, fell upon her neck with tears of gratitude in his eyes. The performance was a complete success. Wolf was called for by the audience, and after much persuasion on the part of his friends, he stepped upon the stage at the end of the 3rd Act. He refused, however, to accept any of the wreaths except that of the Mannheim « Wagner-Verein » . He received an honorarium of 200 Marks for the work. He does not seem to have given much thought to this until he reached Traunkirchen some days after. So far as he could remember, he had put the money in a drawer in the writing-table in his room at Mannheim ; he telegraphed to the place, but the money was gone, and was never recovered. A friend wished to make the amount good to him, but Wolf refused to accept it.

Only one other performance of the Opera was given, the first having taken place near the end of the season. It was a

failure and Intendant Bassermann dropped it. Hugo Röhr, the conductor, soon afterwards removed to Munich, and 1 or 2 of the singers also left Mannheim, it was all the more difficult to take-up the work again. It was never again performed in Wolf's lifetime. The enthusiasm abated in later performances, with the gradual departure of Wolf's friends and admirers.

The work's charms and failures are usually attributed to the same cause : Wolf was primarily a writer of lieder. The score is full of one pleasing tune after another (including one of his lieder from the « Spanisches Liederbuch » , but they are rather haphazardly joined together. The orchestration, surprisingly, is not as sophisticated as the complex instrumental parts of some of his later songs, such as « Im Frühling » , and, in some moments, even presents a rather pallid imitation of Richard Wagner. As a result, the Opera is too large-scaled for the concert-halls and salons where lieder were played, and not quite substantial enough for an Operatic audience.

### Monthly payment

**Tuesday, 9 June 1896** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« June 9, Monthly. » (Presumably a monthly payment for « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr.)

### Wolf and Margarete Klinckerfuß

**Between Tuesday, 9 and Tuesday, 16 June 1896** : Hugo Wolf (aged 36) is in Stuttgart. He is freshly in love with the 19 year old German pianist Margarete Klinckerfuß (born on 18 October 1877 in Stuttgart ; died on 31 January 1959 in Stuttgart) whose « fiancé » the explorer Johannes Wißemann died in Africa. Hugo and Margarete meet more often at the Stuttgart Hoppenlau Cemetery to console each other. (Hugo suffering from his recent love-affair with singer Frieda Zerny plus the lack of recognition for his works.) After, they returned to the apartment of the Klinckerfuß family in the centre of Stuttgart (« Kanzleistraße » Number 18) . There, to extend the consolation, Hugo proposes Margarete to accompany him in playing his beloved Bruckner : the divine 7th Symphony for piano 4 hands.

« At the heavenly Adagio, he pressed me, quietly kissed my forehead and said :

“ How united we are. We would have played together for a lifetime. ”

Then, he quoted Gœthe's profound poem to “ Frau ” von Stein. »

« In fact, I had done nothing but endeavoured, with utmost devotion, to approach Hugo Wolf's interpretation of Anton Bruckner. His playing was so precise, beautiful and inspired, and so delicate as it appeared in the score, in his rendition of orchestral works so powerful and astonishingly nuanced that, without ever crossing the limit of the beauty of tone on the grand-piano, even the timbres of individual instruments. »

### Ferdinand Löwe writes to Bruckner

**Friday, 12 June 1896** : The gap in Anton Bruckner's prayer-notebook is explained by the fact that the corresponding sheet was subsequently removed from the pocket calendar.

Letter from Ferdinand Löwe to Anton Bruckner : Name-Day greetings.

### University of Vienna : Summer Semester (1896)

Emil Fleisch enrolls as student of the Faculty of Arts.

### Monthly payment

**Saturday, 20 June 1896** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« June 20, Monthly. » (Presumably a monthly payment for « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr.)

### Brahms and the « Resurrection Symphony »

**July 1896** : Johannes Brahms expressed the wish through a mutual friend to become acquainted with the score of Gustav Mahler's 2nd Symphony. This happened a few months before Bruckner's death. According to Ludwig Karpath's memoirs, Brahms' opinion of the Symphony was as follows :

« 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. »

...

It may have been that **July** when Gustav Mahler, recently through Brahms's influence appointed to the Vienna « Hofoper » , made a visit to Ischl that lives in legend - because of a quip, but one that said much about the divide between Brahms's generation and the next.

As they walked along the River Traun, Brahms was singing his familiar refrain : music was going to the devil, after he was dead, it would be finished once and for all.

Suddenly, Mahler took Brahms's arm and gestured excitedly toward the river, exclaiming :

« Look, “ Doktor ”, just look ! »

Brahms said, taking the bait :

« What is it ? »



Mahler said :

« Don't you see ? There goes the last wave ! »

Maybe that got a cheerless chuckle from Brahms.

He said only :

« That's all very fine, but maybe what matters is whether the wave goes into the sea or into a swamp. »

By then, with his usual meticulous care, he had studied the score of Mahler's 2nd Symphony. That work, with its glowing instrumentation and grandiose Brahmsian close, perhaps intrigued him at the same time as it made him shudder. Yet, the second movement, the Scherzo with its juxtaposition of the ecstatic and grotesque, Brahms declared a work of genius - a term he did not use lightly.

But he also said :

« I used to think Richard Strauß was the Chief of the Insurrectionists, but now, I see it's Mahler. »

As Mahler left from that last visit to Ischl, he glanced through the window to have one more look at Brahms. He saw the old man wearily making a sausage and a slice of bread from the stove for his lunch. It all comes to this, Mahler thought.

« Italienisches Liederbuch »

**Summer 1896** : The 36 year old Hugo Wolf completes the 24 songs of his second « Italienisches Liederbuch » (Italian Song-Book) .

Publication of the « Libera me » (WAB 22)

**July 1896** : St. Florian's Prelate Karl Aigner publishes the sacred Motet « Libera me, Domine » (Deliver me, O Lord) No. 2 in F minor (WAB 22) , possibly in anticipation of Anton Bruckner's death.

The « Kustodenstöckl » picture

Photo taken in front of the Upper-Belvedere gate-keeper's lodge : Anton Bruckner (centre) , his brother Ignaz (doorway) , house-keeper « Frau Kathi » (Katherina Kachelmayr) and personal physicians Richard Heller and Leopold Schrötter (back, facing the camera) , and « Kathi's » daughter, Ludowika Kutschera (barely visible behind Doctor Schrötter) .

## Confused

**From early July onwards** : Anton Bruckner's prayer entries in his pocket calendar (which serves as a diary) show clear signs of confusion and difficulty in keeping track of days and dates, relieved by clear moments.

Elisabeth Maier notes that Bruckner's prayer entries from his last months « are of varying clarity they become increasingly confused » .

## Unconscious and delirious

**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.

## Mahler visits Brahms for the last time

**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 2nd Symphony. Brahms considers its Scherzo to be a work of genius (an opinion he rarely expresses) , and says :

« I now consider Mahler the king of the 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.)

## Wedding of Josef Schalk

**Sunday, 12 July 1896** : Anton Bruckner attends Mass at St. Michael's Church (« Michaelerkirche ») . Wedding of Josef Schalk.

## Paying Cyrill Hynais

**Monday, 13 July 1896** : Bruckner's pocket calendar entry (unknown hand-writing) :

« 13 July - 20 Gulden paid to “ Herr ” (Cyrill) Hynais. »

## Telegramm to Franz Bayer

**Wednesday, 15 July 1896 (or Thursday, 16 July 1896 ?)** : A telegraph is sent to Franz Bayer :

« Anton Bruckner is dying. »

### Heller and Schrötter meeting

**Thursday, 16 July 1896** : Anton Bruckner is in very bad condition. Doctor Richard Heller comes to visit him 3 times a day. Heller also meets at midday 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.

### The last sacraments

**Friday, 17 July 1896 (or Thursday, 16 July 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 has 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.

### Incredibly well

**Saturday, 18 July 1896** : Doctor Richard Heller comes to visit Bruckner 3 times a day. Heller also meets at midday his superior Doctor Leopold Schrötter. Today, Heller finds Anton Bruckner « incredibly well » .

Article in the « Linzer Montags-Post » written by Elimar (Theodor Altwirth) about Anton Bruckner's « well-being » !

One-day gap in Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar (then, again, from 19 July until 3 September 1896) .

About Bruckner's health status :

The evening edition of the « Deutsche Volksblatt » Number 2708 on page 4, the « Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt » Number 196 on page 4, the « Linzer Volksblatt » , the « Linzer Zeitung » (with reference to yesterday's reports by the Vienna « Neue Freie Presse ») on pages 796 and 797 respectively, and Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 196 on page 3 :

« (Professor Anton Bruckner.)

The state of health of the old composer Anton Bruckner has deteriorated in the last days. Victim of a new cold, Master Bruckner developed a catarrh of the lungs, which gives cause for serious concern with regard to the age of the musician, gave rise to serious anxiety. The sick Professor Bruckner, which is treated by his long-time friend Professor Schrötter, is attended by his brother, and the chaplain who wished that the sick man receives the last sacraments yesterday morning. According to the physicians, Professor Bruckner is at the moment in danger. Professor Bruckner took a good portion of chocolate with the best appetite at dinner. »

The article will be re-printed by « die Ostdeutsche Rundschau » Number 196 at page 3, the « Steyrer Zeitung » , the « Linzer Tages-Post » and the « Welser Anzeiger » Number 29 at page 4.

Article in the « Linzer Montags-Post » Number 29 on page 4 (possibly dated on 18 July 1896) written by Elimar (Theodor Altwirth) about Anton Bruckner's health-condition.

### Infuriated with Doctor Heller

**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.

Information about Bruckner's health status is provided by the « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » Number 58 at page 3, the « Linzer Zeitung » , the « Reichspost » Number 179 at page 4, the « Steyrer Zeitung » and the « Linzer Tages-Post » .

### A certificate in 2 copies

**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, altogether, 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.

Also a note from an unknown hand-writing (perhaps, Doctor Richard Heller ?) « 20, at noon-time (/) Monday. »

Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 198 on page 2f, reports on Bruckner's state of health :

« (Professor Anton Bruckner.)

Concerning the condition of Anton Bruckner, fortunately, there has been a slight improvement. The old Master was almost all day out of bed, and even after several days of insufficient food, he was able to eat a meaty dish with a good appetite. In the evening, he was quite cheerful, sat at the window, which gave a beautiful view over the gardens of the Belvedere and the city, and spoke again of his compositions still to be completed. In recent days, the Emperor has asked questions about Bruckner's health. »

### Composing the promised chorale

**Tuesday, 21 July 1896** : Anton Bruckner begins to compose for Doctor Richard Heller the promised chorale of the Finale of the 9th 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.

The evening edition of the « Deutsches Volksblatt » Number 2711 on page 4, the « Grazer Tages-Post » , the « Linzer Volksblatt » , 2 articles of the « Linzer Zeitung » , the evening edition of « Die Presse » Number 199 on page 2 :

« (Anton Bruckner.)

The state of health of Professor Bruckner has not changed since yesterday. »

The « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » Number 199 on page 4, and the « Linzer Tages-Post » :

Doctor Richard Heller was no longer able to obtain the signature of Bruckner, even though his brother Ignaz (presumably still in Vienna and, therefore, an eyewitness) and « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr. were able to testify by proxy.

### The international newspapers

**Wednesday, 22 July 1896** : Reports on Anton Bruckner's illness appear in the international newspapers.

Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 200 on page 3 :

« (Anton Bruckner.)

There has been no significant change in the condition of the sick Professor Bruckner. The patient felt a bit weak yesterday evening. »

**Thursday, 23 July 1896** : Notice about Anton Bruckner's health-condition in the « Linzer Zeitung » .

### Visit from Doctor Heller

**Friday, 24 July 1896** : Doctor Richard Heller makes a visit to Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 202 on page 3 reports on Bruckner's condition :

« (Anton Bruckner.)

Yesterday, Bruckner's condition has improved. »

### Surprisingly in good condition

**Saturday, 25 July 1896** : The « Linzer Zeitung » and Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 203 on page 4 report on Bruckner's latest state of health :

« (Anton Bruckner.)

The condition of the aged composer is, according to his physician, a surprisingly good one. The patient accompanies the doctor every day to the door, and even started a composition yesterday. »

**Sunday, 26 July 1896** : An improvement in Anton Bruckner's state of health has been reported by the « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » Number 60 on page 3, the « Linzer Zeitung » and the « Steyrer Zeitung » .

### Dedicating the chorale

**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 9th Symphony)

The « Welscher Anzeiger » Number 31 reports on page 5 about the state of health of Anton Bruckner.

### Ignaz's Name-Day

**Thursday, 30 July 1896** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Name-Day congratulations (31 July) .

An article on this topic appears in the « Grazer Tages-Post » .

In the meantime, Ignaz must stay in St. Florian (presumably only after July 21st) .

Ignaz was born on July 28, 1833.

**Friday, 31 July 1896** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Ignaz, 31 » (Name-Day)

### Feeling abandoned

**July - August 1896** : Anton Bruckner complains that so few people are taking care of him. His religious fervor 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 spokesperson 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 Schaumann 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.

### Reinhold von Lichtenberg

Baron Reinhold von Lichtenberg, a professor at Berlin University who wrote about « The Homeland of the Aryans » (1913) and made contributions to the « Bayreuther Blätter », reminded « Völkischer Beobachter » readers about the best-known story of Bruckner's child-like enthusiasm.

...

Reinhold Freiherr von Lichtenberg, österreichischer Kunsthistoriker und völkischer Publizist : geboren 15. Dezember 1865 in Fiume ; gestorben 28. Mai 1927 auf Schloß Neubeuern-am-Inn.

Von Lichtenberg war der Sohn des Generals Emil von Lichtenberg. Er studierte Jura in München und Wien. 1887 begann er ein Studium der Kunstgeschichte, der Klassischen Archäologie und des Sanskrit an den Universitäten Wien und Leipzig, wo er 1892 promoviert wurde.

Nach einer Studienreise nach Italien, Griechenland und der Türkei wurde er 1895 Volontär im Kupferstichkabinett in München. 1899 habilitierte er sich an der Technischen Hochschule Karlsruhe. Dort wurde er 1903 zum außerordentlichen Professor ernannt, aber bereits 1905 zu Forschungsreisen beurlaubt und verließ 1908 den Hochschuldienst, um als Privatier zu leben.

1907 bis 1915 war er Herausgeber des Memnon, Zeitschrift für die Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des Alten Orients (Bände 1-7) . Zusammen mit dem Begründer des Verbandes gegen die Überhebung des Judentums, Ludwig Müller von Hausen, gab er 1913 eine Schrift zur Verteidigung des Bayreuther Aufführungsmonopols an Richard Wagners « Parsifal » heraus, die « völkische und künstlerische Interessen » bewahren sollte.

Reinhold von Lichtenberg war und andere Mitglied im Verband gegen die Überhebung des Judentums und im Deutschvölkischen Schutz- und Trutzbund.

### Werke

Die Landschaftsmalerei bei den Niederländern im XVI. Jahrhundert, Dissertation, Leipzig (1892) .

Über den Humor bei den deutschen Kupferstechern und Holzschnittkünstlern des XVI. Jahrhunderts, in : Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Heft 11 (1894) .



Das Porträt an Grabdenkmälern : Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung vom Alterthum bis zur Italienischen Renaissance. Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, Heft 11 (1902) .

Über einige Werke der modernen Malerei (1903) .

Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte von Kypros : Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 11/2 (1906) .

Die Ägäische Kultur, Wissenschaft und Bildung, Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig (1918) .

Haus, Dorf, Stadt : eine Entwicklungs-Geschichte des antiken Städtebildes, Leipzig (1909) .

Einflüsse der ägäischen Kultur auf Ägypten und Palästina, Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, Hinrichs 16/2, Leipzig (1911) .

Mehr Schutz dem geistigen Eigentum ! Der Kampf um das Schicksal des « Parsifal » , dargestellt von Reinhold von Lichtenberg und Ludwig Müller von Hausen, Curtius, Berlin (1913) .

Die Heimat der Arier. Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, Monatsschrift zur Förderung der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung 14, (1913) ; Seiten 253-284.

Cypern und die Engländer. Ein Beispiel britischer kolonialer Willkür. Deutsches Vorderasienkomitee. Länder und Völker der Türkei, etc. , Heft 3, Leipzig (1915) ; etc. 8°.

Beiträge in : Richard Ungewitter, Herausgeber. Deutschlands Wiedergeburt durch Blut und Eisen, Stuttgart (1919) .

Deutsches Land den Deutschen ! Ein Beitrag zum Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker, Hugo Bermühler, Berlin (1921) .

Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner, in : Völkischer Beobachter (15 Juni 1927) .

Julius Kniese, Reinhold Freiherr von Lichtenberg und Julie Kniese : Der Kampf zweier Welten um das Bayreuther Erbe. Julius Knieses Tagebuchblätter aus dem Jahr 1883, Leipzig (1931) .

### Out of bed and composing again

**Saturday, 1 August 1896** : Anton Bruckner is working on the chorale (of the Finale of the 9th Symphony) which he dedicated to Doctor Richard Heller.

A section of the « Katholischen Blätter » and the « Lyra » Volume XIX, Number 21, reports about Anton Bruckner's health :

« From the musical world.

Anton Bruckner's condition has improved somewhat after a recent violent pneumonia, so that the aged musician can stay out of bed and compose again. Hopefully, the 73 year old Master will soon regain strength. »

### Increasing mental confusion and degradation

**Sunday, 2 August 1896** : Sudden worsening in Anton Bruckner's condition. Increasing mental confusion and degradation.

Article of the « Stuttgarter Sängerbundesfest » (without mentioning Anton Bruckner) re-printed in the « Grazer Tages-Post » .

### The nurse is fed-up

**Monday, 3 August 1896** : Anton Bruckner becomes increasingly confused and moody. The employed nurse (Anna Ortner ?) is persuaded to stay only after great insistance.

### Kitzler's final visit

**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) .

### Wolf plays Bruckner

**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.

### Doctor Schrötter back from vacation

**Saturday, 8 August 1896** :

Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 217 on page 3 reports of Anton Bruckner's state of health :

« (Professor Anton Bruckner.)

« Professor Bruckner's condition is satisfactory. It allows him to work on his compositions again. Professor Bruckner spends most of the day out of bed and is already able to welcome in person numerous friends who visit him each day at the Belvedere. Doctor Schrötter who returned to Vienna from his summer holidays yesterday, came to see the aged Master immediately after his arrival. »

### Newspapers' updates

**Sunday, 9 August 1896** : Several newspapers (the « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » Number 64 on page 4, the « Steyrer Zeitung » , and the « Linzer Zeitung ») report that Anton Bruckner's state of health has improved.

#### A photograph for Heller

**Around Monday, 10 August 1896** : Anton Bruckner dedicates with his signature a photograph to Doctor Richard Heller.

#### Ignaz's silence

**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 9th Symphony.

#### Return of the university lecturer

**Wednesday, 12 August 1896** : Several newspapers (the evening edition of the « Deutschen Volksblatt » Number 2733 on page 4, the « Wiener Fremdenblatt » , 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, forin with the fundamental steps, figured bass (thoroughbass) notations in the key of major.

A report on Bruckner's health appears in the « Neues Wiener Journal » Number 1006 on page 3.

**Thursday, 13 August 1896** : The news of Anton Bruckner's return as university lecturer is also published in the « Linzer Volksblatt » and the « Linzer Zeitung » .

#### Doctor Heller goes on vacation

**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. »

Anton Bruckner's return as university lecturer is also reported in the « Ostdeutschen Rundschau » Number 223 on page 4 and in the « Welser Anzeiger » Number 33 on page 4.

### Doctor Josef Sorgo

**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 » .

Anton Bruckner's return as university lecturer is also reported in the « Steyrer Alpen-Boten » Number 66 on page 3 and in the « Steyrer Zeitung » .

...

The Austrian internist and pulmonologist Doctor Josef Sorgo was born on 7 November 1869 Bleiberg (Carinthia) ; and died on 25 January 1950 in Vienna. He was buried at Grinzing Cemetery in an honorary grave (Group 3, Number 36) .

He was the son of a freight forwarder at the service of Prince of Thurn and Taxis. After attending the « Gymnasium » at St. Paul's Abbey and the « Theresianum » in Vienna (« Austernisten-matura ») , Sorgo studied medicine at the University of Vienna from 1888, where he received his doctorate in 1894.

His professional career began in April 1895 as an auxiliary physician in a mental institution in Vienna's 3 District. As early as November 1895 (up to 1899) , he was welcomed as a guest-student at the 3rd Medical Clinic of the General Hospital of Vienna by his formative teacher Doctor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, with whom he also worked as an assistant from 1899 to 1902. During this period, Sorgo was intensively concerned with tuberculosis. In 1902, he switched for 6 months as secondary physician to Doctor Edward Lang at the Dermatology Department of the General Hospital (Lang also worked at the 2nd Department of Venereal Disease) , before returning to Doctor Schrötter. Inspired by his teacher, and, on the basis of his internal and laryngological training, Sorgo turned to study tuberculosis, which, at the time, was a national disease in Vienna. After Schrötter had founded from donations the Alland first Tuberculosis Clinic, Sorgo became its director and chief-physician from 1902 to 1919. In 1904, he qualified for internal medicine at the University of Vienna, and became professor in 1915. After the closure (for financial reasons) of the Alland Lung Sanatorium in 1919, Sorgo became provisional Department director. From 1924 to 1933, he was chief-director of the 2nd Medical Department at the Wilhelmine Hospital. He also temporarily directed the Invalidity Institute against tuberculosis at Wilhelminenberg Palace. His department at Wilhelmine Hospital was dissolved due to construction. Sorgo was then transferred to the 3rd Medical Department of Emperor-Franz-Josef Hospital, where he was forced to leave at the end of 1938 (« Anschluß ») . Until 1944, he held his lectures at the University of Vienna, and, until then, he continued his private practice in Vienna. Anton Sattler was among his students.

Josef Sorgo carried-out a prolific research career in its field, which is reflected in more than 80 published articles. He gained notoriety with the creation of Pulmology as an independent sub-type of internal medicine. He is considered the

founder of helio-therapy for laryngeal Tuberculosis, was innovative in the field of physical examination of the lungs, and designed a simple Pneumothorax device. He applied the sunlight to fight tuberculosis of the larynx, which gave impetus to the further development of modern helio-therapy. He also created a new method of breeding tubercle bacilli.

Sorgo was member of the Society of Physicians in Vienna (1897) , honorary member of the Society for Internal Medicine, honorary President of the Department for Diseases of the Respiratory Organs of the Vienna Chamber of Physicians, and Counselor (1936) .

The « Sorgogasse » in Vienna-Hietzing was named after him in 1963.

...

Doctors Josef Sorgo and Béla Schick have indicated the connection between certain definite modifications of mammary glands and pulmonary tuberculosis. This condition as well as Doctor Alexander Fränkel's emphasis on the narrowness of the chest and Rothschild's on the angle of the sternum in pulmonary tuberculosis seem to me, even if not as distinct as my reports, to be founded on the character of segmental inferiority. Only in these cases a segment, not yet diseased, may declare its inferiority, whereas the disease is localized in an adjoining, or nearby segment. I myself have seen 1 sided or 2 sided diminution of the areola, but also have seen retraction of the mamillæ in women who have had to stop nursing because of lack of milk. I have also seen lack of milk when the areola was hairy (in the case of Mrs. Lina T. , whose mother died of carcinoma of the nipple) . (...)

Localization in the apex of the lung is particularly interesting. It may be best explained, in our opinion, by accepting a particular inferiority at this point. Doctor Alexander Fränkel's constriction of the upper thoracic opening, the prominent « angulus ludovica » , the phthisic constitution, the deficient development of the areola of the nipple on the diseased side, emphasized by Doctors Josef Sorgo and Béla Schick are nothing more than peripheral indications of the inferiority of the respiratory organs, and are surely not to be valued etiologically, any more than the diminished exchange of air at the apex. All these signs are not found in phthisis subjects only, but are none the less suspicious factors. The striking size of the lung in phthisis gives emphasis to that factor of growth tendency in inferior organs of which we have already spoken. One cannot avoid a similar impression in watching the growth of giant cells. On the other hand, the part of the tubercle bacilli as well as the social conditions are assured to be determining factors. (...)

Doctors Josef Sorgo and Béla Schick recently pointed-out that with tuberculosis there is often a smaller nipple or a smaller areola on the side of the disease centre, but at times this is true of the other side. We believe that we have indicated the connection and the animation for this. (...)

As regards tuberculosis, to be sure, the proofs of primary inferiority of the lung, or of other attacked organs, seem to be abundantly present. The very appearance of heredity makes this more easily acceptable. Likewise, the frequently typical localization in the lungs, kidneys, joints and brain. As a matter of fact, citations may be quoted which give information in regard to certain arrests of development, as those of Doctors Alexander Fränkel, Josef Sorgo and Béla

Schick's statements which we can without further ado classify with the signs of degeneration which are emphasized later on. (...)

...

Doktor Josef Sorgo, österreichischer Internist und Pulmologe : geboren 7. November 1869 Bleiberg (Kärnten) ; gestorben 25. Januar 1950 in Wien (Friedhof Grinzing, Ehrengrab) .

Sorgo studierte an der Universität Wien, an der er 1894 promovierte. Anschließend war er von 1895 bis 1899 Hospitant an der 3. Medizinischen Klinik im Allgemeinen Krankenhaus bei Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, bei dem er auch von 1899 bis 1902 als Assistent tätig war. Durch seinen Lehrer angeregt und auf Grund seiner internistischen und laryngologischen Ausbildung wandte sich Sorgo der Erforschung der Tuberkulose zu, die damals eine Volkskrankheit in Wien war. 1904 habilitierte er sich für Innere Medizin und war von 1902 bis 1919 Direktor und Chefarzt an der ersten Tuberkuloseheilstätte Alland, die er auch mitbegründet hatte. Anschließend wurde er von 1919 bis 1924 provisorischer, von 1924 bis 1933 definitiver Abteilungsvorstand der II. Medizinischen Abteilung am Wilhelminenspital. Er leitete auch zeitweise die Invalidenanstalt für Tuberkulose im Schloß Wilhelminenberg und von 1933 bis 1938 die 2. Medizinische Abteilung des Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Spitals.

Sorgo war Mitglied der Gesellschaft der Ärzte in Wien (1897) , Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft für Innere Medizin, Ehrenpräsident der Fachgruppe für Erkrankungen der Atmungsorgane der Wiener Ärztekammer und Hofrat. Nach seinem Tode erhielt er ein ehrenhalber gewidmetes Grab auf dem Grinzinger Friedhof (Gruppe 3, Nummer 36) . Die Sorgogasse in Wien-Hietzing wurde 1963 nach ihm benannt.

Josef Sorgo erwarb sich Verdienste um die Schaffung der Pulmologie als einer eigenständigen Unterart der Inneren Medizin. Er wandte die Sonnenlichtbehandlung zur Bekämpfung der Kehlkopftuberkulose an, die den Anstoß zur weiteren Entwicklung der modernen Heliotherapie auch anderer Tuberkuloseherde gab. Zu seinen Schülern zählt Anton Sattler.

...

Josef Sorgo besuchte das Stiftsgymnasium St. Paul und das Theresianum in Wien und studierte anschließend an der Universität Wien Medizin (Doktor der Medizin 1894) . 1895-1899 hospitierte er an der III. Medizinische Universitätsklinik im Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhaus unter Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli (1837-1908) und fungierte 1899-1902 auch als Assistent an dessen Klinik. Durch Schrötter gleichermaßen internistisch und laryngologisch ausgebildet, galt Sorgos wissenschaftliches Interesse bald der Erforschung der in Wien um 1900 grassierenden Tuberkulose. 1902-1919 leitete er die von ihm mitbegründete erste österreichische Tuberkuloseheilstätte in Alland (Niederösterreich) . 1904 habilitierte sich Sorgo an der Universität Wien für Innere Medizin ; 1915 zum titel außerordentlicher Professor ernannt, war Sorgo zunächst provisorischer, 1924-1933 definitiver Abteilungsvorstand der II. Medizinische Abteilung im Wilhelminenspital der Stadt Wien. Währenddessen leitete er zeitweise auch die Invalidenanstalt für Tuberkulosekranke im Schloß Wilhelminenberg am Rande Wiens und stand schließlich 1934-1938 noch der II. Medizinische Abteilung am Kaisers-Franz-Josef-Spital der Stadt Wien vor. Er leistete einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur

Entwicklung der Pulmologie (Lehre von den Erkrankungen der Lunge und der Bronchien) als neue Subspezialität der Inneren Medizin. Besonders lag ihm neben der Förderung der Heilstättentherapie auch die Propagierung der Tuberkulose-therapie durch Anlegen eines künstlichen Pneumothorax am Herzen sowie die Lichtbehandlung dieses Leidens. Zu seinen bedeutendsten Schülern zählt der Pulmologe Anton Sattler (1899-1989) .

...

Doktor Josef Sorgo, Internist und Pulmologe. Sohn eines Spediteurs in Diensten des Fürsten Thurn und Taxis. Nach Besuch des Stiftsgymnasium St. Paul und des Theresianums in Wien (Externistenmatura) studiert Sorgo ab 1888 Medizin an der Universität Wien ; 1894 Doktor der Medizin Seine berufliche Laufbahn begann Sorgo im April 1895 als Hilfsarzt in einer Nervenheilanstalt in Wien. Bereits im November wechselte er als Hospitant an die 3. medizinischen Klinik des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses zu Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, der zu seinem prägenden Lehrer wurde und bei dem Sorgo 1899-1902 als Assistent wirkte. In dieser Zeit befaßte er sich intensiv mit der Tuberkulose. 1902 wechselte Sorgo auf ein halbes Jahr als Sekundararzt an die dermatologische Abteilung, des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses zu Edward Lang, ehe er zu Schrötter von Kristelli zurückkehrte. Gemeinsam mit diesem etablierte er die Pulmologie als eigenen Zweig der Inneren Medizin. Nachdem Schrötter die Lungenheilstätte Alland aus Spendenmitteln gegründet hatte, war Sorgo 1902-1919 deren erster Leiter und zugleich Chefarzt. 1904 Habilitierte für Innere Medizin an der Universität Wien, 1915 Titel außerordentlicher Professor. Nach der aus finanziellen Gründen vorgenommenen Schließung der Lungenheilanstalt Alland (1919) war Sorgo zunächst provisorischer, 1924-1933 def. Abteilung-Vorstand der 2. medizinischen Abteilung im Wiener Wilhelminenspital. Zeitweilig betraute man ihn auch mit der Führung der Tuberkulosestation im Schloß Wilhelminenberg. Aufgrund baul. Veränderung wurde seine Abteilung im Wilhelminenspital aufgelöst und Sorgo auf die 3. medizinische Abteilung des Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Spitals transferiert, wo er Ende 1938 zwangsweise in der Regel versetzt wurde. Bis 1944 hielt er seine Vorlesungen an der Universität Wien, weiters betrieb er bis zuletzt eine Privatpraxis in Wien. Sorgo übte auf seinem Fachgebiet eine rege Forschungstätigkeit aus, die sich in über 80 Fachbeiträgen widerspiegelt. Er gilt als Begründer der Heliotherapie bei Kehlkopf-Tbc, war innovativ auf dem Gebiet der physikalischen Krankenuntersuchung der Lunge, konstruierte ein einfaches Pneumothoraxgerät und entwickelte eine neue Methode der Züchtung von Tuberkelbazillen. Sorgo war ab 1897 Mitglied der Gesellschaft der Ärzte in Wien, Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft für innere Medizin und Ehrenpräsident der Fachgruppe für Erkrankungen der Atmungsorgane der Wiener Ärztekammer ; 1936 Hofrat.

...

Tatsächlich liegen Hinweise vor auf Befunde, die gewisse Wachstumshemmungen anschuldigen, wie von Alexander Fränkel, Béla Schick und Josef Sorgo, Befunde, die wir ohne weiteres mit den von uns später hervorgehobenen Degenerationszeichen in eine Reihe stellen können. (...)

Josef Sorgo und Béla Schick haben vor kurzer Zeit gezeigt, daß man bei Tuberkulösen öfters auf der Seite des Herdes eine kleinere Mamma oder einen kleineren Warzenhof findet, zuweilen aber auch auf der entgegengesetzten Seite. (...)

Die Fränkelsche Enge der oberen Thoraxapertur, der vorspringende Angulus Ludovici, der Habitus phthisicus, die von

Josef Sörgo und Béla Schick hervorgehobene geringere Ausbildung des Warzenhofes auf der befallenen Seite stellen nichts anderes vor als periphere Kennzeichen der Minderwertigkeit des Atmungsorganes, sind sicherlich nicht ätiologisch zu verwerten, ebensowenig wie der geringere Luftwechsel in der Spitze. Alle diese Zeichen finden sich nicht nur bei Phthisikern, sind aber jedenfalls ausgiebige Verdachtsmomente. (...)

Wer den Komponisten Anton Bruckner kannte, wird sich erinnern, daß er in der Höhe des Ohrläppchens unter dem Jochbogen einen Naevus sitzen hatte. Ich möchte auch in diesem Falle einen Ausdruck der Gehörs minderwertigkeit erblicken, der sich in segmentaler Anordnung durchgesetzt hat. Die außerordentlich künstlerische Höhe hat Bruckner, wie wahrscheinlich alle großen Komponisten, auf dem Wege der Überwindung seiner Gehörs minderwertigkeit und ihrer Umwandlung in geniales, schöpferisches Hören errungen. (...)

Bevor wir dieses Kapitel schließen, wollen wir einigermaßen den Anschluß an die bestehenden Ergebnisse der Pathologie bewerkstelligen. Wie ich schon mehrmals erwähnt habe, wurde von Béla Schick und Josef Sörgo der Zusammenhang von bestimmten Abänderungen der Brustdrüse und der Lungentuberkulose nachgewiesen. Dieser Befund sowie die Hervorhebungen Fränkels bezüglich der Thoraxenge und Rothschilds bezüglich des Sternalwinkels bei Lungentuberkulose scheinen mir, wenn auch undeutlicher als meine Befunde, im Charakter der segmentalen Minderwertigkeit begründet zu sein. Nur daß in diesen Fällen ein vielleicht noch nicht erkranktes Segment seine Minderwertigkeit deklariert, während sich die Erkrankung in einem der angrenzenden oder nächstgelegenen Segmente lokalisiert. Ich selbst habe einseitige oder doppelseitige Verkleinerung des Warzenhofes, aber auch Verkürzung der Mamillae bei Frauen gesehen, die wegen Mangel an Milch die Stillung aussetzen mußten. Mangel an Milch sah ich auch bei Behaarung des Warzenhofes (Frau Lina T., deren Mutter an Mammakarzinom gestorben war) . (...)

### Genealogie

Vater : Paul Landwirt, Spediteur in Diensten des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis ; Mutter : Josefine Waldner ; verheiratet 1918 Maria Mitterhuber ; 1 Tochter.

### Doctor Schrötter visits Bruckner

**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.

### Able to receive visitors

**Tuesday, 18 August 1896** : Anton Bruckner feels particularly well and is able to receive visitors.

Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 18, Emperor Franz-Josef. »



### Outside for a short walk

**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) .

**Friday, 21 August 1896** : Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 229 reports on page 4 :

« Viennese Daily News. (undated)

(...) Professor Bruckner has already recovered from his serious illness so far that he was able to take a short walk yesterday, accompanied by his attendant. »

### Improvement

**Saturday, 22 August 1896** : The « Linzer Zeitung » (probably referring to Friday's article in « Die Presse ») reports on the improvement of Anton Bruckner's health-condition.

**Wednesday, 26 August 1896** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 26 (Anna) (Name-Day) 11:30 am. »

**Thursday, 27 August 1896** : The morning edition of the « Deutsche Volksblatt » Number 2747 reports on page 9 about Anton Bruckner's state of health.

### Standing outside by the window

**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.

### Happy Birthday from Vöcklabruck

**Tuesday, 1 September 1896** : Letter from Gustav Hueber (Vöcklabruck) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) (as transcribed by Laura Hueber) :

Gustav congratulates Laura's great-uncle for his birthday (4 September) . He is pleased with the newspaper articles which report that Bruckner has recovered and is already taking walks. Greetings from the parents.

### Death of Frieda von Lipperheide

**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.

Stopping noting prayers

**Friday, 4 September 1896** : (?) Anton Bruckner stops noting prayers in his pocket calendar (until September 17th) .

**Tuesday, 8 September 1896** : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« 8 September, Mar. Birthday. » (Name-Day celebration)

« Le Ménestrel » reports

**Sunday, 13 September 1896** : The French music-magazine « Le Ménestrel » reports that Anton Bruckner will resume his harmony lectures at the University of Vienna.

Doctor Heller is back from vacation

**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.

Don't let them in !

**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.

No lectures

**September 1896** :

The « Wiener Neue Freie Presse » Number 11518 reports on page 5 :

« Little Chronicle.

Vienna, 16. September. (...)

(Professor Doctor Anton Bruckner.)

Some newspapers recently reported that the old composer would resume his lectures at the University this winter. Unfortunately, this does not correspond to the facts. Anton Bruckner's state of health is slowly improving, but not to

the extent that he would resume his lectures. »

Vienna's « Die Presse » Number 256 reports on page 3 :

« (Professor Doctor Anton Bruckner.)

Professor Bruckner's health has unfortunately not improved, so he will not be able to resume his lectures at the University this winter. »

**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.

#### Nurse Anna Ortner

**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.)

#### Noting prayers again

**Friday, 18 September 1896** : (?) Anton Bruckner starts again to note his prayers in his pocket calendar. He will do so on a daily base until October 2.

#### « Friendship »

**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.

#### Wolf and Bruckner supporters

**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.

#### Mahler and the « Hofoper »

**Autumn 1896** : Gustav Mahler lays the ground-work for his Vienna appointment by a series of letters and personal appeals.

## The Schalk brothers

**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 5th Symphony, Felix Weingartner and Hans Richter could beat him.

## Katharina Prechal

**Saturday, 26 September 1896** : Katharina Prechal helps with the medical care at the « Kustodenstöckl » . (Her wages will total 32 Florins by October 11th) .

Article on the « 10 Composers of Vienna » in the « Neuen Illustrierten Blatt » of Brünn (Brno) Number 39, on pages 617-619. There is a brief mention of Anton Bruckner (accompanied by a portrait) .

## Improvement

**Sunday, 27 September 1896** : The « Neue Musikalische Presse » announces that Anton Bruckner's health-condition has improved.

## Kathi's plum dumpling

**End of September 1896** : Anton Bruckner is visited by Karl Almeroth (from Steyr) and Adalbert Goldschmidt. He tells them about the dedication of his 9th 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.

### Wolf's last visit

**September - October 1896** : Hugo Wolf comes to visit Anton Bruckner at « 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. »

### Rosa Mayreder

The Austrian free-thinker, author, painter, musician and feminist Rosa Mayreder was born on 30 November 1858 in Vienna and died on 19 January 1938 in Vienna. She was the daughter of Franz Arnold Obermayer, a wealthy restaurant-operator and bar-keeper, and his second wife Marie.

Rosa had 12 brothers and sisters and although her conservative father did not believe in the formal education of girls, he allowed her to participate in the Greek and Latin lessons of one of her brothers. She also received private instruction in French, painting and the piano.

In 1881, Rosa married the architect Karl Mayreder, who later became Rector of the Technical University of Vienna. The marriage was harmonious but remained childless. In 1883, Rosa had an abortion and she also had 2 love-affairs, which she describes in detail in her diaries. Karl suffered repeated depressions from 1912 until his death in 1935.

In the circle of women's rights campaigner Marie Lang at the « Schloß Bellevue » in Vienna-Grinzing, Rosa Meyreder met Rudolf Steiner (with whom she entered into a long and extensive correspondence) , Hugo Wolf and Friedrich Eckstein. Rosa formed a warm friendship with Wolf and developed one of her stories as the libretto for his Opera « Der Corregidor » , which was first performed in Mannheim, in 1896. During these years, she published her first novel « Aus meiner Jugend » (From My Youth) . It was also in Lang's circle that Rosa met Marianne Hainisch with whom she worked in the Austrian Women's Association « Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein » , which was formed in 1902.

Mayreder published 2 influential works, « Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit » (To Critics of Femininity) (1905, published in English as « A Survey of the Woman Problem » , 1912) and « Geschlecht und Kultur » (Sex and Culture) (1923) . The latter work, which criticized the double-standard and discrimination against women, was translated into English. She also published an autobiography, « Das Haus in der Landskrongasse » (The House in the Countryside) .

During the First World War, Mayreder engaged in the peace-movement and became, in 1919, the chairman of the « Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit » (International Women's League for Peace and Liberty, or IFFF) .

Rosa Mayreder is depicted on the 500 Austrian Schilling bank-note.

...

Although love of the arts consoled many Viennese, it drove others to defiance. Now forgotten, Rosa Mayreder combated therapeutic nihilism by campaigning to improve woman's lot. She ranks as one of the sanest interpreters in her generation, and indeed in any generation, of the role of woman in modern society. The daughter of a wealthy Viennese hotelier, Franz Arnold Obermayer, she grew-up in a large upper-middle-class family, where a girl's education was devoted exclusively to the art of cultivating beauty. She was obliged to wear a corset at age 12, to don shoes that shrank the feet, and to avoid gymnastics for fear of enlarging her hands. It was argued that study would make a girl bald and spoil her figure. Young Rosa pleaded for an education, but to no avail, while her father had to pull strings to get her brother through school. Outraged by favoritism shown to her brothers, she resolved to expand the opportunities available to young women. A painter of talent, she moved in the same artistic circles as Berta Szeps and Alma Mahler-Werfel. Here, she met, and in 1881 married, the architect Karl Mayreder, in whose firm Adolf Loos later served, and who together with Otto Wagner developed between 1893 and 1895 a prize-winning plan for completing the « Ringstraße ». Encouraged by her husband, Rosa founded in 1893 the General Austrian Women's Association (« Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein »). She protected Hugo Wolf, sheltering him from music-critics and stimulating him in 1895 to set to music her libretto, « Der Corregidor », which she had adapted from the « Three-Cornered Hat » (1874) by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón.

Mayreder displayed exceptional grasp of the woman problem in « Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit » (Jena, 1905), which won acclaim in English translation under the title « A Survey of the Woman Problem » (London, 1912). Unlike most feminists, Mayreder deplored allowing the accident of sex to mold every attitude. The goal of life, Mayreder insisted, is to cultivate aspects of personality that both sexes share, such as intelligence, charity, and æstheticism. Coining neologisms as cacophonous as those of Otto Weininger, she differentiated 4 ways an individual can relate to sexuality. First, the acrotic person, or sex-patriot, indulges unmitigated sexuality, becoming wholly male like Don Juan or wholly female like Messalina; such expenditure of sexual energy Mayreder labeled centrifugal. Second, the eliastic person strives to attain sexlessness through asceticism, conserving sexual energy in the manner of Christian and Buddhist monks so as to achieve centripetal sexuality. Third, a dyscratic person is one who can achieve neither of the preceding extremes. Unable to accommodate sexuality to other activities, he founders in whatever he undertakes. Psychoanalysis would deem him neurotic. 4th, a synthetic person overcomes conflict between centrifugal and centripetal sexuality. 2 synthetic persons who marry learn to share intellect and emotion without sacrificing sexual fulfillment.

Mayreder did not allow quest for harmony between the sexes to preclude backing women's demands for greater rights. She attributed the woman's movement to industrialization, which was causing the business cycle to impinge on every home-maker. As shop-keepers were forced-out of business and workers laid-off, housewives demanded to understand the forces that so disrupted homes. A second factor in promoting feminism had been athletics, especially the bicycle, which by requiring rapid movements undermined the older ideal of feminine grace. Mayreder contended that the bicycle, in use since 1890, had done more for women's emancipation and for comradeship between the sexes than had the entire feminist movement. Mayreder's approval of sport as an alternative to corsets was shared by many doctors; during the

early 1880's, Doctor Sigmund Freud had to prescribe pills to cure his sedentary « fiancé » of the then common anemia (chlorosis) .

In an essay of 1913 on « Sex and Culture » , Mayreder formulated her conception of woman's duty. Citing Houston Stewart Chamberlain's distinction between external civilization (« Zivilisation ») and inward culture (« Kultur ») , Mayreder held that the responsibilities of motherhood must keep a woman sex-bound, while a man's freedom to transcend sex permits him to build the external order of civilization. But because man lacks inner-restraints imposed by nature, woman must serve as the « measure of all things » . She has a cultural mission to prevent man from losing himself in external activity. If she fails to act as a cultural brake, extemality will reign, spreading cruelty and neglect of emotion. To illustrate masculine thinking unleavened by female compassion, Mayreder cited Weininger's contention that women possess no soul, a doctrine that the church had rejected about 900 AD. To refute Weininger, she pressed to absurdity his notion that every cell bears sexual characteristics : if so, the strongest woman would be weaker than the scrawniest man. To document the futility of men's pretentious to understand women without having consulted them, Mayreder listed some qualities that men have attributed to the opposite-sex :

« There is Lotze saying that the “ female hates analysis ” and, therefore, cannot distinguish the true from the false. There is Lafitte saying that “ the female prefers analysis ”. There is Kingsley calling her “ the only true missionary of civilization ”, and Pope calling her a rake at heart ; Havelock Ellis saying that she cannot work under pressure, and Von Horn saying that in the fulfilling of heavy requirements she puts a man to shame ; Monsieur de Lambert that she plays with love, Krafft-Ebing that her heart is toward Monogamy ; (...) Lombroso that there is “ a half-criminaloid being even in the normal woman ” ; Bachhofen that “ Law is innate in women ”. »

These fatuities constitute, said Mayreder, a subjective fetish that men have devised to flatter themselves. Men's image of an « eternal feminine » is pure wish-fulfillment.

In exposing abuses of sexuality, Mayreder paralleled Doctor Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Doctor Sigmund Freud, whose « Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie » (Vienna, 1905) she reviewed favorably in 1906. Disputing the patriarchal psychoanalyst, she implored men and women to cooperate as equals in nurturing non-sexual aspects of personality. By being moderate, she proved more persuasive than the, sexual utopian Christian von Ehrenfels or the anti-sexual fanatic Weininger. By insisting that individuals can fulfill themselves by merging into a larger unit (the couple) , she implemented the faith of Bohemian Reform Catholicism that the good of the whole conditions that of its members. Mayreder epitomized her own ideal of woman as measure of all things, acting as balancewheel for Quixotes like Ehrenfels and Wolf. Although her equanimity may seem bland now that many of her crusades are won, Rosa Mayreder incarnated what was best in the woman-steeped æstheticism of Vienna.

### Outside walks

**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.

### 3-day gap

**Saturday, 3 to Monday, 5 October 1896** : 3 day gap in Anton Bruckner's prayer records.

### Doctor Heller's daughter

**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)

**Sunday, 4 October 1936** : That same article will be reprinted 40 years later by the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » in its Sunday edition.

**Tuesday, 13 October 1936 (?)** : The article also appears in the « Neuen Wiener Journal » .

### So long, farewell

**Wednesday, 7 October 1896** : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz and Prelate Karl 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) .

### Visit from Doctor von Weißmayr

**Saturday, 10 October 1896** : Anton Bruckner's last prayer record in his pocket calendar.

Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr makes a medical visit at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Bruckner is still in good shape when Weißmayr leaves.

### Death of Bruckner

**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 9th 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 remarked : « his “ Via Dolorosa ” was over » .

Anton Meißner, who had just seen Bruckner shortly before, and Father Heribert Witsch who was nearby the « Schloßkapelle » 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 Sinsler and Herberger (Haberler) , students of Viktor Tilgner, proceed with the face molding for the realization of a funeral mask.

(A sample of the « Totenmaske » is on display at the « Hamburger Bahnhof » Museum in Berlin.)

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 4th 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 greenhouses : 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 rumor 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 9th 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 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 !

Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe got the opportunity to verify the manuscripts and other papers that Bruckner had left, and they decided that the less important relics (including books) were transferred to Bruckner's sister, Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck (they were later acquired by Max Auer) . In 1902, a small case also containing part of Bruckner's correspondence was delivered in Linz to Bruckner's beloved biographer, August Göllerich junior. He would return it after use to the St. Florian monastery.

At the first performance in Vienna of Igor Stravinsky's « Sacre du Printemps » , the whole hall changed into a real inferno. People laughed, jeered, mocked, hissed and it looked as if this genial work could not be heard to the end.

A man shouted from the gallery into the tumult to the conductor (it was Franz Schalk) :

« Play Bruckner ! »

Thirty years before, the same man would probably have shouted :

« Play Mozart ! »

...

Since 1921, a commemorative plaque topped with a cameo (profile of Bruckner in relief) , by artist Edi Naumann, adorns the « Kustodenstöckl » , the pavilion of the game-keeper located at « Heugasse » Number 3, the inscription says :

« In this house, Anton Bruckner died on October 11, 1896. »

It is a gift of the Society of Friends of Music, located at « Tuchlauben » Number 12. This is where Bruckner began his musical activities in the capital. (The building no longer exists.)

### Doctor Karl Böhm-Böhmersheim

The military physician and surgeon Doctor Karl Böhm-Böhmersheim was born on 26 October 1827 in Horowitz, Bohemia (now : Hořovice, Czech Republic) ; and died on 27 May 1902 in Mödling. After studying at the University of Vienna, he received in 1851 his doctorate of medicine and surgery. From 1854, Böhm-Böhmersheim worked as

assistant-surgeon and chemistry professor at the « Josephinum » military medical Academy, and from 1859, as professor of theoretical surgery, instrumentation and dentistry. After his habilitation for surgery at the University of Vienna in 1861, Böhm-Böhmersheim was appointed in 1864 associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») for clinical surgery at the « Josephinum », and became an associate-member of the Military Medical Committee. In 1865, he left the military service and took-over the first surgical department of the « Rudolfstiftung » Imperial-Royal Hospital becoming its director in 1870. Böhm-Böhmersheim was the director of the Vienna General Hospital from 1887 to 1896, and was named its Councilor in 1889. For some years, he was also a member of the Supreme Medical Council. Böhm-Böhmersheim was particularly interested in technical questions, particularly in the improvement of hygienic facilities and ventilation systems in hospitals and large public buildings, in Germany and abroad (in Vienna : the « Rudolfstiftung » Hospital, the « Hofoper », the « Hofburgtheater » and the Imperial Museum) . In 1891, he became Karl Edler von Böhm-Böhmersheim.

Doctor Karl Böhm-Böhmersheim received the Order of the Iron Crown (3rd Class) and the Order of Franz-Josef.

### An affected Wolf

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. His curiously fastidious taste deciding that the term « song » was inapplicable either to the form or the contents of the poem, he altered the title of his setting of it to « Morgenstimmung ». It was his intention to bring-out 2 other songs to words by Reinick : the « Gesellenlied » and the « Skolie », composed in 1888 and 1889 respectively.

### The Bruckner Estate

The record of the Vienna stock-exchange rates for Sunday October 11th, 1896, was attached to the Estate Act for asset evaluation purposes.

**Monday, 12 October 1896** : Lawyer Theodor Reisch arrives at Bruckner's apartment on the Upper-Belvedere, and orders in his capacity of executor of the Last Will that all books and manuscripts be secured and sealed to prevent arbitrary circulation.

Doctor Richard Heller recalls :

« The poor man had scarcely closed his eyes, as the authorized and unauthorized fell upon his Estate like vultures. »

However, it took a further 5 days to draft an Estate report and to deliver, at least, part of the manuscripts to Reisch. All other objects were stored in a wall-cabinet and sealed. Today, there is still no exact inventory description available. In contrast with preliminary drafts and sketches of previous works, the compositional history of Bruckner's last Symphony happens to be well-documented by drafts and, in part, already fully scored fragments. The composer simply

did not live long enough to destroy what he considered no longer needed ! Almost no sketch material survives of most of the Symphonies, only a couple of discarded bi-folios and pages. We have only extant, huge materials of the 8th and 9th Symphonies. However, it may be possible that, already in Bruckner's lifetime, he gave away discarded material for the 9th's Finale, at least, in one case : the 4 discarded score bi-folios found in the Estate of pianist Cyrill Hynais, one of Bruckner's former pupils.

The executor failed to hold the Estate together until all matters were properly settled. Only the scores of main works, which Bruckner had bequeathed to the Court Library in Vienna went there straight away. As a consequence, acquaintances, friends and music societies got their share in this equation at random.

### Formalin embalming of Bruckner

When Anton Bruckner wrote his Last Will on 10 November 1893, he left a comprehensive list of instructions to follow during his embalming with formalin, a technique recently used. He believed in the supernatural (healing) power of the relic, a concept that was prevalent in the Catholic Church at this time.

Bruckner makes a special request to the church authorities : his coffin must be wide and remain exposed (not buried) in the crypt of the abbey church of St. Florian (as former Dean Jodok « Jodocus » Stülz, Prelate of St. Florian, benevolent protector and friend of Bruckner) , just below the great organ, which since bears his name :

« I desire that my remains be placed in a metal coffin that will be exposed to air (not buried) in the crypt of the church of St. Florian , under the great organ. »

The real value of relics lay in their ability to perform miracles. A relic that was an acknowledged fake could become « real » if it performed a miracle or after a trial by ordeal. People believed relics were invested with heavenly powers and that to be close to a relic, or even better, to touch one, would provide a person with spiritual blessings, divine protection, and even a cure from illness. In a world which could seem so uncertain, with wars, disease, and incurable illnesses, religious people often sought the protection which they believed a religious relic could offer. Someone who bought a relic would often carry it on his or her person, to be accessible at all times.

In Catholic theology, sacred relics must not be worshipped, because only God is worshipped and adored. Instead, the veneration given to them was « dulia » .

St. Jerome declared :

« We do not worship, we do not adore, for fear that we should bow down to the creature rather than to the Creator, but we venerate the relics of the martyrs in order the better to adore Him whose martyrs they are. »

The Catholic church divides relics into 3 classes :

**First-Class Relics** : Items directly associated with the events of Christ's life (manger, cross, etc.) or the physical remains of a saint (a bone, a hair, skull, a limb, etc.) . Traditionally, a martyr's relics are often more prized than the relics of other saints. Parts of the saint that were significant to that saint's life are more prized relics. For instance, King St. Stephen of Hungary's right forearm is especially important because of his status as a ruler. A famous theologian's head may be his most important relic. (The head of St. Thomas Aquinas was removed by the monks at the Cistercian abbey at Fossanova where he died.) If a saint did a lot of traveling, then the bones of his feet may be prized. Catholic teaching prohibits relics to be divided up into small, unrecognizable parts if they are to be used in liturgy (i.e. , as in an altar).

**Second-Class Relics** : Items that the saint owned or frequently used, for example, a crucifix, rosary, book, etc. Again, an item more important in the saint's life is thus a more important relic. Sometimes a 2nd Class relic is a part of an item that the saint wore (a shirt, a glove, etc.) and is known as « ex indumentis » (from the clothing) .

**Third-Class Relics** : Any object that is touched to a 1st or 2nd Class relic. Most 3rd Class relics are small pieces of cloth, though in the first millennium oil was popular ; the Monza « ampullæ » contained oil collected from lamps burning before the major sites of Christ's life, and some reliquaries had holes for oil to be poured in and out again. Many people call the cloth touched to the bones of saints « ex brandea » . But « ex brandea » strictly refers to pieces of clothing that were touched to the body or tombs of the apostles. It is a term that is used only for such ; it is not a synonym for a 3rd Class relic.

The sale or disposal by other means of relics without the permission of the Apostolic See is strictly forbidden by canon 1190 of the Code of Canon Law. Relics may not be placed upon the altar for public veneration, as that is reserved for the display of the Blessed Sacrament (host or prosthoma and Eucharistic wine after consecration in the sacrament of the Eucharist) .

Many churches were built along pilgrimage routes. A number in Europe were either founded or rebuilt specifically to enshrine relics (such as San Marco in Venice) , and to welcome and awe the large crowds of pilgrims who came to seek their help. Romanesque buildings developed passage-ways behind the altar to allow for the creation of several smaller chapels designed to house relics. From the exterior, this collection of small rooms is seen as a cluster of delicate, curved roofs at one end of the church, a distinctive feature of many Romanesque churches. Gothic churches featured lofty, recessed porches which provided space statuary and the display of relics.

Historian and philosopher of art Hans Belting observed that in medieval painting, images explained the relic and served as a testament to its authenticity. In *Likeness and Presence*, Belting argued that the cult of relics helped to stimulate the rise of painting in medieval Europe.

Reliquaries are containers used to protect and display relics. While frequently taking the form of caskets, they have many other forms including simulations of the relic encased within (e.g. , a gilded depiction of an arm for a relic consisting of arm bones) . Since the relics themselves were considered valuable, they were enshrined in containers crafted of or covered with gold, silver, gems, and enamel. Ivory was widely used in the Middle-Ages for reliquaries ; its

pure white colour an indication of the holy status of its contents. These objects constituted a major form of artistic production across Europe and Byzantium throughout the Middle-Ages.

### Mummification of Bruckner

**Monday, 12 and / or Tuesday, 13 October 1896** : The corpse of Bruckner is mummified in formalin by Doctor Richard Paltauf. A premiere for a composer.

(Oddly enough, the last person to be mummified in Switzerland will be Czech composer Bohuslav Martinů in 1959.)

Formaldehyde was discovered by the German chemist August Wilhelm von Hofmann in 1867 (1869) . It was determined to be an excellent preservative and became the foundation for modern methods of embalming replacing previous methods. Within a few years, until 1898, 8 of 45 medical schools throughout Europe introduced formaldehyde for preservation purposes. Even at that time, there was discussion about the final concentration, with some authors advocating concentrations as low as 3 % , others demanding 10 % . In addition, the immediate adverse effects were already known : skin irritation, conjunctivitis, irritations of the respiratory system, and headache.

According to an article in the « Basler Woche » newspaper of 17 December 1998, Anton Bruckner's corpse was secretly transported to an anthropological facility in Basil, Switzerland, for restoration. The restoration, performed by Doctor Bruno Kaufmann was done in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of Bruckner's death (1896-1996) .

Mummification used by the Egyptians was a widely-known method which involves the removal of body fluid and wrapping the body in linens. Prior to mummification, Egyptians would lay the body in a shallow pit in the desert and allow the sun to dehydrate the body.

The modern technique of mummification with formalin (an important solution to body preservation) was introduced in 1896 in Switzerland.

The country holds today 20 mummies from medieval times and 100 Egyptian mummies. Many were brought back from the Napoleonic wars by soldiers.

...

From the end of the Middle-Ages up until early modern times, mummy parts were thought to have healing qualities. Mummified limbs were ground down and mixed with honey and wine to form a tonic or poultice, which could be applied to the skin.

At the end of the 18th Century, a Napoleonic expedition to Egypt awakened an interest in the world of the pharaohs. « The export of mummies was outlawed by this time, so traders smuggled severed mummified limbs instead, which were easier to transport » , Kaufmann explained.

These appeared at art-markets and were snapped up by museums and private collectors. Kaufmann believes that it was during this period that the severed hand was acquired by a rich Geneva dynasty, the Bovy and Balland families, who bought the castle of Gruyères in 1848.

On the ground-floor of the dungeon, they set-up a curiosity chamber, where the limb was put on show. The creepy claw now resides in a first floor corridor, and visitors are free to gaze at it for as long as they please. Hopefully, it doesn't carry a curse.

### From the « Kustodenstöckl » to the « Karlskirche »

**Vienna : Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (early afternoon) .**

Anton Bruckner's associations with the Austrian State and the Vienna University meant that full civic and academic honours were accorded him, providing a striking contrast with his humble origins. No expense was spared : the coffin was made of bronze, a glass-walled hearse covered with flowers and wreaths was drawn by 6 black horses, and 2 wagons were required to transport the innumerable floral tributes. The coffin was lifted on to the hearse at 3 o'clock and, after the « Akademischer Gesangverein » had sung Bruckner's « Germanenzug », the « cortège », including the official representatives of the Austrian Government, the Vienna Conservatory, the « Hofoper », the general superintendence of the Imperial Theatres, all Viennese theatres, representatives of the University carrying banners, and choral and other musical Societies such as the « Schubertbund » and the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » began its solemn progress under a suitably grey sky. The 2 Bruckner's siblings still alive, Rosalia (« Sali ») and Ignaz (« Nazi »), rode in the first carriage.

In the second carriage travelled the acting Mayor of Vienna, Josef Strobach, accompanied by his 2 Deputy counsellors : Karl Lueger (the next Mayor, 1897-1910) and Josef Neumayer (who will replace the fallen Lueger, 1910-1912) followed by other representatives of the municipal Council.

In the third carriage travelled Bruckner's executor, Imperial Legal Advocate Doctor Theodor Reisch. Among the mourners who followed were Brucknerians such as : organist and composer Josef Vockner (1842-1906) ; writers Theodor Helm and August Göllerich, Junior ; various performers, and members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

Half an hour after setting-out, the cortège arrived at the Karlskirche, where there was already a large crowd waiting, including all manner of State and Civic dignitaries, senior members of the University, leading arts administrators and musicians, and even 2 inspectors from the fire brigade.

### « Karlskirche » : Funeral ceremony

**Vienna : Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (3:00 pm) .**

The funeral was completely in the hands of the City Council and, to a lesser extent, the academic and musical



institutions of Vienna, so that the composer's relatives, who drop-out of journalistic narrative as soon as they have entered it, could do nothing but simply let it all happen around them.

Those attending included : Rosalia Hueber (1829-1898) and Ignaz Bruckner (1833-1913) , the only surviving siblings of the composer ; conductors Hans Richter, Wilhelm Jahn, Ferdinand Löwe and Richard von Perger ; Josef Vockner who will succeed Bruckner at the Conservatory ; music-writers Theodor Helm and August Göllerich junior ; Mayor Josef Strobach ; Deputy counsellors Karl Lueger and Josef Neumayer ; professor Siegmund Exner, the Rector of the University Leo Reinisch, accompanied by other senior members ; musicians of the « Wiener Hofoper » ; 200 dignitaries from Vienna's musical scene ; members of the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » , the « Akademischer Gesang-Verein » , the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , and the « Schubertbund » Music Societies ; leading arts administrators and musicians ; plus numerous professors, colleagues and students.

Resident of a small apartment (with big windows in the living-room) on the 4th floor of a plain stone building at « Karlsgasse » Number 4, next to the looming Baroque dome of the « Karlskirche » , Johannes Brahms, suffering of a fatal pancreas condition, still manage to be late for the ceremony ! He is forced to remain standing in the back, near the closed doors. Not far from him, behind a big pillar, sits (in the twilight) little Bernhard Paumgartner, aged 9, with his mother, Operatic soprano Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, a close friend of Bruckner. The child will see tears dropping on the cheeks of the 63 year old composer who voluntarily distances himself from the crowd. An attendant approaches Brahms and assures being able to find him a place somewhere in the church.

But Brahms, in a sombre mood, seems to mutter something like :

« Ha, whatever. I'll be the next to find myself in a coffin. »

(He will die only a few months after, on April 3, 1897.)

During the solemn blessing of the body, 2 of the most prestigious Viennese Choral Societies were each chosen to performed a specific sacred work.

The « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » Men's Choir sang the « Libera me, Domine » for male-choir and wind intruments (edited by Anton Böhm & Sohn, 1909) composed by Johann Herbeck, a fierce supporter of Bruckner in Vienna since the beginning.

Afterwards, the « Singverein » under its current director, composer Richard von Perger (1854-1911) , provided the only formal musical contribution of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » : The « Litany for the Feast of All Saints » (« Litanei auf das Fest Go Seelen ») by Franz Schubert (D. 343) , a work dating from 1816 (1st edition of 1831, edited by Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1894-1895) based on a libretto written by Johann Georg Jacobi (1740-1814) . As requested in Bruckner's will, the middle-section of his first published work : « Germanenzug » (the Germanic Host) (**WAB 70**) , based on a text by August Silberstein, was also given during the Mass. A secular (patriotic) Cantata in D minor, composed in 1863-1864, for male solo quartet (SATB) , « a cappella » male-choir, and brass-ensemble

(consisting of 2 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, 3 horns, 1 baritone horn - or euphonium, and 1 bass-tuba) . The performers, for the occasion, are the « Wiener Akademischer Gesangsverein » accompanied by a horn-quartet composed of musicians of the « Hofoper » .

Finally, the renowned Wagnerian Hans Richter conducted the funeral music taken from the Adagio of the 7th Symphony, in a version for harmony (wind instruments arranged for the occasion by the Bruckner disciple, Ferdinand Löwe) . The effect in the vast church was grandiose !

(During the execution of Bruckner's works, the wind-section of the « Hofoper » was not visible to the public.)

The last word was given to a member of the « Akademischer Gesangsverein » , who bade farewell on behalf of the « Gesangsverein » and the student body of the University. The ceremonies ended, at half past 4.

Max Graf :

« While no one accompanied Mozart's coffin to the cemetery, all Vienna was present when Beethoven's was borne to the Währinger Cemetery. The magnificent funeral of a great musician was a great spectacle for the Viennese, and many a composer who, during his lifetime, was fought, obstructed and ridiculed by the people, would be carried to his grave amid the most extravagant pomp. I was present when Bruckner's coffin was blessed at the " Karlskirche ", before, according to his last wish, it was taken to St. Florian to be interred beneath the great organ. From the choir sounded the mournful music of Bruckner's 7th Symphony. Beside the flower-decked coffin, the dark-robed priests were praying, while the university students, whom Bruckner so loved, stood at attention with drawn swords. Near the coffin stood a short peasant who kept looking anxiously about him. This was Bruckner's brother who may well have been amazed at the enormous crowd gathered for the funeral. He resembled Bruckner, but his face was merely that of a peasant while the composer's had radiated a kind of holiness. »

A commemorative plaque donated in 1993 by « Die Gesellschaft der Freunde Wiens » , located at the « Karlskirche » entrance, observes his passing.

It reads :

« Zum Gedenken an Anton Bruckner. In dieser Kirche wurde sein Leichnam am 14 Oktober 1896 unter Teilnahme der Wiener Musikwelt feierlich eingeseignet. »

(In Commemoration of Anton Bruckner. In this church, on October 14, 1896, his body was solemnly consecrated with the participation of the Viennese musical world.)

The « Brucknerstraße » (originally named « Brucknergasse » , on 4 January 1901) is located near the « Karlskirche » .

## From the « Karlskirche » to the « Westbahnhof »

**Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (4:30 pm) :**

Inconsolable and frustrated, Johannes Brahms will leave the Vienna's « Karlskirche » before the ending of the funeral ceremony (« Ha, whatever. I'll be the next to find myself in a coffin. ») to be part of the following procession which will stop at the principal railway station, the « Wien Westbahnhof » (West Station) , where a special train, bound for St. Florian's station (« St. Florians Bahnhof ») , is awaiting the bronze coffin. Member of no official Musical Society, the beloved student of the Master, Hugo Wolf, now aged 36 (who was refused admission inside the church because owning no pre-paid ticket) will probably also join the « cortège » .

Unfortunately, neither Wolf nor Brahms will be aloud to give Bruckner a last and solemn tribute.

Hans Richter could not accompany Bruckner, for that evening, he was conducting Giuseppe Verdi's « La traviata » at the « Hofoper » . But the performance of the 7th Symphony, scheduled for November 8, will be played in memory of its creator.

## St. Florian : Funeral ceremony

**St. Florian : Thursday, 15 October, 1896 (10:00 am) .**

After repeated blessings, a second official funeral ceremony (following the one at the « Karlskirche » in Vienna, the day before) is celebrated at the Collegiate Church of St. Florian's Abbey (and also in several other churches in Austria) .

The Dean of the Monastery, Ferdinand Moser, is accompanied by 60 members of the clergy. A strong delegation composed of representatives from the private sector, politicians from Upper-Austria and from the City of Linz. All the firefighters of St. Florian are present at the ceremony !

According to Bruckner's will (and thanks to the special permission of the prelates of the monastery) , the sarcophagus was placed in the crypt under the great organ. During the impressive burial ceremony, house-organist Josef Gruber (a former student from the Harmony class of the Master at the Vienna Conservatory, in 1887-1888, who became a musical devotee of the Cecilian ideals) improvised on themes from « Parsifal » , the final Opera by Richard Wagner.

The sacred Motet « Libera me, Domine » (Deliver me, O Lord) No. 2 in F minor (composed originally for the inhumation of prelate Michæl Arneth, in March of 1854) (**WAB 22**) was also performed.

As an ultimate tribute to their beloved and famous « Kapellmeister » , now deceased, all members of the Liedertafel (Choral Society) « Frohsinn » of Linz are on site to sing with great emotion Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's 1833 sacred chorus « Beati Mortui in Domino » (Blessed are the Dead) , Opus (posthumous) 115, No. 1. Largely and smoothly homophonic, with occasional simple imitation between basses and tenors or among all 4 parts, this seems to belong as

much to the tradition of the Romantic Chorled as to that of sacred music. Mendelssohn composed it in German, adding the Latin text as an alternative ; in German, that text is « Wie selig sind die Toten » , one of the core texts of Johannes Brahms' « Ein deutsches Requiem » .

Beati mortui in Domino morientes deinceps moriuntur amodo.

Etiam Dicit enim spiritus,  
ut requiescant a laboribus suis  
et opera illorum sequentur ipsos.

...

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord  
from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit,  
that they may rest from their labours ;  
and their works do follow them.

In 1847, the young Bruckner, aged only 23, had the opportunity to hear in Linz the Oratorio « Paulus » (St. Paul) , Opus 36, by Mendelssohn. This was the catalyst for his gradual move towards composition, signaled by performances at St. Florian of his « Requiem » Mass (1849) and his « Magnificat » and « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor (both in 1854) .

### The aftermath

With the news of Bruckner's death, obituary feuilletons by music-critics, information and reports of the funeral, and publications of condolence messages from important people outside Vienna, the daily papers were involved with Bruckner for between 3 and 6 days. The final word (excluding the resumption of the discussion every time a work by Bruckner was performed) came in the form of a desperate plea published in the « Neue Musikalische Presse » , a plea which, in the light of nearly a Century of belief that the final movement of the 9th Symphony was so fragmentary as to make any thought of reconstruction and completion impossible, appears to have remained largely unanswered :

« This request is directed to all persons who still have original manuscripts from Bruckner in hand and also to those who possess copies of unedited works of the Master : that they allow such manuscripts and copies to be sent to his executor, Doctor Theodor Reisch, Court Advocate, “ Gatterburggasse ” Number 19, Vienna XIX, for the purpose of making possible a complete collection of all Bruckner's works. »

**Sunday, 18 October 1896** : Josef Schalk obtained in concert with legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch's equation protocol what was left of the manuscripts of the Finale of the 9th to study their context. All other scores, drafts and sketches were, as far as they had not disappeared or given to other people, transferred to the Court Library in Vienna (currently the Austrian National Library) , all in accordance with Bruckner's Last Will.

### « Wiener Salonblatt » : Ferry Bératon

Perhaps, the clearest expression of the significance of youth in the appreciation of Bruckner can be found in the conclusion to the obituary by the young painter Ferry Bératon, published in the « Wiener Salonblatt », a journal which, after the heady days of Hugo Wolf's employment there in the mid-1880's, had become by the late-1890's rather bland, with much anonymous or pseudonymous music-criticism and little controversy.

Nevertheless, Bératon makes the bold claim that :

« The young stood before Bruckner's bier and spoke beautiful words of sorrow. He lives on in the young, who have always faithfully supported him. They will spread his fame abroad. For the young have always understood him. From very early, they felt the wing-beat of the eagle who is now to be sunk into the grave. »

Bératon's claim is, nevertheless, based on fact. It was, after all, to a student, a member of the « Akademischer Gesangverein », that the task of speaking the last « beautiful words of sorrow » was given at Bruckner's funeral. From Bératon's remark, it appears that this officially expressed affection of the student body of the University for Bruckner was indeed genuine. The claim is further corroborated by Max Kalbeck, who complained in his diary after the « Gesellschaft's » performance of Brahms's « German Requiem », on April 1897 :

« There were large spaces in the hall, and the standing-room, which is in the habit of being over-filled at a Bruckner- or Strauß-fest, was just about empty. Even at the funeral, neither the university nor the student body was represented. The “ German nationalists ” celebrate the servile, weak-witted Romeling Bruckner. Modern youth has no time for the greatest German artist. One has to live in such an age ! »

### The Academic Society of Vienna thanks Ferdinand Löwe

**Thursday, 22 October 1896** : Franz Schaumann, the president of the Academic Society of Vienna, writes an official letter of thanks to conductor (and disciple) Ferdinand Löwe for having been part of the funeral of Anton Bruckner at the « Karlskirche » .

### « Schloßkapelle » : Memorial celebration

**Saturday, 24 October 1896** : Ignaz Bruckner expressed his deep gratitude in a « thank you » note (probably dated October 22, 1896) which was published in the « Linzer Volksblatt » .

Chaplain Father Heribert Witsch celebrates Mass in memory of Bruckner in the Imperial « Schloßkapelle » .

### District Court approval

**Thursday, 29 October 1896** : The declaration of succession to the heirs Ignaz Bruckner and Rosalia Hueber, which was

submitted by the legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch on 27 October 1896, is recognized by the Vienna District Court.

### Richter conducts Bruckner

**Sunday, 8 November 1896** : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . First Subscription Concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Hans Richter conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture in C major from « Die Weihe des Hauses » (The Consecration of the House) , Opus 124.

Robert Volkmann : Serenade No. 3 in D minor for violoncello and string orchestra, Opus 69. Soloist : Reinhard (Reinhold) Hummer.

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

### A pocket calendar sheet

**Saturday, 28 November 1896** : Private secretary Anton Meißner hands over a pocket calendar sheet dating from 1884 (which contains teaching appointments) to Bruckner's disciple August Stradal (1860-1930) .

### Cleaning the Upper-Belvedere apartment

**End of November 1896** : « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr cleans the Upper-Belvedere apartment.

### Last payment to « Frau Kathi » and her daughter

**Thursday, 3 December 1896** : « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayer confirms that she received from legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch the salaries covering the months of October and November 1896 : for herself (30 Florins) , and her daughter Ludowika Kutschera (24 Florins) .

Another receipt concerns a sum of 33 Florins for expenses on Bruckner's death and funeral.

### Kitzler conducts the « Te Deum »

**Saturday, 19 December 1896** : Otto Kitzler conducts the « Te Deum » by Anton Bruckner (**WAB 45**) with the Brünn (Brno) « Musikverein » Orchestra and Choir. The concert-Master is Karl Koretz. At the organ : Andreas Hofmeier.

The soloists : Beatrix Friedländer, a soprano from Vienna, and 3 members of the Brünn « Musikverein » Choir : Aurelie Kaulich, alto ; Felix Oplustil, tenor ; Schmuttermayer (Schmuttermeyer) , bass (replacing Hermann Neuber) .

## Signing the « affidavit »

**Tuesday, 29 December 1896** : Ignaz Bruckner signs in St. Florian the « affidavit of the Estate of Anton Bruckner » , which is also signed by Rosalia Hueber (31 December 1896) and legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch.

**Wednesday, 30 December 1896** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to his sister Rosalia Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

Today, Ignaz received from Doctor Theodor Reisch the legal documents concerning the Estate of his brother. Since neither the City of Vienna nor the City of Linz showed any interest, the heirs may retain the property.

« One day, this will be of value. »

Rosalia should inherit the bed, the piano, a portrait, and a picture. Also, the golden box, the desk and the arm-chair. Monastery Prelate Karl Aigner would like to have the black time-clock. Gustav Hueber has taken the jewelry.

**Thursday, 31 December 1896** : Rosalia Hueber signed in Vöcklabruck the « affidavit of the Estate of Anton Bruckner » , which was also signed by his brother Ignaz (29 December 1896) and Bruckner's legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch.

## Doctor Garbe from Mannheim

**Thursday, 31 December 1896** : Doctor Garbe from Mannheim gives Hugo Wolf the score of Bruckner's 7th Symphony.

**Friday, 1 January 1897** : Letter from Hugo Wolf to Oskar Grohé :

Wolf thanks Doctor Garbe for the score of Bruckner's 7th Symphony.

## Josef Tautenhayn

**1896** : Unveiling of a bronze medal (plaquette) by sculptor and medalist Josef Tautenhayn junior, honouring the career of Austrian composer Anton Bruckner (profile based on his last years) .

Rare solid silver uniface portrait plaquette by Johann Josef Tautenhayn junior. Bust-portrait of the composer facing left, inscribed « ÆTAT LXXII / GEB. IV. SEPT. MDCCCXXIV / GEST. XI.OCT.MDCCCIVC » and « ANTON BRUCKNER » . Signed : « Jos. Tautenhayn Jun. » (46.2 mm x 66 mm ; 99.3 gram) . A famous portrait from the year of the composer's death. Johann Josef Tautenhayn was the son of Josef Tautenhayn and a pupil at the « Akademie der Bildenden Künste » in Vienna. He produced medals engraved with the images of Emperor Franz-Josef, Anton Bruckner and Franz Schubert.

...

The Austrian medalist and sculptor Josef (Hermann) Tautenhayn senior was born in 1837 in Vienna and died in 1911. He was the father of Josef (Karl) Tautenhayn junior.

Josef Hermann studied at the Academy (1854-1860) under Carl Radnitzky (1818-1901) and sculpture under Franz Lukas Bauer (1798-1872), then, at the engravers' Academy of the Imperial mint. After his return from a study trip through Italy, France, and England, undertaken in 1869-1872, he was appointed Imperial engraver of coins and medals, and, in 1881, professor at the Academy.

Among a large number of choice medals those commemorating the coronation of Franz-Josef as king of Hungary (1867); the Imperial Silver Wedding (1879); and the bicentennial of the Relief of Vienna from the Turks (1883), are the most noteworthy. His plastic work on a large-scale includes a group of the « Birth of Athens », and statues for the University of Vienna, also statues for the Art-Historical Museum and the Houses of Parliament.

...

Josef Tautenhayn senior, Bildhauer und Medailleur : geboren 5. Mai 1837 in Wieden (Wien), Niederösterreich ; gestorben 1. April 1911 in Wien (Ehrenggrab : Wiener Zentralfriedhof) ; römisch-katholisch. Sohn des Stempelschneiders, Kupferstechers und Graveurs Carl Hermann (Hermann Carl) Tautenhayn (geboren 3. November 1810 in Adorf im Vogtland, Sachsen / Deutschland ; gestorben 19. Juli 1885 in Wien), der um 1830 nach Wien gekommen war und hier einen Betrieb eröffnete (von ihm stammen und andere die frühen österreichische Briefmarken), Bruder des Graveurs Rudolf Tautenhayn (1834-1904), der den väterl. Betrieb weiterführte, Vater von Richard Tautenhayn, des Bildhauers und Medailleurs Josef Tautenhayn junior (geboren 22. September 1868 in Speising (Wien), Niederösterreich ; gestorben 8. Februar 1962 in Wien ; römisch-katholisch), mit dem er in der Literatur manchmal verwechselt wird, von Karl Tautenhayn und Ernst Tautenhayn (beide siehe unten Richard Tautenhayn), des Liedersängers und Beamten Max Tautenhayn (geboren 11. Oktober 1874 in Wien ; gestorben 24. Dezember 1959 ebenda) sowie der Opernsängerin Laura Tautenhayn, verehelicht Kledus (geboren 1. Mai 1870 in Wien ; gestorben 22. Oktober 1927 ebenda), Schwager von Karl Kundmann ; ab 1862 verehelicht mit Eleonore von Duzinkiewicz (geboren 7. Februar 1839 in Tarnów, Galizien / Polen ; gestorben 20. Januar 1932 in Wien). Tautenhayn besuchte ab 1850 die Elementarzeichenschule bei St. Anna, wechselte 1851 an die Akademie der bildenden Künste in die Elementarmodellierschule, wo Karl Radnitzky sein Lehrer wurde, und studium 1853-1859 Bildhauerei unter Franz Bauer ; 1874 Reichel-Preis. Tautenhayn war zeitweise gemäß mit Kundmann im Atelier des Bildhauers Josef Cesar tätig und modellierte außerdem kleinplastik Figuren für die Fa. Mayerhofer & Klinkosch. Daneben lernte er privat das Gravieren, das wirtschaftliche bessere Aussichten versprach. 1859 scheiterte Tautenhayns Bemühung um eine Eleven- und Stipendiatenstelle an der Graveurakademie am Hauptmünzamt, worauf er versuchte, in Dresden bei Ernst Julius Hähnel unterzukommen. Erst 1860 gelang ihm der Eintritt in die Wiener Graveurakademie, wo Josef Daniel Böhm Einfluß auf ihn nahm und er 1862 Münz-Graveur, 1868 Münz- und Medaillegraveur wurde. Im selben Jahr unternahm er mit Karl Costenoble und Anton Paul Wagner eine Italienreise, 1869 fuhr er mit Kundmann erneut nach Italien und wurde im selben Jahr Kammer-Medailleur. 1871 besuchte er mit Anton Scharff Paris und London. 1881-1904 ordentlicher Professor und Leiter der Spezialschule für Graveur- und Medailleurskunst an der Akademie der bildenden Künste (zu seinen Schülern gehörten und andere Rudolf Marschall, Franz Pawlik und Josef Tautenhayn junior). Tautenhayn hatte wesentliche Anteil an der Blüte der Medaillenkunst in der



franzisko-josephinum Ära. Der 1878 durch Josef Carl von Klinkosch in Silber gegossene Kentauren-und-Lapithen-Schild (Kunsthistorie Museum, Modell im Hauptmünzamt, beide Wien) , den Tautenhayn für den Kunsthof schuf, verschaffte ihm auch großplastik Aufträge, vor allem den 1880 begonnenen Giebel des Universitätgebäudes (« Die Geburt der Minerva ») und die zugehörigen Bekrönungsfiguren. In dieser Zeit entstanden daneben vier Statuen für den Herrenhaustrakt des Parlaments, denen 1902 die Figuren der « Gesetzgebenden und Ausübenden Gewalt » des Minerva-Brunnens folgten. Für das Kunsthistorie Museum übernahm Tautenhayn als Spezialist der Manier all'antica und Cesar-Schüler 1878 vier ursprüngliche diesem zugedachte Standbilder griechische und römische Künstler sowie diverse Porträtköpfe. In kleine Auftrag entstanden noch eine Fruchtschale in Silber (1888, ziseliert von Stefan Schwartz) , die Kasette « Die Zeit » in Silber und Elfenbein sowie das Relief « Herakles im Kampf mit den Amazonen » ; weiters lieferte er mehrere Glasschliff-Entwürfe für die Fa. Lobmeyr. Tautenhayn, der mehr als 80 Medaillen (tw. in Zusammenarbeit mit Scharff) fertigte, blieb im staatliche Münzwesen dank seiner zwischen stilisierender Repräsentation und realistik Figurenauffassung ausgleichenden Stilhaltung lange Zeit bestimmend. Seine Werke vereinen klassizistische Typologie mit barock angehauchtem Körpergefühl, im Großformat zeigen sie auch betonte Räumlichkeit. 1861-1863 und wieder ab 1869 war er Mitglied der Genossenschaft der bildenden Künstler Wiens (Künstlerhaus) , ab 1874 Ehrenmitglied der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste. 1873 Ritter des Franz Josef-Ordens, erhielt er 1904 den Orden der Eisernen Krone III. Klasse Größere Bestände seiner Arbeiten bewahren das Kunsthistorie Museum und das Hauptmünzamt, beide in Wien.

### Franz Antoine

**Around 1896** : The Austrian painter Franz Antoine completes his oil on canvas of Bruckner. The work is now in the Anton Bruckner Institute Linz (ABIL) . A postcard of the famous portrait was also published at the same time.

**Before Thursday, 8 November 1888 (?)** : Anton Bruckner is sketched (profile drawing) by Franz Antoine during a rehearsal by the « Wagner-Verein » in the « Kleine Musikvereinsaal » .

Franz Antoine : Anton Bruckner, Ölgemälde, undatiert (ABIL) . Der an der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste ausgebildete Maler Franz Antoine (1864-1935) war 1878 Privatschüler Anton Bruckners.

Trained at the Vienna Academy of Fine-Arts, the Austrian painter from Vienna, Franz Antoine (1864-1935) , was a private pupil of Anton Bruckner, in 1878. He mainly created paintings of genre scenes, marine themes, as well as photographs of botanical motifs. His oil painting on panel, from 1910, entitled « **The Statue of Liberty** » , in New York, gained fame and became well-known.

### Other Works

« **Farm House with Garden** » or « **Verliebte Wassergeister** » (acrylic on chip-board, from around 1910-1911) :

This charming painting depicts a rural scene in a beautifully densely greened garden with river course. In the foreground, a group of men smoking pipes is gathering under a large tree. In the background is a farmers house with white façade and, further on the left, another house in the shade. The painting is striking in the quality of the rich

realm of shades and light accents.

« **Naked Beauty by a Woodland Stream** » from 1916 (oil on canvas laid down on board - 70 cm x 50 cm) .

« **Mermaids watching sunset** » or « **Gondoliere mit Liebespaar auf dem Meer, im Hinterg** » from 1930 (oil on wood - height : 41 cm x width : 78 cm) .

« **Path on Eichberg near Gloggnitz** » (oil on canvas) .

### Rudolf Klingsbögl

The Austrian painter Rudolf Klingsbögl (1881-1943) , also known as Klingsberg, will make a portrait of Anton Bruckner (before or after his death) after a studio photograph of Josef Löwy dating from 1894.

### Heinrich Schönchen

The Munich painter Heinrich Schönchen (14 April 1861 - 8 May 1933) will make a portrait of Anton Bruckner (before or after his death) after a studio photograph of Josef Löwy dating from 1894.

### Bruckner at the Vienna Museum

**Monday, 4 January 1897** (date of the post-stamp) : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner (St. Florian, near Linz) to his sister Rosalia Hueber (Vöcklabruck) :

The legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch wrote that a music-publisher had offered a sum of 1,000 Florins. It is probably wise not to accept the proposed offer. Better deals are coming soon.

Portraits and bust of Anton Bruckner are already at the Vienna Museum. The Museum could also pick-up other personal belongings of the composer at St. Florian Abbey.

### Ignaz writes to August Stradal

**Saturday, 30 January 1897** : Letter from Ignaz Bruckner to August Stradal :

« Your High-Master !

In reply to your honoured letter, I would like to inform you of the letter from my blessed brother starting with the inscription “ High-Master ' Herr ' Consistorial Councilor ” which was addressed to the late parish priest of Steyr, Johann Aichinger. During the last few years, my brother was very happy to spend some time there in the summer. At that time, the above-mentioned priest invited him to attend the first performance of the Mass in D major under the

direction of choir-Master (Franz) Bayer (Mass in D minor on April 2, 1893) . My brother gladly accepted the invitation (letter from 31 March 1893) and even played the organ during the performance.

I was very surprised about the reception of 10 Florins for the 2 letters of my brother, which I consider to be too much. I would never ask for anything in return, I only ask you to keep them as a souvenir. Now, I can do nothing else but to express my sincere thanks to you for the amount of money that was sent.

I take your High-Master in high-esteem,

Ignaz Bruckner.

St. Florian, 30. January 1897. »

The envelope to this letter bears in front the following address (written in foreign language by hand, and also in Latin) :

« Your High-Master “ Herr ” August Stradal, Musician from Vienna, 3rd District, “ Heumarkt ” Number 7. »

And the post-stamp :

« ST. FLORIAN (/) IN UPPER-AUSTRIA. »

On the back of the envelope, there is another post-stamp :

« VIENNA (...) (/) ORDERED (/) 1 February 1897 (/) 8-10V. »

### Bruckner immortalized at the Hall of Fame

**Sunday, 11 February 1912** (11:00 am) : To celebrate the 50th anniversary of foundation of the Vienna Academic Choral Society (« Akademische Gesangverein ») , unveiling ceremony of a commemorative plaque located in the reception-hall (« Fest-Saal ») of the main building of the University of Vienna in honour of Anton Bruckner.

The project was initiated by the Professors of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna and it was funded by the Choral Society, itself.

Members of the Choir will place a wreath in front of the monument.

Programme :

For the occasion, 2 works by Bruckner are performed by the « Akademische Gesangverein » and a brass-ensemble

from the « Wiener Konzertverein » .

« Mitternacht » (Midnight) (WAB 80) .

Musical director August Göllerich junior pronounces the official speech.

The prologue of Franz Schumann's « Oberlandesgerichtstrat » is recited by the Imperial and Royal actor George Heimers who is an honorary member of the « Wiener Akademischen Gesangverein » .

« Germanenzug » (the Germanic Host) (WAB 70) .

The relief image of the Austrian composer (a profile of the head looking to the left) , previously created by sculptor and medalist Josef Tautenhayn junior (1868-1962) , is now placed on the first tier of a monumental marble tablet made of 2 super-imposed rectangular reddish slabs. A laurel wreath linear border surrounds the upper-plate, on 3 sides, which symbolizes with distinction the Master of St. Florain. The relief can be easily compared with a black-and-white picture taken from the archives of the University of Vienna (by R. Fenzl) : Josef Tautenhayn junior probably decided to represent Bruckner at an advanced age. On the photograph, the Master has a round face, a very short hair-cut, wears a jacket, a shirt and a bowtied. Although the shape of the almost bald head and the shape of the nose show similarities, the composer looks overall much older, which is mainly due to the distinctive forehead wrinkles. (Tautenhayn focuses mainly on the head, giving no details of clothing) .

On the request of the artist and the Choral Society, the memorial is hanged to the wall (by 4 prominent salient metal brackets) in Section 28 (to the right of stairs VII) of the left-passage of arcades (« Arkadenhof ») of the University's main building.

The following inscription is chiseled, in large gilt letters, underneath the portrait :

« Anton Bruckner, Honorary Doctor of the University of Vienna, 1824-1896. “ Non confundar in æternum ”. Academic Choral Society. Vienna. »

« Anton Bruckner. Ehrendoktor der Wiener Universität MDCCCXXIV-MDCCCXCVI (1824-1896) . »

« Non confundar in æternum »

« Ich werde nicht zuschanden werden in Ewigkeit. »

« Akademischer Gesangverein Wien »

The arcaded Court-yard

The imposing University Palace on Vienna's splendid new « Ring », in the immediate vicinity of the parliament, the City Hall, the « Burgtheater » and the Votiv Church, shows that the University was intended to hold an important position in Vienna. The building occupies an area of 161 metres by 133 metres and was originally intended to contain all the faculties.

In 1871, architect Heinrich had studied the older University buildings in Bologna, Padua, Genoa and Rome during a trip to Italy. The arcaded Court (« Arkadenhof ») , modelled on the « Palazzo Farnese » in Rome, was intended by him to be a « Hall of Fame » for the University. The many sculptures and plaques testify to the capacity of scholars who have worked here.

The Court was intended to be a « campo santo » to commemorate renowned University teachers and a recreation area for young people engaged in studies. The first memorial was erected in 1888 to commemorate the lawyer Julius Glaser. Today, there are some 150 sculptures and reliefs of Viennese scholars, and, among them (as the only woman) , is the poet and honorary doctor of the University, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. Especially noteworthy is the commemorative group by the sculptor Carl Kundmann (1892) , which is dedicated to the Austrian educational reformers Leo Graf Thun-Hohenstein, Franz Exner, and Hermann Bonitz. There are also remarkable sculptures by such important artists as Franz Xaver Messerschmidt, Caspar Zumbusch, Richard Kauffungen, Josef Tautenhayn junior, and others. The centre of the court-yard has been occupied since 1910 by the Kastalia Fountain (« Kastalia-Brunnen ») , the « Spring of Wisdom » , that was created by Edmund Hellmer. In 1926, it was decreed that a term of 10 years must pass between the death of a scholar and the erection of a memorial in the arcade.

### A moment of silence

**Monday, 15 February 1897** : Meeting of the Academic Choir Society of Vienna in the presence of president Franz Schaumann. On the programme : commemoration of the death of Anton Bruckner. A moment of silence is held. « Herr » Hans Thoruton proposes to play works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Ludwig van Beethoven.

### Declaration of cancellation

**Thursday, 25 March 1897** : Declaration of cancellation from St. Florian by Ignaz Bruckner concerning the promissory note of 29 September 1887.

**Friday, 26 March 1897** : Declaration of cancellation from Vöcklabruck by Rosalia Hueber concerning the promissory note of 29 September 1887.

**Friday, 2 April 1897** (undated) : The legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch sends the Vienna District Court the declaration of cancellation from Ignaz Bruckner and Rosalia Hueber. The declaration is approved.

### Maintenance of Bruckner's grave

**Saturday, 27 March 1897** : Johann Langthaler confirmed from St. Florian to have received the bequest amount of 4,000 Florins for the maintenance of Anton Bruckner's grave and a fee to celebrate a (annual ?) « Requiem » Mass.

#### Wolf visits the Upper-Belvedere apartment

**Saturday, 17 April 1897** (Holy Saturday) : Paul Müller visits Hugo Wolf in Vienna. They go to visit the apartment of the « Kustodenstöckl » on the Upper-Belvedere. In the afternoon, Wolf plays at the piano the « Romantic » Symphony to Müller.

#### Kathi's inheritance

**Tuesday, 20 April 1897** : The house-keeper Katharina Kachelmayr (« Frau Kathi ») confirms having received the sum of 700 Florins from the Estate of Anton Bruckner.

#### Fulfillment of the will

**Tuesday, 1 June 1897** : The legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch reports to the Vienna District Court that the fulfillment of the will of Anton Bruckner has been completed.

#### Death of « Sali »

**Thursday, 5 May 1898** : Death of Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck. She was named in honour of aunt Rosalia Mayrhofer (the sister of Theresia Helm and godmother of Anton Bruckner) .

#### Common grave in St. Florian

**Saturday, 18 May 1901** : The corpse of Anton Bruckner's sister, Maria Anna (« Nanni ») , is transferred from Vienna to St. Florian at the instigation of her living brother, Ignaz.

Inscription on the common-grave for Josefa Wagenbrenner, Maria Anna Bruckner, and Ignaz Bruckner in St. Florian :

Since 18 May 1901  
Fräulein  
Maria Anna Bruckner  
sister of composer Dr. Anton Bruckner,  
born on 27 June 1836 in Ansfelden,  
died on 16 January 1870 in Vienna.  
R. I. P.

« Hier ruhet seit dem 18. Mai 1901 / das Fräulein / Maria Anna Bruckner / Schwester des Tondichters Dr. Anton

Bruckner, / geboren am 27. Juni 1836 zu Ansfelden / gestorben am 16. Jänner 1870 zu Wien. / R. I. P. »

### Death of Ignaz

**Saturday, 4 January 1913** : Ignaz Bruckner dies in St. Florian at 8:15 in the evening. « Domkapellmeister » Franz Xaver Müller writes immediately to biographer August Göllerich junior, « Kapellmeister » Franz Bayer and Bruckner's legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch.

Inscription on the common grave of Josefa Wagenbrenner, Maria-Anna Bruckner and Ignaz Bruckner in St. Florian :

« Organ-blower / “ Herr ” Ignaz Bruckner / died on 4 January 1913, at 80 years old. »

### Brahms : Final illness

The later years for the composer saw him living a comfortable life. His music, since 1860 anyway, had sold well, and Johannes Brahms, far from flamboyant or excessive, lived a frugal life in his simple apartment. A shrewd investor, Brahms did well in the stock-market. His wealth, however, was rivaled by his generosity, as Brahms often gave money to friends and young musical students.

Brahms' commitment to his craft showed he was a perfectionist. He often destroyed finished pieces he deemed unworthy, including some 20 String Quartets.

Brahms was very gentle during the last months of his life, and touchingly grateful for every attention shown him. His evenings were of necessity passed in his rooms, for he firmly refused all the entreaties of his friends that he would take-up his abode in one or another house. Every evening, at dusk, he used to place himself at the piano, and improvise softly for about half an hour, and when too tired to continue, would sit by the window gazing-out on the familiar scene till long after darkness had set in.

**1887** : Death of Edward Marxsen. Brahms interrupts his summer visit in Hofstetten to visit Clara Schumann in Frankfurt.

**1889** : Adelbert Theodor Edward (« Theo ») Wangemann invites Brahms to make an experimental recording.

**Monday, 2 December 1889** : It was at the Fellingings' flat at « Apostelgasse » Number 2 that the only known sound-recording of Brahms playing the piano was made by Thomas Edison's agent Theo Wangemann. Brahms had reportedly practiced his « Rhapsody », Opus 79/2, for the session but, irritated by the lengthy preparations, he changed his mind and, instead, played a shortened version of the « Hungarian Dance », WoO 1/1, and his own paraphrase of Joseph Strauß's polka mazurka « Die Libelle » (Opus 204) . The Fellingings' « J. B. Streicher & Sohn » grand piano, on which Brahms played on this occasion, has recently been carefully restored by Gert Hecher and is now at the Brahms Museum, in Mürzzuschlag.

**1889** : Brahms is appointed a « Freeman of Hamburg » . From this year onward, he spends his summers in Ischl.

**October 1890** : When Brahms was 57 years old, he decided to give-up composing. He begins « cleaning house » , and destroying incomplete works or abandoned compositions. Nevertheless, he couldn't resist himself from the world of music and compositions and, in his last years before his death, he crafted a number of accredited Masterpieces.

**1891** : Brahms composes the great Clarinet Quintet.

**1892** : Death of Brahms' sister Elise ; death of Elisabeth von Herzogenberg.

**1893** : Death of Hermine Spies.

**Around 1894** : (Photo) Brahms and friends :

Sitting, from left to right : Gustav Walter, Eduard Hanslick, Johannes Brahms, Richard Mühlfeld.

Standing, from left to right : Ignaz Brüll, Anton Door, Josef Gänsbacher, Julius Epstein, Robert Hausmann, Eusebius Mandyczewsky.

**1894** : Brahms crafts the 2 Clarinet Sonatas.

His admiration for the German clarinetist Richard Mühlfeld inspired Brahms to compose the « Clarinet Trio » .

**1895** : Death of Brahms's brother Fritz ; death of Doctor Theodor Billroth. Brahms' last visit to Switzerland.

Few events remain for record in the life of Johannes Brahms nearly to the end of its progress. Of these few, several have the pathetic interest of last visits to dear and familiar places made, so far as appears, without presentiment that they were final.

**Friday, 27 to Sunday, 29 September 1895** : Brahms was present at a 3 days' Festival held in Meiningen. The programmes were devoted to works by Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms (« the Festival of the 3 B's » as it has sometimes been called) . Those of Brahms selected for performance included the « Song of Triumph » ; the 4th Symphony ; the B-flat Pianoforte Concerto, with Eugène d'Albert as pianist ; the Clarinet Sonatas performed by the same artist with Richard Mühlfeld ; some of the Vocal Quartets ; amongst them, the early favourite « Alternative Dance Song » ; and others.

The Festival was an immense success, and the pleasure which the Master derived from the concerts is evident in the following lines written to Steinbach immediately after the last one :

« Dear Friend,



However tempted I may feel, I dare not break in upon your well-deserved rest ; but you shall find my hearty greeting awaiting you on your happy awakening ; how hearty and grateful it is there is no need to tell you in detail. You must have perceived each day that you gave me and all who took part in your splendid Festival, a quite exceptional pleasure. »

Brahms was, of course, a guest at the castle, and he remained on for a few days after the last concert.

**Thursday, 3 October 1895** : Leaving Meiningen, Brahms proceeded to Frankfurt on a flying visit to « Frau » Clara Schumann. Professor Hubert Ferdinand Kufferath of the Brussels Conservatory, with Mr. and Mrs. Edward Speyer, accompanied him on the short journey, and were, by his particular suggestion, invited to spend the evening at « Frau » Schumann's house. Professor Kufferath, a pupil of Felix Mendelssohn at Leipzig and, on a very old footing of intimacy at the Schumanns', had been for more than 20 years on terms of cordial friendship with Brahms also, though the 2 men met but seldom. « Frau » Schumann's daughters, Marie and Eugénie, and Stockhausen, were the only others present. The hours were spent in pleasant chat as between old friends, and music was represented only by a few of Brahms' folk-songs sung by Mrs. Speyer (« Fräulein » Antonia Kufferath) to the Master's accompaniment.

**Friday, 4 October 1895** : Brahms left in the morning, but before his departure, he requested his old friend to play to him. 42 years had passed since Schumann had desired him to play for the first time to her, marking both musicians with inevitable outward signs. The traces of suffering and sorrow had deepened of late on « Frau » Schumann's countenance, but those who were happy enough to listen to her playing at this period, in the privacy of her home, knew that her spirit was still young, and Brahms' last remembrance of the great artist, the remembrance of an old age which had left the poetry of her genius untouched, will have fitly completed the long chain of personal associations begun when Schumann called his wife to rejoice with him in the daring power and Romantic enthusiasm of Johannes' inexperienced youth. When she rose from the piano on that **October** morning, the final link had been added. « Frau » Schumann and Brahms were not to meet again on earth.

One of Brahms' late public appearances was on the occasion of the concert given in the « Börsendorfer » Hall, in Vienna, by Signorina Alice Barbi (now, the Baroness Wolff Homersee) shortly before her marriage. He pleased himself by acting as accompanist to the distinguished cantatrice, whose programme included a number of his songs. He held the « bâton » for the last time on a Vienna platform when he directed the performance of his « Academic Festival » Overture by the students of the Conservatory at the Festival concert given to celebrate the 25th anniversary (1895) of the opening of the present home of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » .

**Saturday, 19 to Tuesday, 22 October 1895** : A 4 days' Festival to celebrate the inauguration of the new concert-hall at Zürich seems to carry us more than one stage nearer the end. It brought Brahms for the last time to Switzerland to conduct his « Triumphlied » ; a fine close (for as such it may almost be regarded) to a noble career.

Brahms was in over-flowing spirits during the entire Festival, enjoying the concerts, the private gatherings, the meetings with old friends, in a mood of harmless gaiety that recalls the Detmold Ducal Palace days.

« We have seen Brahms and Joachim together again, both in full vigour ; may we not hope for a prolongation of this happy state of things ? » , writes Steiner a few days after the Festival.

Josef Viktor Widmann was, of course, there, and stayed with Brahms at Hegar's house. When he bade the Master farewell on the day after the concert, the 2 friends clasped hands in a final grasp.

**Friday, 10 January 1896** : Brahms officiated for the last time in public at Eugène d'Albert's concert in Berlin conducting his 2 Pianoforte Concertos and the « Academic Festival » Overture, and was received with the usual enthusiasm.

Charles Villiers Stanford speaks of being present at a dinner party given by Joseph Joachim during Brahms' brief visit :

« Joachim, in a few well-chosen words, was asking us not to lose the opportunity of drinking the health of the greatest composer - when, before he could say the name, Brahms started to his feet, glass in hand, and calling-out “ Quite right ; here's to Mozart's health ”, walked round clinking glasses with us all. His old hatred of personal eulogy was never more prettily expressed ... The last vision I had of him was as he sat beside the diminutive form of the aged Menzel, drinking in, like a school boy, every word the great old artist said with an attitude as full of unaffected reverence as of unconscious dignity. »

Of all modern painters, Adolph von Menzel was the most admired by Brahms. He visited him on several occasions, and spoke of him and his works with unfailing enthusiasm.

That the Master had realized a competence some years before his death (more than a competence for one of his extraordinarily simple habits) is generally known. How he regarded it, how he used it, may have been but little suspected outside a small circle. His friend and publisher, the late head of the firm of Simrock, shared his confidence on the subject more than anyone else, for it was often through his agency that Brahms' munificence was applied to its object ; the substantial help, perhaps, of a needy musician, or a promising talent. He contributed more than one large donation to the « Franz Liszt Pensionsverein » of Hamburg, a Society founded by Liszt, in 1840, for the benefit of aged or disabled members of the « Stadt Theater Orchester » . Several authentic stories are told by accidental witnesses of some of his particular acts of generosity. One has been related to the author by the « Landgraf » of Hesse, who was sitting with the Master one morning when a caller appeared with a tale of distress which touched his heart. He listened quietly, asked some questions, then went to his writing-table, and, handing his visitor the entire sum of money towards which he was asked for a contribution, said quietly :

« Take this from me ; I do not need it. I have more money than I want for myself. »

This was his usual formula on such occasions, « I do not need it » , to which was sometimes added :

« If you should ever have it in your power, you can pay me back. »

**End of May 1896** : Brahms returned to Ischl and began again to work on his compositions and to take the long walks that he always enjoyed.

**Monday, 15 June 1896** : Brahms's other break from Ischl that summer was a quick trip to Vienna, for the silver anniversary of Maria and Richard Fellingner. There are photographs of Brahms in the Fellingners' garden during the party. He looks just detectably shrunken and strained. The exhaustion he had felt at Clara Schumann's funeral lingered through the summer.

...

Brahms spent a few days in Vienna with his good friends the Fellingners, who were celebrating their silver wedding anniversary. He is said to have played the 1st and 7th (« Herzlich hut mich erfreuen » , in the original order) of the Chorale Preludes (for organ) for them and for his friend and editor, Eusebius Mandyczewski, who « wondered at their impersonality » .

Maria Fellingner depicted Brahms in a highly-successful relief ; furthermore, she made an amusing statuette showing him holding a cigar, which was based on a photograph she had once taken. This was merely one of a large number of informal photographs she took of Brahms, showing him either by himself or together with other guests of the Fellingners at the so-called « Arenberg Palais » at Number 96 « Landstraße-Hauptstraße » , where they occupied a flat from September 1893 (at first, on the ground-floor and, then, from 1896 upstairs) and where they also had a large garden at their disposal. It is evident from the photographs that Brahms felt very much at ease there ; a particularly charming one shows him with Marie Soldat. (The « Palais » was demolished, in 1958, and replaced by a modern building.)

Copies of some of Maria Fellingner's busts of Brahms were placed on sale, with the proceeds going to the Viennese Brahms Monument Fund.

(Photo) The last photo of Johannes Brahms alive. The famous picture is part of a series of 6 taken by Maria Fellingner in the garden of the Fellingners (Palais Arenberg) , in Vienna's 3rd District.

Maria Fellingner also published collections of her photographs of Brahms in Vienna, in 1900 ; and in a second, enlarged edition at Leipzig, in 1911.

**Wednesday, 24 June 1896** : Returning immediately to Ischl, Brahms spent the next few weeks in his usual fashion, though neither mind nor body really recovered the double shock of « Frau » Schumann's death and of the anxious journey to Bonn.

Brahms was visited by a former pupil, Richard Heuberger, a Viennese choral conductor, music-critic, and Opera composer.

In his diary, Heuberger recorded that on that morning Brahms « played for me his manuscript Chorale Preludes. Splendid pieces ! One, a contrapuntal work, strophe after strophe worked-out fugally ... soon, the chorale enters and, from the developing chorale, a theme in the upper 5th follows through. With all its precision, this work is splendid music. True Brahms ? »

Heuberger here seems to be referring to the first of the 7 Chorale Preludes, indeed, an impressive contrapuntal essay. The manuscript of 3 of the final 4 Chorale Preludes is dated « Juni 96 Ischl » , but these drafts were probably not finished until the very end of the month and seem not to have been actually prepared for publication at that time.

**Sunday, 5 July 1896** : Richard Heuberger visited Brahms again when he noted that « the package (namely the Chorale Preludes) must have already been sent away, for today, Brahms told me he would show me some new compositions » . Unfortunately, Heuberger doesn't say what these were. They might indeed have been more Chorale Preludes, as some assume, but they could also have been some of the folk-song settings Brahms is thought to have also been working on at this time, which were later posthumously published. In either case, they were probably not all new - except, of course, to Heuberger. Despite his return to seeming normalcy after the emotional and physical stress of the trip to Frankfurt and Bonn, Brahms began to feel increasingly unwell and lacking in his usual stamina.

« Brahms' things must have been sent away already, for he has promised to show me new compositions. » says Heuberger's diary.

These were, no doubt, some more Preludes. 11 were found after Brahms' death, the last 4 being written on a different kind of paper from that used for the first 7.

The « Elf Chorale-Vorspiele » (11 Chorale-Preludes) for organ are instrumental movements founded, as their name implies, upon some of the grand old church tunes for which Germany is famous. They are worked in florid counterpoint in a style which may be studied, also, in the Organ Preludes contained in the third volume of the Leipzig Society's edition of Bach's works, and are written with an ease to which no other composer than Brahms has attained in this style since Bach's day. That the great modern Master had studied it, during the years of his retirement in the 50's, before he was in possession of the Society's volumes, seems certain, from the fact that 3 old books of Bach's Chorale-Preludes once belonging to Brahms are still in existence. One, bearing Brahms' pencil autograph, is in manuscript, possibly that of his father or brother ; the others are early published editions.

The majority of the Chorales selected for treatment, in 1896, have death for their subject, and are written in the profoundly serious vein to which we are accustomed in the composer's sacred works. The 4th Prelude, « Herzlich thut mich erfreuen » , is in a somewhat lighter vein than the others, but is, nonetheless, absolutely and distinctly Brahms. One of the most delicately touching is the 8th, « Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen » . « Herzlich thut mir » is the subject of 2 of the movements, « O Welt ich muß dich lassen » of 2, of which one is the 11th and last.

**Summer 1896** : Brahms writes the « 4 Serious Songs » (« Vier ernste Gesänge ») which drew on work from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. It was a revealing piece for the composer, damning what was found on earth

and embracing death as a relief from the material world's excesses and pain.

They indicated the bent of the composer's thoughts during his last year of life, and we involuntarily apply to them the words used by Brahms in reference to Robert Schumann's theme. They speak to us « as the message of a spirit about to depart, and we think with reverence and emotion of the glorious man and artist » .

The « 4 Serious Songs » were published in the **summer of 1896** with a dedication to Max Klinger, his personal friend, of whose work, including that inspired by his own compositions, he became a warm admirer, though he at first disliked the painter's « Brahms Fantasie » .

3 of the songs deal grimly with the thought of death (Eccles. iii. 19-22, iv. 1-3 ; Eccus. xli. 1, 2) ; the 4th has for its text St. Paul's beautiful glorification of love (1 Cor. Xiii. 1-3, 12, 13) :

« For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts ; as the one dieth, so dieth the other, for all is vanity ... »

« Though I spake with the tongues of men and of angels, and had not love, I should be as sounding brass or a tinkling bell ... »

« We see now through a glass, in a dark word, but then face to face. Now, I know it partly, but then I shall know it as I am known. »

« Now, remain faith, hope, love ; but the greatest is love. »

It is certain that Brahms speaks to us in the songs from the depth of his convictions. « Herr Geheimrath Doktor » (Theodor Wilhelm) Engelmann arrived one evening in the course of the summer on a day's visit to Ischl. Brahms called at his hotel at 6 o'clock the next morning, and after breakfast brought his friend back to his rooms, where they spent several hours together. The composer was in delight over some lately-arrived volumes of the complete edition of Franz Schubert's works, then in progress, and could not sufficiently express his joy in their contents.

« See here, » , he said with his energetic enthusiasm, as he pointed to one place after another with beaming face and lightening eyes, « see here, what a splendid fellow he was ! People talk of him as a mere melodist, but look what material he had even in his early works ; look what the melodies are, how they grow. »

By-and-by, taking-up a copy of the « 4 Serious Songs » , he said :

« Have you seen my protest ? I wrote these for my birthday. »

The explanation of these words is that the Master viewed with mistrust, or even dislike, modern efforts to revivify and popularize the services of the Evangelical Church by the introduction of sacred musical works composed for the

purpose, of which those of Heinrich von Herzogenberg may be taken as the type. Brahms, who subscribed to no church dogmas, regarded this tendency as artificial, and therefore as weak and unhealthy, and much as he admired Herzogenberg's powers, he regretted that they were dominated during the last 10 years of his creative activity by his strong ecclesiastical bias. Brahms' love of the Bible and his preference for Scriptural texts was, as we know, not that of what is conventionally called a « pietist » . He spoke in the language of the people's book as a realist who was, at the same time, an idealist. He has so arranged the texts of his « German Requiem » that it would be difficult to construe the work as the embodiment of a definite belief, and he expressly refused to enlarge it into an account of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ ; and yet, as we have endeavoured to show, it contains the presentiment, the inspiration, of something positive. From Brahms' stand-point, the attempt to go behind the mysteries of life and death, to construct the unspeakable, the unthinkable, into verbal formulæ, is not only pre-doomed to failure, but is almost irreverent. Yet, as we may remember, « he had his faith » , and if anything may be judged of it from the story of his life, the spirit of his works, this faith lay in acceptance of the immutability of truth, the sacredness of life, and the sovereignty of love.

Hermann Deiters writes that the immediate occasion of the composition of the « 4 Serious Songs » was the death of the artist Max Klinger's father, which occurred earlier in the year. The not un-natural assumption that has sometimes been seen in these solemn utterances of the great composer a presentiment of his own fast-approaching end may or may not represent a fact. It has not been accepted by those of his friends amongst whom he passed the last few months of his life, and certainly nothing that is known of his individuality lends likelihood to the notion of his going-out, as it were, to meet the thought of his death. On the other hand, his repeated assertion that the songs had been composed for his own birthday points to the possibility that his mind may have been under the influence of forebodings of which he was, perhaps, but vaguely conscious.

« Yes, Grüber, we are in the front-line now. » , he said to his landlord on hearing of the death of some of the old people in the course of one of his last summers at Ischl.

**July 1896** : One hot day, Brahms walked 8 miles from Ischl to Steg, further than he had intended, then turned around and walked back most of the way. That night, he felt so sick he thought he was going to die ; he passed-out again and again.

Still, he seemed stunned when the young composer Richard Heuberger plucked up courage to confront him, saying his eyes and skin looked yellowish and he must see a doctor. Brahms had rarely visited a doctor in his life, though he had submitted to a dentist to have his upper-teeth pulled and a plate made.

He put-up a brief resistance, then, held his head in his hands and said to Heuberger :

« I'm no hypochondriac. (...) Nobody has told me that I seem to be altered. I thank you from my heart. You know I don't like to have anything to do with doctors, but if it's something serious, it ought to be looked at. But it's annoying (...) the few years one has left to live (...) and to go to the doctor ! »

...

Brahms' friends, observing that he was noticeably jaundiced. The Master admitted that he did not feel well. They finally persuaded him to see a physician. In fact, he saw several.

It had not escaped the notice of Brahms' friends that his ruddy complexion had changed to a yellow colour, and some of them were courageous enough to speak to him about his health, and urge him to consult a doctor. At first, he showed much annoyance when the subject was broached, and turned it off impatiently with the reply that, as he never used a glass, he did not know how he looked. But the uneasiness felt about his condition increased, and he was at length persuaded to seek medical advice in Vienna. The doctor whom he consulted did not issue an alarmist report, but, pronouncing him to be suffering from jaundice, ordered him to Karlsbad for the « cure » .

...

**End of July** : Brahms called on Doctor Heinrich Hertzka, the Director of the cold water health-centre (« Kaltwasserheilanstalt ») in Ischl. He received a diagnosis of jaundice and an order to take a cure of Karlsbad salts. The doctor also placed him on a strict diet.

Brahms asked anxiously :

« But no goulash ? »

Doctor Hertzka :

« Absolutely not ! »

Brahms groaned :

« Really ? »

But added slyly :

« Then, I'm going to tell people I didn't see you till tomorrow, and eat goulash at the Eibenschützes' today - after all, it was cooked especially for me. »

**Thursday, 13 August 1896** : A note written by the composer to « Frau » Caroline contains little sign of his depressed condition. It opens with charming, simple comments on his step-mother's last little budget of home news, urges a tour in Norway and Sweden on Fritz Schnack (« it would give me real pleasure if he would do it, and tell me all about it afterwards ») and ends :

« The summer is not exactly fine, but whoever, like myself, rises early and can go-out walking when he will, may be content and there are innumerable beautiful walks here. I hope you will continue so well and write sometimes to ... Your heartily greeting, Johannes. »

In Ischl, Brahms drank mineral water originating from Karlsbad for 4 consecutive weeks. He was now taking a pause, wondering whether he should go there in **September**. Noting the failure of the cure, Richard Fellingner ordered Brahms (despite his obstinacy) to leave for the spa-centre. Heuberger had also strongly recommended Brahms to go to Karlsbad. Much against his will, the Master, who hated the very idea of waters and cures, and who prided himself on never having been ill in his life, gave-up some pleasant Ischl engagements.

Protesting, he made his reservation in Karlsbad. With his healthy man's habit of seeing illness as a sort of moral failure, Brahms dubbed his condition « my pent-bourgeois jaundice ». Visiting Viktor Miller's villa just before he saw the doctor, Brahms seemed in high-spirits : in a photo, he stands between 2 laughing attractive women, Viktor's wife Olga and their daughter, brandishing his cigar and looking roguish.

For the sake of precaution, however, Doctor Hertzka called in the famous Viennese physician and surgeon, Professor Leopold Schrötter, for the purpose of a consultation. Schrötter reassured Brahms, but told the worried Heuberger, in confidence, that he considered the Master a lost man, his liver being greatly enlarged, and the gall ducts obstructed. Before long, cancer of the liver was plainly apparent, the same dread disease to which Brahms's father had succumbed. Surgeon Leopold Schrötter corresponded with Doctor Hertzka about Brahms's illness, and, on **Friday, 28 August**, Brahms told Heuberger that Schrötter was against his going to Karlsbad because he suspected that jaundice (or hepatitis) was not the sole cause of his illness. But Brahms refused to undergo a joint-examination by the 2 doctors ; instead, he decided to return to Vienna on **Monday, 31 August** to consult Doctor Josef Toelg.

Brahms should not go to Karlsbad, because there might be another cause for his illness apart from jaundice (or hepatitis) ; Brahms had therefore decided to return to Vienna to consult Doctor Toelg « who knows him well and for whom he has a high-regard » .

Toelg had found Brahms' liver to be enlarged, but apparently it was Doctor Grünberger, in Karlsbad, who made the fatal diagnosis of pancreatic cancer - the same disease that had ended Brahms' father's life. It had probably been developing undetected for some time, for the « Merck Manual » , that Classic physician's reference book, states that « jaundice is uncommon early » . Even today, after more than a Century of medical progress, the prognosis for advanced hepatic cancer is still poor.

Brahms duly traveled back to Vienna from Ischl on **Monday, 31 August 1896**.

On **Tuesday, 1 September 1896**, at an evening meal at the « Gasthaus Zur blauen Kugel » restaurant he told a group of friends, Heuberger among them, that he was leaving for Karlsbad the following day (**Wednesday, 2 September 1896**) . The pent-bourgeois jaundice had gotten worse.



On that day, Fellingner wrote to Heuberger that Doctor Toelg regarded Brahms's condition as grave but not incurable, that he attributed it to a disorder of the biliary tract, and that a cure at Karlsbad was likely to be successful.

It is accordingly evident that Brahms must have consulted Toelg on **Tuesday, 1 September 1896**, and that his decision to take the cure at Karlsbad was taken on the latter's advice.

According to Max Kalbeck, however, it was not until the evening of **Thursday, 3 September 1896** that Brahms, feeling poorly, accompanied by faithful Fellingner (who had been at his side during the last few days in Ischl) , took the night-train to Karlsbad from Vienna.

The composer wrote a grateful letter to « Frau » Fellingner :

« I have reason to praise your husband to the skies, and to be grateful to him for his most touching kindness. (...) It meant much to me at that time, and I can hardly tell you how pleasant it was. I do not like to be reminded of my body, and probably I should have stayed in Ischl in sheer sulkiness. »

They arrived at Karlsbad's railway station the next morning. There, they were welcomed by 2 friends of Eduard Hanslick : the young composer « Herr » Emil Seling and parish church « Musikdirektor » Alois Janetschek (which had been entrusted by Hanslick at this position) . Then, the famous pianist, Teodor Leszetycki referred Brahms to the distinguished spa physician Doctor Grünberger.

(Fiction :)

Doctor Grünberger was still making the last entry in his ledger when Brahms erupted through the door.

« “ Herr ” Doktor, I am Johannes Brahms. »

Grünberger, a round man with a round face, stroked his Vandyke beard, looking-up from his ledger, adjusting his round spectacles. Doctor Heinrich Hertzka of Ischl had written to him about Doctor Brahms, the famous composer, a case of jaundice, sent to Karlsbad for the waters, for Grünberger to prescribe a regimen. Brahms's appearance spoke for itself, yellow face, dry skin, dull eyes, brittle white mane, seeming to shrink as he stood in the doorway, hat in hand, clothes too large by 1 size or 2. The receptionist was close behind the intruder, frowning to indicate the patient had rushed past him, ready it seemed to launch into a tirade, but Grünberger held up a finger for silence.

« “ Doktor ” Brahms, I am indeed pleased to meet you, but did we not arrange for me to examine you tomorrow morning in your home ? »

Brahms spoke sharply.

« I am here now. Examine me at once ! »

The voice surprised Grünberger, forceful despite its pitch, despite his appearance, but he noted as well the whites of his eyes, yellow as mustard, panic in his voice.

« Very well, then. »

He turned to the receptionist :

« “ Herr ” Boll, please see that we are not disturbed. »

The young man still frowned ; an ante-room full of patients awaited the doctor ; but he nodded, shutting the door behind him.

Having won his battle Brahms relaxed, his shoulders slumped, and his clothes seemed yet another size too large.

« All of my life, I have avoided Karlsbad like the plague. »

He laughed.

« I have never been ill a day in my life. I have never had much faith in spas and water-cures. It is all in the mind, is it not, “ Herr ” Doktor, whether a man is ill or not ? »

« Sometimes, it is, yes. »

« Most of the time - but I am glad finally to have come. I have my bourgeois illness to thank for bringing me here - and I see that Karlsbad's reputation for sunshine, at least, is not undeserved. »

The doctor smiled.

« Sunshine is, indeed, something we can guarantee. »

He could see his patient talked to comfort himself.

« Well, “ Doktor ” Brahms, shall we get on with it ? »

« At once. »

« Will you sit here ? »

Brahms sat where he indicated, shy as he smiled.

« Now remember, “ Herr ” Doktor, it is your responsibility only to cure me - and not to tell me anything unpleasant. »

The doctor entered into the spirit of the game.

« Of course - but if you say A, you must also say B. It is your responsibility, “ Doktor ” Brahms, is it not, to allow me to cure you ? You must follow my instructions to the letter, must you not ? »

Brahms grinned weakly.

« Of course. »

« Tell me, then, when did you first think something was the matter ? »

He had caught a severe chill on the night of Clara’s funeral, succumbing to the exhaustion of his long journey.

...

(Brahms developed an icterus of increasing intensity together with a considerable enlargement of the liver and loss of weight. Since infectious hepatitis could scarcely come into the question, from the medical point-of-view a neoplasm in the region of the liver as well as cirrhosis of the liver were considered. While hepatic carcinoma is a relatively rare disease in Europe even today and Brahms, on the other hand, had consumed copious quantities of concentrated alcoholic drinks during his lifetime, cirrhosis of the liver is the most probable diagnosis, especially as at the end hemorrhages from esophageal varices and the lower intestinal segments occurred.)

Brahms stayed at the inn owned by « Frau » Anna Seling (Emil's mother) where he was going to take his meals. He particularly liked her well-ordered Viennese-style kitchen. Leszetycki carefully warned Grünberger and Anna of the patient's idiosyncrasies. Hanslick, moreover, saw to it that Emil and Alois were helpful to Brahms in every way. Several of his friends came to visit him : Bertha Faber, Ignaz Brüll, Hans Köbler (a composer and teacher of composition from Budapest, for whom Brahms had a great liking) , and Amalie Nikisch, the wife of the conductor. Finally, Professor Engelmann of Utrecht came to Austria, ostensibly for professional purposes, and went to Karlsbad as a matter of course. When he had examined his friend, the gravity of Brahms's condition was obvious to him. He could not, however, believe that the case was utterly hopeless, and accordingly, a few months later, he sent his son-in-law, an eminent surgeon, from Holland to Vienna for the purpose of a fresh examination.

It may be doubted whether Brahms realized his own condition. He who had always looked on illness as a blemish would be the last to admit that he himself was seriously ill.

The report written to Eduard Hanslick by Doctor Grünberger, after 3 weeks' careful observation, was ominous. There was considerable swelling of the liver, with complete blocking of the gall-passages, and the inevitable results - jaundice,

indigestion, etc. The eminent medical authority could not but regard the condition of his patient as « very serious » .

Soon, Brahms was working at the organ chorale preludes and writing letters to friends in his vacation mode.

To Hanslick :

« I am grateful to my jaundice for having at last brought me to famous Karlsbad. I was at once greeted by glorious weather. (...) What is more, I have an absolutely charming lodging. »

To Josef Viktor Widmann :

« My indisposition need not make you in the least uneasy : it is quite a common place jaundice, which unfortunately has the idiosyncrasy of not wanting to go away. But it has no further significance, as affirmed by the doctors. (...) Besides, I have not had pain or such like for a single day - nor even lost my appetite for a single meal. »

Janetschek took Brahms to the « Stadt Brussels » inn, near the Hirschsprung. Here, during the fine autumn days which succeeded the wet summer, he made himself content, and even wrote cheerful reports to his friends, in which he expressed satisfaction at having been obliged to make the acquaintance of the celebrated watering-place. He was the object of much considerate and respectful attention, which seemed to cheer him ; and Bertha Faber came to be near him, accompanied him in his daily walks, and took tender care of him.

No more definite name was given to the malady on the Master's return to Vienna after some 6 weeks' treatment at Karlsbad, and his request that he should be told « nothing unpleasant » was scrupulously observed.

Heuberger, who had been surprised at Doctor Schrötter's original advice to Brahms, heard the explanation from the Doctor Toelg himself when he happened to meet him in Vienna in **September**. His friend, Schrötter informed him, was doomed :

« For Brahms's illness, there is no Karlsbad. It is of no consequence where he spends his money. »

**October 1896** : Brahms returned to Vienna noticeably weaker but so determined not to be an invalid that, for at least a while, he continued his daily walks, attended concerts, and socialized with his increasingly concerned friends.

Eventually, the walks had to be given-up, but Brahms's loyal friends continued to take him for rides and entertain him in their homes.

Brahms went about as before, dining more frequently, however, with his most intimate friends the Fellingings, Fabers, Millers, Conrats, Straußs and von Hornbostels, and often accepting the offer from one and another of a seat in a box at the « Burg Theater » . He became very testy if asked how he was or if told that he looked better, and answered to every inquiry, « Each day, a little worse. » , but continued in letters to his step-mother and other friends at a

distance to keep-up the fiction that he was suffering from an ordinary jaundice which only needed patience. Those who loved him, however, looked with dismay at the alteration that was taking place in his appearance. The yellow colour, which had been the first striking symptom of his condition, was changing gradually to a darker hue, the bulky figure shrinking to terrible emaciation ; the firm gait was beginning to falter, the head was no longer held erect.

**Tuesday, 20 October 1896** : Some 3 weeks after Brahms's return to Vienna, Richard Heuberger noted in his diary that Doctor Josef Toelg was in favour of operating « if there is still time » .

### Doctor Josef Toelg

The physician Doctor Josef Toelg was born on 27 June 1852 in Brauna (Brunjow) . He graduated from the « Gymnasium » of Komotau (Chomutov) in 1872. He studied at the University of Vienna and, in 1878, he was named the best doctor of its promotion. He became assistant-physician at the Bamberg Clinic until 1885. In 1891, he was appointed primary physician and director of the Imperial-Royal Wilhelmine Hospital (« Kaiserlich-Königliche Wilhelminen-Spital ») of Vienna.

The Wilhelmine Hospital has 2 departments : an internal clinic and a surgical clinic equipped with an operating room. A separate, detached ground-floor building provides a « Secir-Saal » , a guarded corpse-room, a morgue and a laundry-room. The 2 buildings communicate by telephone. The Merciful Sisters work as nurses.

...

Doktor Josef Toelg, Mediciner : geboren 27. Juni 1852 in Brauna, absolvirte 1872 das Gymnasium in Komotau, studierte an der Wiener Universität, woselbst er im Jahre 1878 zum Doctor der gesammten Heilkunde promovirt wurde, war sodann bis 1885 als Assistent an der Klinik Bamberger thätig und wirkt seit 1891 als Primarius und Leiter des Kaiserlich-Königlich Wilhelminen-Spitals.

Das Wilhelminen-Spital besitzt 2 Abtheilungen, eine interne und eine chirurgische, letztere mit einem Operations-Saale. Ein eigenes isolirtes Parterregebäude enthält noch den Secirsaal, das Leichenwächterzimmer, die Leichenkammer und die Waschküche. In den beiden Gebäuden des Spitals, welche telephonisch mit einander verbunden sind, versehen Barmherzige Schwestern den Wartedienst.

Die Stelle eines Directors und des Primararztes der chirurgischen Abtheilung ist gegenwärtig unbesetzt. Primararzt der internen Abtheilung ist Doktor Josef Toelg.

...

**Early December** : A visit to Vienna of Joseph Joachim and his colleagues of the Quartet gave Brahms touching pleasure ; he was with them as much as possible during the day, and generally remained with them, after attending their concerts, until late at night. He continued to take interest in important new compositions, and begged Robert Hausmann to come to his rooms to play him Antonín Dvořák's Violoncello Concerto. He accompanied the entire work

on the piano, and broke into enthusiastic admiration at the end of each movement, exclaiming after the last one :  
« Had I known that such a Violoncello Concerto as that could be written, I would have tried to compose one myself !  
»

...

Brahms' heart was of gold, if ever such existed. He was rough sometimes (often, perhaps) let it be freely granted. The spoiled humours of his last 2 or 3 years have already been noted ; they do not amount to much. He permitted himself deliberately to repulse strangers or slight acquaintances when he felt so disposed ; necessarily, if his time and tranquillity were to be protected. Now and then, he was inconsiderate or blunt to his friends. The concentration of mind, the sacrifice of immediate inclination, the devotion of energy, involved in the fulfilment of the career of genius are often but imperfectly realized even by the friends of a famous man. The great poet, the great painter, the great musician, has his brilliant rewards. He has also his bitter disappointments, and one of the hardest of these (which is especially apportioned to the lot of the creative musician) is the discovery that, as in the case of other princes and sovereigns of the world, his path in life must be solitary. Brahms may sometimes have imagined he had reason for his impoliteness ; more frequently a gruff manner, an awkward joke, was the result of a constitutional want of presence of mind in trifling matters, which frequently caused him to be misunderstood. His real attitude is expressed in a note published after his death by Eduard Hanslick in the « Neue Freie Presse » article from which we have already more than once quoted. Hanslick had sent him a packet of letters to read, and had inadvertently enclosed in it one from a mutual friend which contained a comparison of Beethoven and Brahms. In it were these words :

« He is often offensively rough to his friends like Beethoven, and is as little able as Beethoven was to free himself entirely from the effects of a neglected education. »

Hanslick was very much upset on remembering what he had done, and immediately wrote to Brahms to throw himself on his mercy and beg his silence on the matter. The Master immediately answered :

« Dear Friend,

You need not be in the least uneasy. I scarcely read ... 's letter, but put it back at once into the cover, and only gently shook my head. I am not to say anything to him. Ah, dear friend, that happens, unfortunately, quite of itself in my case ! That one is taken even by old acquaintances and friends for something quite different from what one is (or, apparently, shows one's self in their eyes) is an old experience with me. I remember how I, startled and confounded, formerly kept silence in such cases ; now however, quite calmly and as a matter of course. That will sound harsh or severe to you, good and kind man - yet, I hope not to have wandered too far from Gœthe's saying, " Blessed is he who, without hate, shuts himself from the world. " »

**Tuesday, 22 December 1896 :**

« Frau » Celestina Truxa, whom Brahms amiably called his « house-hostess », traditionally set-up a Christmas tree in

his apartment, at the holiday season, and trimmed it for him. Gifts for her 2 boys were placed under it. She said : « The last Christmas, he was alive, I didn't have the heart to bother him with all that but he stopped me. “ How's this ? I find no Christmas tree in my rooms. ”, he asked abruptly. »

She assured him that there was so much to do, but that it would come.

« Of course I rushed-out, bought a tree, set it up as usual in there, and trimmed it. That Christmas Eve, one hardly noticed the terrible effort he made to cover-up his pain and exhaustion. Not for anything would he have cast a gloom over the children's party. So good and thoughtful was he ! »

Sometimes, sad sequels show us that our invitations and good wishes and intentions are extended not a month too soon.

Brahms' humor could, at times, be very facetious, and one Christmas incident frightened him as much as his 2 little victims. Nearly 50 years afterward, the now-elderly « Frau » Truxa explained it thusly to a visitor (who ultimately wrote a biography of the composer) :

« Just before Christmas, the first year I was at “ Karlsgasse ” Number 4, Brahms found my 2 little boys playing together. He pulled a grievously long face and said : “ Oh, children, I have some sad news for you. The Christ Child has influenza and can't bring you anything this Christmas. Being quite young, the boys took him literally and burst into the most hideous howls of grief and despair. The Master had not meant his little joke to have such a powerful effect, and was greatly embarrassed. He rushed to his rooms for candy. But even that was no good. Then, he came helplessly to me and confessed : “ Look here, ' Frau ' Truxa, now I don't know any more which way to turn. Can you not pacify the children ? Assure them that the Christ Child has already recovered. ” Which I did with great success. »

**Christmas 1896** : Brahms spent Christmas with the Fellingner family, whose photographic hobby has provided us with some of the last images of Brahms.

Brahms not only spent Christmas Eve with the Fellingners, but invited himself to dine with them also on **December 25, 26, and 27 (Friday, Saturday and Sunday)** . « Frau » Fellingner gave him a « secco » , a soft, short coat, as one of her Christmas presents, and it seemed a sort of comfort to him to put it on when he was at the house, where it was kept in readiness for his use, and to sit quietly in the family sitting-rooms without need of exerting himself. After dinner on the 27th, he raised his glass, saying, « To our meeting in the New Year » , but by-and-by added, pointing downwards, « But I shall soon be there. » . He dined again on New Year's Day with the same dear friends, whose joy it was to feel that they were privileged to afford him some solace in his weakness and suffering.

**Friday, 1 and Saturday, 2 January 1897** : The Joachim party returned to Vienna after a tour in the Austrian provinces, and gave 2 concluding concerts in the « Börsendorfer » Hall. Ill as he was, Brahms not only attended both concerts, but came on the morning of the second to Joachim's rooms at the « Hotel Tegethof » to listen to the rehearsal of his G major Quintet, which was in the evening's programme. He derived peculiar pleasure from hearing it. « That is

not a bad piece. » , he said, as though half ignoring that it was his own. The scene which took place after the performance of the work in the evening is remembered with emotion by those who took part in it. It was the final one in the friendship of Brahms and Joachim - a friendship as striking and interesting as any contained in the history of art. Its character may be suggested to the reader's imagination in a few words written to the author by the great musician whose love and recognition Brahms enjoyed from beginning to end of his career :

« He had great pleasure that evening in the G major Quintet. It was touching to see him come before the public to acknowledge the enthusiasm aroused by his work. The tears were in his eyes and he was very weak. The people cheered and cheered endlessly. »

**Sunday, 7 February 1897** : Brahms' state gradually changed for the worse. He dined with the Fellingings in the middle of the day and seemed excited and restless throughout the meal. When it was at an end, he intimated that he wished to be alone with Doctor and « Frau » Fellinging, and, retiring with them, began to speak about his affairs. He desired, he said, to make a new will, but dreaded the necessary formalities to such a degree that he knew not how to resolve to go through them. Would it not be possible to arrange his affairs quietly without having to speak about them with strangers ? Doctor Fellinging said it could be done, and that by the Austrian law things could be so managed that there need not even be witnesses. The Master remained for 4 hours (from 2 till 6 o'clock) with Doctor and « Frau » Fellinging, discussed his affairs in minute detail, and asked Doctor Fellinging to be his curator. He seemed relieved at the end of the conversation, and stayed on with the family, chatting about other topics.

...

It is a measure of the reliance Brahms had come to place on the Fellingings' advice in certain matters that he should have discussed with them at great length, on **Sunday, 7 February 1897**, the terms of a new will he wished to make ; at the same time, he asked Richard Fellinging to act as executor of his estate. Fellinging subsequently drew-up the will in accordance with Brahms's wishes and delivered it to him the following morning, explaining that if Brahms were to write it out himself and date and sign it, it would be recognized as valid under Austrian law. However, Brahms never did this, and only Fellinging's draft was found in his rooms after his death. (This account of what happened is taken from Florence May's Brahms biography and differs somewhat from that given in « Klänge um Brahms » ; but May states that she obtained her information directly from Maria Fellinging.) In the absence of a valid new will, Fellinging, who was duly appointed curator of the estate on **Monday, 5 April 1897**, became embroiled in legal disputes that continued for years after his own death in 1903 and were not finally settled until 1915.

**Monday, 8 February 1897** : In the morning, Doctor Fellinging took to the composer at his rooms, at « Karlsgasse Number 4 » , the copy of a will which he had drawn-out to meet Brahms' expressed desires, and explained to him that he had only to write it out himself, date and sign his name to it, and it would be valid according to Austrian law. Brahms, who was on the point of starting-out to his dinner, expressed himself as glad and relieved, and placed the paper in a drawer of his writing-table ; and Doctor Fellinging, pleased to have cheered him, returned home with the conviction that he would copy it without delay. The Master did not return to the subject at any future meeting with his friends, whilst they, believing the matter to have been finally settled, did not again allude to it.



**February** passed, and Brahms grew continually worse.

Every day, he spent a good deal of time in looking through and destroying old letters and other papers. « It is so sad. » , he would say, when one or other intimate friend called and found him thus employed, his stove filled with ashes.

...

Brahms was ready for another journey to Italy in the spring, but Josef Viktor Widmann was unable to accompany him. Brahms stayed in Vienna.

His final illness, which lasted more than a year, was characterized by jaundice. Although Brahms probably died of pancreatic cancer as researcher Mitchell Margolis concluded, he could also have had hepatic carcinoma. Because of Brahms' extensive lifelong alcohol consumption, he could have had cirrhosis of the liver as a precursor to pancreatic cancer. As quoted by Franz Hermann Franken and Karel B. Absolon :

« He looked terribly miserable. The thin white beard, the withered face, the yellow eyes, the flabby thin body, his clothes hanging like on a hanger. »

Brahms' doctor was quoted to have said :

« After a careful repeated examination and after observation for 3 weeks, I found considerable swelling of the liver with complete obstruction of the biliary ducts. »

Therefore, there is no question that Brahms could have had either primary or metastatic cancer of the liver.

According to Franken and Absolon, Brahms' symptoms and clinical course make a primary liver cancer less likely. The jaundice present from the start is not typical for a primary cancer of the liver. On the other hand, an early obstruction of the common bile duct is usual in cancer of the head of the pancreas. Then, according to Franken and Absolon, Brahms did not die in a hepatic coma, which with liver metastases is fairly common.

It is interesting to note that Brahms had a close friend, Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) , the famous abdominal surgeon. Brahms never excused Billroth for « ... cutting-out an autographed phrase from his A minor String Quartet (an innovative work dedicated to Billroth) . Billroth attached it to Brahms' photograph, framed and hung it in his office » .

Why Billroth did not operate on Brahms or was not consulted for Brahms' jaundice is a mystery to me. Whether Brahms' presumed obstructive sleep apnea had anything to do with his terminal illness, we will never know.

**Sunday, 7 March 1897** : Brahms is able to attend a performance of his 4th Symphony in E minor by the Vienna

Philharmonic conducted by Hans Richter at the « Verein-Saal » . There was a long and tumultuous ovation after each of the 4 movements. Also on the program, Antonín Dvořák's Violoncello Concerto played by Hugo Becker.

Going into the concert-room, Brahms met his old friend Josef Gänsbacher. He said to him :

« Ah, you have been so often to see me, and I cannot go to you, I am so suffering. »

Then, rousing himself a little, went on :

« You will hear a piece to-day, a piece by a man ! » (Dvořák's Concerto) .

The 4th Symphony had never become a favourite work in Vienna. Received with reserve on its first performance, it had not since gained much more from the general public of the city than the respect sure to be accorded there to an important work by Brahms. To-day, however, a storm of applause broke-out at the end of the first movement, not to be quieted until the composer, coming to the front of the « artists' » box in which he was seated, showed himself to the audience. The demonstration was renewed after the second and the third movements, and an extraordinary scene followed the conclusion of the work. The applauding, shouting house, its gaze riveted on the figure standing in the balcony, so familiar and, yet, in present aspect so strange, seemed unable to let him go. Tears ran down his cheeks as he stood there shrunken in form, with lined countenance, strained expression, white hair hanging lank ; and through the audience, there was a feeling as of a stifled sob, for each knew that they were saying farewell. Another outburst of applause and, yet, another ; one more acknowledgment from the Master ; and Brahms and his Vienna had parted for ever.

Brahms appeared after the concert at a luncheon-party given by « Excellenz » Nikolaus Dumba, a distinguished protector of art in Vienna. About 25 gentlemen, chiefly artists and art-lovers, and the ladies of the house were present. Brahms was placed near to several of his intimate friends (Friedrich Epstein, Ilse Conrat, Eduard Hanslick, Josef Gänsbacher, and Eusebius Mandyczewski) but he was not able to remain long. Within a few days, of this date his Ischl landlady received a postcard from him announcing his intention of going to Ischl earlier than usual, and desiring that his rooms might be got ready. The last Opera he heard was his friend Karl Goldmark's « Das Heimchen » ; he entered a theatre for the last time, on March 13th, sitting with Hanslick at the production of Johann Strauß' « Die Göttin der Vernunft » , but was obliged to leave at the end of the 2nd Act, and, much against his will, suffered a friend to accompany him home in a cab.

...

From this time, Brahms grew rapidly worse. He complained that he could no longer remember what he read, but wished for (Julius Hermann) Moritz Busch's « Bismarck » , the last book with which he tried to occupy himself. He soon became unable to take a walk even in a friend's care, and Doktor Viktor von Miller called every day in his carriage to take him to drive in the « Prater » , where the fresh air somewhat revived him. His strength of will remained phenomenal to the last. He dragged himself to a rehearsal of the Roeger-Soldat Quartet party held at «

Frau » Wittgenstein's less than a fortnight before his death, to hear Carl Maria von Weber's Clarinet Quintet with Richard Mühlfeld's co-operation. A performance of the work at Meiningen had particularly pleased him, and its inclusion in the Soldat programme was by his suggestion. In the same week, he paid his last visit to the Fabers, and, whilst ascending the staircase to their flat, nearly fainted with pain. « Herr » Faber revived him, and got him on to the drawing-room sofa, where he sat exhausted, his head on his breast. He was obliged to leave the family dinner-table of some other intimate friends, and, retiring to the next room, sank down in agony. « Frau » Fellingner was ill at this time, and unable to leave her room.

**Saturday, 13 March 1897** : Brahms attends the premiere of Johann Strauß's Operetta « Die Göttin der Vernunft » at the « Theater an der Wien » , but feels too ill to remain until the end. It is his last appearance in public.

**Friday, 19 March 1897** : Brahms' last call of inquiry at « Frau » Fellingner's house.

**Wednesday, 24 March 1897** : « Frau » Door (wife of pianist Anton Door) , who had always been a favourite with him, called to take him a bunch of violets. She was not admitted, but, observing Doctor von Miller's carriage before the house door, waited near the entrance, hoping to see Brahms pass-out. He came down in about half an hour leaning on his friend's arm, and, noticing « Frau » Door, gave her his hand. « I am very ill. » (« Mir geht es sehr schlecht. ») , he answered faintly to her inquiry. He did not go-out again. The next day, Ilse Conrat was admitted, and was sitting talking quietly with him, when Brahms, who was on the sofa smoking, suddenly dropped his head. « There must be something in it. » , he muttered. Conrat gently left the room without disturbing him.

**Thursday, 25 March 1897** : Brahms dines for the last time at the house of Viktor and Olga von Miller zu Aichholz.

**Friday, 26 March 1897** : Brahms is taken to his bed (which he will not leave again) in his Vienna home at « Karlsgasse Number 4 » .

The physician wrote word to « Frau » Fellingner that all chance of moving him was over. Brahms did not leave his bed again. His 2 or 3 closest friends were constantly at his side, whilst his landlady, « Frau » Celestina Truxa, was his faithful and devoted nurse. He spoke little during the last days, and was too weak to notice much of what was passing in his room.

**Monday, 29 March 1897** : Brahms managed to write a few pencil lines from his bed to « Frau » Caroline :

« D.M. For the sake of change, I am lying down a little and cannot, therefore, write comfortably. Otherwise, there is no alteration and as usual, I only need patience.

Affectionately, your Johannes. »

**Tuesday, 30 March 1897** : Heinrich Herzogenberg, who had just sent Brahms a copy of a Piano Quartet dedicated to him, sadly wrote to Joachim that their dear friend was approaching his end.

...

A few more weary days and nights, during which the beloved Master's life ebbed rapidly away.

Brahms's condition reached a critical stage on **Friday, 2 April 1897**. He had suffered a severe intestinal hemorrhage on **Thursday, 25 March** and, in the view of his doctor, Josef Breuer, any further bleeding could precipitate his death. When more such bleeding occurred on the morning of **Friday, 2 April**, Doctor Breuer asked Richard Fellingner to bring Doctor Hermann Nothnagel to Brahms's rooms for a consultation. This was done, however, more in conformity with a well-established practice followed in such situations rather than in the hope of developing a new treatment, for it was clear that the end was near.

Early morning of **Saturday, 3 April 1897**, Brahms had lost consciousness several times in the night and been restored, and had recognised Bertha Faber, who, calling at about 6 o'clock and performing some slight service for him, caught the whispered words, « Du bist ein guter Mensch. » (You are a kind man.) It is now nearly 9 o'clock, and Brahms has fallen asleep. Early messages of inquiry have been answered, and the doctor, who has been at hand during the night, has departed, promising soon to return. The day has begun with the bright spring promise that the Master was wont to greet year after year with joyful welcome ; the sun shines, a soft breeze enters through the open window ; outside, there is a twittering of birds. Near the bed sits the untiring nurse, noticing the signs of the fast-approaching end. A movement from the bed claims her assistance. Brahms has opened his eyes, and tries to raise himself. With « Frau » Truxa's help, he attains a sitting posture, and, looking at her, tries to speak. The lips move, but the tongue has lost its power, and he can only utter an inarticulate sound. Great tears roll down his cheeks ; a last sigh, a last breath, and he sinks back, supported by gentle hands, on to his pillow, rid of his sufferings, passed quietly to his rest.

### Death of Brahms

**Saturday, 3 April 1897** : The Austrian chemical industry magnate Doctor Viktor von Miller zu Aichholz (1845-1910) , whose house was in the vicinity, was the first of the friends to receive intelligence of the Master's decease. He hurried at once to « Karlsgasse » , and was immediately joined by Doctor Fellingner and « Herr » Faber. Many others called during the morning, some of whom were admitted to look at the still features, smoothed by the caress of death into an expression of noble serenity. A sketch was taken by the painter Ludwig Michalek, a mask by Professor Kundemann, a photograph by a private friend. The cause of death was certified, after a medical examination of the remains, as degeneration of the liver. The body, in evening dress, was placed the same afternoon in the coffin, and the room arranged with candelabra containing lighted candles ; on a crimson cushion were displayed the various orders of the deceased composer.

**Saturday, 3 April 1897** : Munich premiere of the 1892 version of Bruckner's 2nd Symphony performed at the « Kaim-Saal » by the « Orchester-Verein » - an amateur ensemble that plays works not yet programmed by professional Orchestras.

### The New York Times

## DEATH OF JOHANNES BRAHMS.

The Famous Pianist and Composer Dead in Vienna After a Long and Painful Illness.

VIENNA, April 3. - Johanne's Brahms, the well-known musical composer, is dead. He had been ill for a long time. He suffered from jaundice last Autumn and went to Karlsbad ; but the cure was ineffective, and he intended to go there again this Summer. The disease developed into cancer of the liver. The patient was able to read almost until he last, and was kept in ignorance of his serious condition.

**Sunday, 4 April 1897** : The arrival began of the flowers, wreaths, crosses, and other floral tributes that transformed the room into a temple of beauty.

On the afternoon, General-Secretary Koch, Doctor Fellingner, and « Herr » Faber met in the dwelling, and searched for a will in the presence of a notary, but only found one written in May, 1891, on 2 sheets of paper, the last of them signed and dated, in the form of a letter to Simrock. This, a legally competent document in its original form, except for the slight omission of the signature on the first sheet of paper (which, under the indisputable circumstances establishing the authenticity of the will, would not have rendered it invalid) had been returned to the Master at his own request by Simrock some time subsequent to the death of his sister, Elise Grund, in 1892. It was found, however, to have been marked by Brahms in pencil, some of the clauses lined-out, whilst notes in the margin indicated designed alterations. These were in exact correspondence with the wishes expressed by Brahms, in February, to Doctor and « Frau » Fellingner, and embodied by Doctor Fellingner in the paper he had delivered into the hands of the composer to be copied by himself and signed. Another search was made the next day, therefore, but it proved fruitless. Only Doctor Fellingner's manuscript was found, and it must be presumed that Brahms had put-off the dreaded task, from day to day, in the hope of feeling more capable of it, until his strength was no longer equal to its fulfilment. Nothing remained, therefore, but to apply to the proper authorities for the nomination of a curator in order that the necessary arrangements might be proceeded with. This was done ; Doctor Fellingner was appointed.

**Monday, 5 April 1897** : On the afternoon, the sitting-room which, with the small inner-room leading from it, contained Brahms library, manuscripts, and other possessions, was formally sealed. The coffin was closed the same day. Brahms will be buried at the Central Cemetery, as Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert.

### Brahms' funeral

**Saturday, 3 April 1897** : The evening papers announced that Johannes Brahms had breathed his last.

**Sunday, 4 April 1897** : The morning papers took-up the tale and Vienna's florists had cause to believe that they were having a good year. Perhaps, a measure of Brahms's more general popularity, or perhaps, reflecting the superiority of the spring flower supply, it took 5 wagons (as opposed to Anton Bruckner's 2) to carry the wreaths, which numbered more than 200. Unlike Bruckner, who had specified his last resting place in his will and caused his Viennese « cortège » to terminate at the railway station, Brahms left only an un-signed will and no written specifications for the disposal of his remains. This was probably a good thing for his Viennese friends, since, as reported in the « Neue Wiener

Tagblatt » , he had repeatedly expressed a wish to have his body cremated, and this was by no means the local custom. An excuse for a burial, however, was found.

It took this form :

« On the other hand, on the occasion of Billroth's funeral, pointing to the graves of Beethoven and Schubert, he uttered to Max Kalbeck :“ One would rest well here ! ” All these circumstances were discussed in his circle of friends ; finally, it was agreed that Brahms be committed to the ground. As soon as news of the Master's passing reached the Town Hall, the City of Vienna voted him a grave of honour. »

This was not the end of the matter, since it occasioned a lengthy discussion at a specially convened session of the directors of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » which, in lieu (rather than in spite) of relatives of the deceased, had undertaken to run the funeral. The result of this discussion, that the body would indeed be buried, was reported the next day in the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » .

The funeral itself was held on **Tuesday, April 6.**

Brahms began his last journey at half past 2, a half hour earlier than Bruckner had begun his. Sealed in a metal coffin and carried in a glass-walled hearse drawn (like Bruckner's) by 6 horses, the body was taken from « Karlsgasse » Number 4 to the nearby « Karlskirche » . Unlike Bruckner, however, Brahms, being nominally protestant, did not go in. Nevertheless, by making this the point where the already enormous « cortège » gathered and marshalled even more persons, the Viennese gave Brahms (and themselves) the next best thing to a service in the Karlskirche. The procession itself included people at the head of Vienna's arts administration, such as the General Intendant, Baron Josef von Bezecny, and Privy Councillor Nikolaus Dumba, composers such as Antonín Dvořák and (much lower down the list) Ignaz Brüll, Eduard Schütt, Richard Heuberger, Hans Köbller, and Anton Růkauf, just about every chamber ensemble, instrumentalist, and singer (including Anton Stermans, whose career was really blossoming, thanks to the « Vier ernste Gesänge ») numerous representatives of major musical institutions outside Vienna, people whose businesses had done well out of Brahms, such as the concert-agents Alexander Rosé and Emil Gutmann, a considerable contingent from the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , representatives of choral and literary Societies, and a larger contingent of journalists than that noted as being present at Bruckner's funeral : Max Kalbeck, Robert Hirschfeld, Theodor Helm, Gustav Schönaich, and Albert Kauders, not to forget Richard Heuberger who was already listed as a composer. This is not to say that journalists other than Helm were not also at Bruckner's funeral, nor that other journalists than those listed were not present at Brahms's. Their listing, however, seems to imply an « official » presence indicating a larger number of journalists who were close to Brahms, as well as giving some indication of the ranking of journalists in terms of perceived importance. Although the wreath sent by the city of Vienna sat atop the coffin along with the wreath from Brahms's native city of Hamburg, there was not the prominence of city council presence which had characterized Bruckner's funeral. This was very much the day of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , Brahms's « family » .

The « cortège » , led by a standard-bearer in old Spanish dress, made its way across the « Karlsplatz » to the «

Gesellschaft's » own buildings, where it made a station so that Brahms could receive the official farewell of the vice-president of the « Gesellschaft » , Doctor Heinrich Billing, and the director of the « Konzervatorium » , Johann Nepomuk Fuchs. The « Gesellschaft's » Choral Society, the « Singverein » , sang Brahms's « Fahr wohl » . After this station, the procession continued through the streets, past the « Hofoper » and, eventually, to the protestant church on « Dorotheergasse » , where government and city dignitaries, including a representative of the Education minister and the 2 vice-Mayors, the musician Otto Franz representing the Duke of Meiningen, Wilhelm Jahn, director of the Court Opera, and the composer Karl Goldmark, awaited its arrival. The papers reported that the church choir sang « Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath » by Felix Mendelssohn. This, however, is not correct ; the choir actually sang a Chorale, but the largely Roman Catholic congregation, not knowing it, did not join in. Pastor Zimmermann delivered a panegyric, the « Wiener Männergesangverein » sang Carl Gottlieb Reissiger's « Wanderers Nachtfahrt » , as was its custom on such occasions, and the procession began the final leg of its journey to the « Zentralfriedhof » .

The « cortège » arrived at the cemetery gate at half past 5. Here, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , once more, took charge of the proceedings. At the gate, its general secretary, Ludwig Koch, distributed wax candles to 12 men, including Max Kalbeck and Richard Heuberger, who conducted their revered Master to his final resting place, grave Number 27, opposite Ludwig van Beethoven and in the vicinity of Franz Schubert and Johann Herbeck. Brahms's pupil, Richard von Perger, had the last word and the funeral was ended. Subsequent memorials to Brahms will be performed during the concert season.

...

Vienna honoured Brahms, her adopted son, with a funeral procession worthy of royalty, with a host of friends, students, fellow-musicians, and his publisher carrying the funeral torches through the streets, followed by a large crowd of mourners. It began at his residence on the « Karlsplatz » (« Karlsgasse Number 4 ») and crossed the square to the buildings of the « Musikverein » , where members of the « Singverein » stood in the entrance to sing Brahms's own choral work, « Fahr wohl » . Then, it proceeded to the Lutheran Church in the narrow « Dorotheergasse » , near the city-centre, where Pastor Zimmerman conducted the funeral service, which included the reading of the scripture text on which Brahms had based the last movement of the « German Requiem » . Following this, the procession continued-out the long road to the « Zentralfriedhof » in Vienna's Simmering District. In 1888, a special tree-shaded segment, near the main-gate of this large landscaped cemetery, had been set apart for the city's notable musicians, and the remains of Beethoven and Schubert were moved there. There, Brahms also was laid to rest, to be joined, 2 years later, by his old friend Johann Strauß junior, Vienna's beloved « Waltz King » , who is buried next to him. It is a hallowed spot for present-day music-lovers, as the floral offerings on the graves of the many « Musiker » interred there eloquently attest.

...

As soon as the Master's death became known, the offer of an honorary grave was made by the city of Vienna. There was no hesitation in accepting it, but a deliberation was held as to whether the remains should be taken direct to the Central « Friedhof » or should be cremated at Gotha, according to directions contained in the letter to Simrock,

and the ashes only deposited in Vienna. The remembrance of a few words dropped by Brahms himself when speaking of the « sacred spot » which contains the graves of Beethoven and Schubert decided the point. It was felt that he would have chosen to rest in the place selected for him : the particular garden of the « Friedhof » in which the remains of Beethoven and Schubert lie, and which is sacred also to the memory of Mozart.

**Tuesday, 6 April 1897** : « All musical Vienna accompanied the great dead to the grave on the afternoon and a stranger not knowing the man's greatness might have measured it by the number of prominent artists mingling in the great assemblage of the funeral procession, by the celebrated men and women who came from afar to show the last honour to Brahms. »

Till, the hour appointed for the « commencement » of the ceremony, deputations continued to arrive, from various parts of Europe, from the numerous Societies of which the composer had been an honorary member, and telegrams and messages to pour in. At 1 o'clock, a deputation from the Hamburg Senate was admitted to the house to lay a magnificent wreath on the coffin, side by side with that from the Corporation of Vienna.

Wreaths had been sent by :

The Queen of Hanover ; the Duke of Cumberland ; the Princess Marie of Hanover ; Duke George of Saxe-Meiningen ; the Princess Marie of Saxe-Meiningen ; Helene, Baroness von Heldburg ; and innumerable private friends known and unknown to Brahms.

By the Society of Plastic Arts ; Committee of the Opera ; « Gesellschaft » , and other Societies of Vienna ; by the Philharmonic Society ; « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » ; Cecilia Society of Hamburg ; by the Royal Academy of Arts, Berlin.

By the various musical Societies of :

Berlin ; Leipzig ; Budapest ; Cologne ; Salzburg ; Mannheim ; Frankfurt ; Jena ; Laubach ; Lemberg ; Graz ; St. Petersburg ; Brussels ; Amsterdam ; Cambridge ; Basle ; Zürich ; and many other towns. 6 cars scarcely sufficed to hold them.

The arrangements of the public funeral with which the city of Vienna honoured the remains of the great composer formed a singular contrast to the simplicity which had marked the daily habits of his life. Details may be read in the journals of the time. The « cortège » , followed by the long train of mourners, started from « Karlsgasse » about half-past 2, and, proceeding to the building of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , halted before the principal entrance, where arrangements had been made for a short ceremony, consisting of an address by « Herr Direktor » J. Robert Fuchs, of the Conservatory, and the singing of Brahms' part-song « Fahr'wohl » , for unaccompanied chorus, under the direction of Richard von Perger, conductor of the « Singverein » . The procession then passed on to the Evangelical Church on « Dorotheenstrasse » , where the clergy and choir and several of the city dignitaries were assembled. After the coffin had been carried into the church, the choir sang Felix Mendelssohn's « Es ist bestimmt in Gottes' Rath » (« Volkslied » , Opus 47, No. 4) . The funeral address was delivered by Doctor von Zimmermann, who



especially dwelt on the inspiration derived by the deceased composer's art from the pages of the Bible, on his love for children and the child-like spirit, and on his sympathy with distress.

« Wherever he could bring support to the unknown sufferer, the laborious striver, the helpless, the dying, there, in the man who, in his own habits, was frugal to the verge of parsimony, was found the most eager benefactor. The Master Johannes Brahms is not dead. His spirit has conquered death and has entered into the light and blessed world of the pure harmonies of peace. »

At the entrance to the « Zentralfriedhof » , the coffin was surrounded by personal friends of the deceased composer, carrying lighted wind-torches, and was accompanied by them to the grave.

They were :

Ignaz Brüll ; Antonín Dvořák ; Arthur Faber ; Doctor Richard Fellingner ; Robert Fuchs ; Richard Heuberger ; Max Kalbeck ; Ludwig Koch ; Eusebius Mandyczewski ; Doctor Viktor Ritter von Miller-Aichholz ; Richard von Perger.

At the grave-side, Doctor von Perger spoke a few words of last farewell :

« This sacred place is now to receive the mortal remains of our great contemporary. He who has so enriched and blessed the whole world, what has he been to us musicians ! In the light which streamed from his creative genius, his penetrating art comprehension, we were able to look-up confidently to his incomparable Mastership, to his lofty, unbending artistic intelligence. Amid the countless paths and by-paths which to-day intersect the domain of musical art, we were guided by the torch held high and secure by the hand of her first priest. He has met his worthy spiritual brothers, indeed, for the first time to-day in this resting-place, but he was always a simple, sympathetic friend to his living colleagues in art, in spite of the great distance which raised him above them ; always a helper of uprising talent, a sure and faithful friend in adversity and suffering ... Here, thou restest now, thou blessed of heaven, in this vast, awful world-solitude ; clouds of light float above thee and that of thee which is immortal floats with them through eternal spaces. " Ade Meister Johannes, fahr'wohl, fahr'wohl. " »

Joseph Joachim was in England at the time of Brahms' death, fulfilling long-contracted engagements. Julius Stockhausen, now a man of 73, and not in strong health, was at this period unequal to a hurried and distressing journey from Frankfurt to Vienna.

Memorial performances were given by the « Cecilia Verein, Hamburg » , on April 5th, the day preceding the funeral ; by the « Wiener Gesellschaft » on the 11th ; by the « Beethoven-Haus Verein, Bonn » , in May ; by the Royal High-School for Music, Berlin, in the summer ; and by innumerable musical Societies of Europe and America, during the season 1897-1898. In nearly all instances, the « German Requiem » formed part of such concerts as were orchestral.

A clause in Brahms' will provided that any of his unpublished works found in his rooms after death should be the property of Simrock. There was one Opus only : the 11 Organ Preludes. With them were the arrangements, as

pianoforte duets, of Joachim's 2 Overtures. All 3 works were published in 1902, a delay of 5 years having been caused by difficulties that arose in connection with the will.

Apart from detail, these may be generally stated as follows :

Brahms is said to have left, besides his library, which included valuable autograph musical manuscripts and letters, and a very few personal possessions, about £ 20,000 in investments. In the original will, 3 Societies (the « Liszt Pensions-Verein » of Hamburg ; the « Czerny Verein » ; and the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » of Vienna) were named as the inheritors, subject to the payment of a legacy to the composer's landlady, « Frau » Celestina Truxa, and of 2 life-annuities - one to his step-mother, « Frau » Caroline Brahms, to be continued after her death to her son, Fritz Schnack, for his life ; the other to Brahms' sister, Elise Grund. These would practically account for the time being for the income arising from the investments.

(The Brahms collection in the Archive of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » is declared part of Unesco World Cultural Heritage in 2005.)

In the absence of any legally valid document, about 20 cousins of various degrees of kinship came forward, in answer to advertisements in the newspapers, as claimants to the property. Litigation ensued, and was protracted through several years. The original process and the first appeal were determined in favour of the Societies ; the second appeal reversed these decisions, and declared the blood relations to be the heirs. To prevent the further expense and delay of another appeal, a compromise was now arrived at by the contending parties, and the general results of the will, the law-processes, and the compromise have been that the blood relations have been recognised as the heirs to all but the library, which is now in the possession of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » ; that « Frau » Truxa's legacy has been paid ; and that certain sums accepted by the Societies, by which they will ultimately benefit, have been invested, and the income arising from them secured for the payment of the life-annuity to « Herr » Schnack. (« Frau » Caroline Brahms died in the spring of 1902.)

Projects for the erection of memorials to the Master in Hamburg, Vienna, and Meiningen, were set on foot soon after his death. The first to be completed has been that now standing in the « English Garden » at Meiningen, the unveiling of which was made the occasion of a Memorial Festival, in October of 1899. The bust of the Master which it displays is the work of Professor Adolf von Hildebrandt.

The memorial erected at the grave by the heirs, after the final settlement of the property, designed and executed by sculptor « Fräulein » Ilse Conrat, was unveiled on May 7, 1903, the 70th anniversary of Brahms' birth. It consists of a marble bust and pedestal in front of a marble headstone, on which are allegorical figures in bas-relief. (The monument is by Victor Horta.)

Memorial tablets have been placed by the respective municipalities on the houses in which Brahms lived in Vienna, Ischl, and Thun, and the garden of the house at Mürz Zuschlag has been bought by the town and made into a music-garden. A bronze bust of the Master by « Frau » Doctor Fellinger stands in the musicians' pavilion.

A « Brahms-Haus » has been erected by Doctor von Miller-Aichholz in his private grounds at Gmünden, the rooms of which are constructed to the exact dimensions of those occupied by Brahms in Ischl, and furnished with the Ischl furniture as it used to stand. They contain an interesting collection of musical and other autographs of the Master, photographs, programmes, and other mementos.

A Brahms Society has been formed in Vienna for the purpose of collecting and preserving all available mementos in a special museum.

### Doctor Ludwig Boër

The Viennese Doctor Ludwig Boër (1863-1942 ?) frequently treated singers from the « Hofoper » - although he is not mentioned in the official Opera House personnel lists. In addition, he was Gustav Mahler's personal physician and friend.

### Mahler : 2 very bad months

**Wednesday, 19 May 1897** : Mahler made a short trip to Dresden to attend an Opera by Anton Ruckauf, « Die Rosenthalerin » , which was never staged in Vienna. Mahler caught a cold.

**Friday, 21 May 1897** : The infection gradually settled in his throat, forcing him to stay in bed for several days.

**Sunday, 30 May 1897** : Mahler felt worse. The doctor found a second abscess in his throat. A specialist was summoned, and decided to lance it immediately. The pain was so great after the operation that Mahler could not eat or even swallow. That evening, he received an injection of morphine to relieve the pain. He is ordered to stay in bed for 3 days.

**Friday, 11 June 1897** : In Vienna, Mahler is victim of a severe attack of pharyngitis. An abscess in the throat is removed. First week of high-fever. Mahler needs to rest in bed.

Justine Mahler, her sister Emma Marie, Natalie Bauer-Lechner and Elise (the cook) had taken a small house (Villa) for the summer in the town of Kitzbühel, in Tirol, about 800 metres above sea-level. They bathe in the nearby Schwarzsee (Black Lake) . The owner is Doctor Julius Hochenegg (1859-1940) .

Villa Hochenegg was « the most attractive yet of all our summer places » . The view was superb and the climate excellent.

**Monday, 14 June 1897** : Mahler goes on sick leave. He joins his sisters at the Villa Hochenegg.

Gustav Mahler wrote to the Austrian Opera singer (mezzo-soprano) Rosa Papier-Paumgartner about the site :

« We live entirely cut-off from the world. Our little house is so isolated and peaceful on the edge of the forest, and surrounded by meadows, etc. »

### Doctor Julius Hochenegg

The surgeon Doctor Julius Hochenegg was born on 2 August 1859 in Vienna to a family from Tyrol, and died on 11 May 1940 in Vienna, aged 80. He was buried on 15 May 1940 at the Grinzing Cemetery, near Vienna (Grave 3-22) .

Address : Number 4 « Mukenthalerweg » ,Vienna.

Brother of Carl Hochenegg. Julius was educated in Vienna and obtained his doctorate in 1884. He was an apprentice surgeon under Doctor Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) and, from 1886 to 1890, an assistant at the first surgical clinic under Doctor Eduard Albert (1841-1900) . He was habilitated for surgery in 1889 and, in 1891, became head of the department (« Abteilungsvorstand ») at the « Wiener Allgemeine Poliklinik » . In 1894, he was appointed University professor. He was appointed full-professor (« Professor ordinarius ») in 1904.

Doctor Hochenegg was director of the Löw Sanatorium at the time of Gustav Mahler's operation in June 1901.

In 1904, he was at the head of the 2nd Surgical Department of the Vienna General Hospital (University of Vienna) .

From 1904, he improved cancer surgery, founded a radiology department and together with Baron Anton von Eiselsberg established the casualty ward in the first Surgical Department of the Vienna General Hospital.

At the time of his retirement in 1920, Doctor Hochenegg was also at the head of the 2nd Surgical Department of the Vienna General Hospital.

On Thursday, 12 November 1914, his professional career peaked when he was raised to the nobility by Emperor Franz-Josef, becoming Julius von Hochenegg.

On Sunday, 9 May 1915, his only son was killed on the Russian front.

Julius Hochenegg's reputation reached across the Atlantic. This is from « The New York Times » dated 10 May 1908 :

Special Cable, News Section, Page C1, « The New York Times » (245 words) .

May 10, 1908, Sunday.

### ACROMEGALY CURED

Successful Operation Performed by Professor Hochenegg of Vienna.

Berlin, May 9 (Saturday) .

American surgeons, who by the reluctant consent of their European « confrères » are now ranked at the top of their profession, will be interested in the brilliant achievement reported at last week's surgical congress in Berlin by Professor Hochenegg of Vienna.

The professor told how he operated successfully in a case of acromegaly, a disease which causes strange and enormous enlargements of the bones of the hands, feet, and face. The patient on whom the operation was performed was a young girl. She showed the usual symptoms of brain tumours and a marked disturbance of vision. The diagnosis having been confirmed by means of X-rays, Professor Hochenegg moved the girl's nose to one side, cut through the thin floor of the skull, and then, removed the tumour from the hypophysis or gland-like body that is suspended like a cherry from the base of the brain.

The difficulty in reaching the acromegalian tumour is such that surgeons have been rather shy of operating for the disease. It is said too, that none of the operations reported prior to last week was successful ; but the Vienna girl left the hospital 6 weeks after Professor Hochenegg's operation fully-restored to health.

Acromegaly is not infrequently encountered in the United States, but heretofore, the Germans say, it has baffled American surgical skill.

...

Born as the son of a well-to-do lawyer in Vienna, Julius von Hochenegg had a happy childhood. At the age of 16, a chest complaint compelled him to finish his humanistic education in Bozen (Bolzano) in the South Tyrol. After a short interval as a law student, he changed to medicine and qualified in Vienna in 1884, having worked as demonstrator in anatomy in 1882-1883 under Carl Langer, and as a clerk in medicine under Heinrich von Bamberger. Next, he spent a year working at the Institute of Morbid Anatomy under Hans Kundrat and 6 months as a surgical trainee under the gynæcologist Gustav A. Braun (1829-1911) . Eventually, he became surgical trainee to Eduard Albert ; becoming second in 1886, and only 1 month later first assistant to Albert. In 1891, he became head of the surgical department of the Policlinic and administration director of the whole institution. In 1904, Hochenegg succeeded Theodor Billroth's pupil Gussenberger and became a colleague of Anton von Eiselsberg. He had become « Privat-docent » in 1889, Professor « extraordinarius » in 1894 and received the title of an « ordinary » Professor in 1901. He continued the tradition of his teacher Albert in spreading the practical knowledge of surgery not only among surgeons, but also for the need of the general practitioner. A brilliant speaker and instructor, averse to speculation, he became a most popular and successful surgeon, with an enormous private practice, although he was a somewhat cantankerous character. In 1908, he started an urological unit within his clinic. In 1909, he founded, with von Eiselsberg and Ernst Fuchs, the accident units, but an attempt to achieve the same for orthopædic surgery did not meet with the same success.

...

Julius von Hochenegg, österreichischer Mediziner : geboren 2. August 1859 in Wien ; gestorben 11. Mai 1940 ebenda.

Hochenegg studierte in Wien und schloß das Medizinstudium mit der Promotion 1884 ab, 1889 wurde er Dozent für Chirurgie, 1891 Abteilungsvorstand an der Allgemeinen Poliklinik, 1894 Universitätsprofessor für Chirurgie an der Universität Wien und 1904 Vorstand der dortigen II. Chirurgischen Klinik.

Julius Hochenegg wurde am 12. November 1914 von Kaiser Franz-Josef in den Adelsstand erhoben. Er verbesserte die Krebschirurgie, errichtete ein Röntgeninstitut und gründete 1909 mit Anton Eiselsberg die I. Unfallstationen der Welt an der I. und II. Universität-Klinik für Chirurgie im Allgemeinen Krankenhaus Wien. Mit den Ärzten Anton Eiselsberg, Richard Paltauf, Alexander Fränkel, Ludwig Teleky und Josef Winter gründete er am 20. Dezember 1910 die Kaiserlich und Königlich österreichische Gesellschaft für Erforschung und Bekämpfung der Krebskrankheit, die Vorläuferorganisation der Österreichische Krebshilfe.

Im Jahr 1960 wurde in Wien Döbling (19. Bezirk) die Hocheneggasse nach ihm benannt.

Julius Hochenegg stammte aus einer Tiroler Familie. Seine Eltern waren der Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat Johann Baptist Hochenegg (1814-1899) und dessen Ehefrau Cäcilie von Winiwarter (1831-1862). Der Professor Carl Hochenegg (1860-1942) war sein Bruder.

Julius Hochenegg heiratete 1890 in Wien Julie Mauthner von Mauthstein (1863-1942) , die Tochter des Juristen Wilhelm Mauthner von Mauthstein. Sein Sohn starb als Soldat, seine Tochter Johanna heiratete den Professor der Chirurgie Fritz Kaspar (1885-1943) .

...

Julius Hochenegg (1914 von) : geboren 2. August 1859 Wien ; gestorben 11. Mai 1940 Wien 9, Pelikangasse 15 (Grinzinger Friedhof) , Chirurg, Gattin (1890) Julie Mauthner von Mauthstein (1863-1942) , Bruder des Carl Hochenegg, Sohn eines Advokaten. Besuchte das Schottengymnasium und war nach Studium an der Universität Wien (Doktor medicinae universae 1884) zuerst Operationszögling bei Theodor Billroth an der II. Chirurgischen Universitäts-Klinik (Allgemeines Krankenhaus) , dann bei Carl Braun an der I. Universitäts-Frauenklinik und schließlich bei Eduard Albert an der I. Chirurgischen Universitäts-Klinik, wo er 1886 Assistent wurde.

1889 habilitierte er sich, mußte jedoch (entsprechend den damaligen Vorschriften) nach seiner Eheschließung (1890) die Klinik verlassen und wurde 1891 zum Vorstand der II. Chirurgischen Abteilung an der Wiener Allgemeine Poliklinik bestellt (1894 oder andere Professor, 1901 titel o. Professor) , als deren Direktor er später fungierte. 1904 übernahm er nach dem Tod von Carl Gussenbauer als o. Professor die II. Chirurgische Universitäts-Klinik und leitete diese bis 1930. 1909 gründete er mit Alberts Nachfolger Anton von Eiselsberg die Unfallstationen der beiden chirurgischen Universitäts-Kliniken im Allgemeines Krankenhaus, wodurch der institutionelle Grundstein zur akademischen Entwicklung der Unfallchirurgie als neuer Spezialdisziplin gelegt war. Ebenso schuf Hochenegg 1908 an seiner Klinik eine eigene urologische Abteilung. Sein hauptsächliches Arbeitsgebiet war die Abdominalchirurgie, wobei er vor allem bei

Dickdarmkarzinomen neue operative Wege beschritt. Sein besonderes Interesse für Diagnostik und Therapie der Krebserkrankungen führte ihn 1909 zur Gründung der « Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung und Bekämpfung der Krebskrankheit » , die sich auch der sozialen Probleme Krebskranker annahm.

Hochenegg war ein außerordentlich geschätzter Lehrer, der unter anderem Paul Albrecht, Lorenz Böhler, Fritz Demmer, Hans Finsterer und Felix Mandl zu seinen Schülern zählte. Zu seinen zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen gehört auch sein « Lehrbuch der speziellen Chirurgie » (2 Bände : 1906-1909 ; 1918-1927) .

Hocheneggasse.

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Julius Hochenegg hörte zunächst juristische Vorlesungen, wandte sich aber bald der Medizin zu. 1884 wurde er zum doctor medicinæ in Wien promoviert. Noch als Student arbeitete er unter Karl Langer (Anatomie) , Heinrich von Bamberger und Carl Wilhelm Hermann Nothnagel (innere Medizin) , Hans Kundrat (pathologische Anatomie) und Theodor Billroth (II. Chirurgischen Klinik) . Nach seiner Promotion war er Operationszögling in der I. Frauenklinik unter Carl Braun, dann in der I. Chirurgischen Klinik unter Eduard Albert. 1889 wurde er Dozent, 1891 mußte er (wie damals üblich) wegen seiner Eheschließung die Klinik verlassen ; er übernahm 1892 die Leitung der Chirurgischen Abteilung der allgemeinen Poliklinik, 1894 erhielt er den Titel eines außerordentlichen, 1901 den eines ordentlichen Professors, 1904 wurde er zum Vorstand der II Chirurgischen Universitäts-Klinik als Nachfolger Gussenbauers ernannt (1930 emeritiert) .

Hochenegg war ein hervorragender Operateur und ein ausgezeichnete Diagnostiker. Noch als Assistent machte er die I. Choledochotomie. 1890 führte er die I. erfolgreiche Leberresektion wegen eines auf die Leber übergreifenden Gallenblasenkarzinoms durch. Er entfernte 1891 eine durch einen Unfall gequetschte Niere mit Erfolg. Im gleichen Jahr glückte ihm anlässlich einer Kehlkopfxstirpation eine Ösophagoplastik. Eine traumatische Epilepsie vermochte er 1892 durch Exzision der lädierten Rindenpartie zu heilen. Sein Hauptarbeitsgebiet aber war die Dickdarmchirurgie. Er entwickelte die von Salzer im Tierversuch erprobte bilaterale Darmausschaltung bei inoperablen Zoekumtumoren nach vorangegangener Ileokolostomie, um das Karzinom, respektive den entzündlichen Prozeß einer direkten lokalen Therapie zugänglich zu machen und eventuell nach Abklingen der entzündlichen Begleiterscheinungen doch noch operieren zu können. 1888 publizierte er seine Modifikation der 1885 von Kraske angegebenen, aber bis dahin wenig geübten Mastdarmresektion : Er empfahl eine bessere Schnittführung, erleichterte den Zugang durch Entfernung des Steißbeines und eines Teiles des Kreuzbeines, schonte den Schließmuskel nur beim tiefsitzenden Karzinom nicht und trat für die primäre zirkuläre Darmnaht ein. Er zog einen « Anus sacralis » dem von Kraske empfohlenen Anus perinealis vor. 1890 gab er die Durchzugsmethode an, um den Sphinkter zu erhalten, die Gefahr einer Nahtdehiszenz und einer Infektion zu verringern. 1894 machte Hochenegg zum I. Male eine zweizeitige Dickdarmresektion. Eine minutiöse Nachbehandlung sicherte seine Erfolge. Gemeinsam mit Anton von Eiselsberg gründete er zwei den chirurgischen Kliniken angegliederte Unfallstationen, in denen alternierend die Verletzten versorgt wurden. Zu seinen Schülern zählten Paul Albrecht, Lorenz Böhler, Fritz Demmer, Adolf Exner, Hans Finsterer, K. Haslinger, H. Heyrovsky, Fritz Kaspar, H. Lehmann, H. Lorenz, Felix Mandl, L. von Schmarda und H. Steindl.

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Julius von Hochenegg, Chirurg. Bruder des Vorigen. Studiert an der Universität Wien Medizin, 1884 Doktor der Medizin Nachher Operationszögling bei Theodor Billroth sowie 1886-1890 Assistent an der I. chirurgischen Klinik unter Eduard Albert. 1889 Privat Dozent für Chirurgie an der Universität Wien, 1891 Abteilungsvorstand an der Wiener allgemeinen Poliklinik, 1894 andere Professor und nach Alberts Tod mit der Supplierung der I. chirurgischen Klinik betraut, 1904 o. Professor und als Nachfolger Billroths Vorstand der II. chirurgischen Klinik. Er verbesserte durch Um- und Zubauten die räumlich sehr mangelhafte Klinik, baute Operations-Säle, errichtete ein Röntgeninst, und gründete gemeinsam mit Anton von Eiselsberg die Unfallstation. 1930 im Ruhestand, 1914 nob. Hochenegg, ein hervorragender Lehrer und glänzender Operateur, erwarb sich große Verdienste um die Entwicklung der Krebschirurgie, der er vollkommen neue, erfolgreiche Wege erschloß. Er verfaßte zahlreiche Abhandlung über Leber-, Darm- und Nierenchirurgie und über die Entstehung bösartiger Geschwülste (Hocheneggsches Symptom bei Dickdarmentosen) . Zu seinen Schülern gehörten und andere Lorenz Böhler, Fritz Demmer, Hans Finsterer, Felix Mandl und Fritz Kaspar.

### Genealogie

Vater : Johann Baptist (1814-1899) , Doktor der Rechtswissenschaften, Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat, Sohn des Hausbes. Alois in Graz und des Anna Wiesinger ; Mutter : Cäcilie (1831-1862) , Tochter des Joseph von Winiwarter (1780-1848) , Professor der Rechte (siehe Stintzing-Landsberg) , und des Franziska Holfeld ; Bruder : Carl ; verheiratet Wien 1890 Julie (1863-1942) , Tochter des Doktor der Rechtswissenschaften Wilhelm Mauthner von Mauthstein, Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat und Gemeinderat in Wien, und des Josephine Marschall ; Gv. des Ehefrau Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner von Mauthstein (1806-1858) , Professor der Medizin, Gründer der I. Wiener Kinderspitale ; 1 Sohn, 1 Tochter Johanna (verheiratet Fritz Kaspar, 1885-1943, Professor der Chirurgie) .

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**Thursday, 17 June 1897** : An epidemic of scarlet fever broke-out in Kitzbühel. The group decided to abandon the little paradise, especially since Mahler was still very weak. They stopped briefly in Innsbruck before finding a most attractive house, called the Villa Zirmheim in Steinach-am-Brenner, near the « Kurpark » (Spa) . They spend the last 10 days of June there.

**Wednesday, 30 June 1897** : Mahler is victim of a bicycle accident on his way from Gries to Innsbruck.

**Wednesday, 30 June 1897 to Thursday, 15 July 1897** : Convalescence of Mahler after his bicycle accident. His health improved.

**Until Thursday, 1 July 1897** : They had to stay in Innsbruck because the Villa Zirmheim had been booked by a Munich family.

**Mahler : Second operation for hemorrhoids**



**Monday, 6 June 1898** : Mahler, aged 41, is operated for hemorrhoids at the « Rudolfinerhaus » located in the District of Döbling. He takes a leave.

**Friday, 1 July 1898** : Summer vacation at the Villa Artmann in Vahrn. Mahler recovers from the operation. Composition of Lied 8 (« Lied des Verfolgten im Turm ») and 9 (« Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen ») from « Des knaben Wunderhorn » .

### Mahler : Third operation for hemorrhoids

**Sunday, 24 February 1901** :

In the afternoon, Mahler conducts the 6th Philharmonic subscription-concert at the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » .

Programme :

Works of Carl Maria von Weber, Antonín Dvořák, and Bruckner's 5th Symphony (with cuts) .

In the evening, he conducts Mozart's « Die Zauberflöte » at the « Hofoper » .

**Monday, 25 February 1901** : Mahler suffers a severe intestinal hæmorrhage in the evening. The prominent surgeon Doctor Julius Hochenegg (1859-1940) is called upon and manages to stanch the serious bleeding. Hochenegg told him if he would have been there a half hour later, it would have been fatal. The operation was successful.

...

Mahler awakes in the middle of the night, his sheets drenched in blood from a burst hemorrhoid. Justine calls a doctor who puts him in an ice-water bath. When the bleeding persists, he summons a surgeon who, delayed in traffic, tells the patient that « half an hour later, would have been too late » . Professor Julius von Hochenegg is a pupil of Professor Theodor Billroth, a pioneer of abdominal surgery and a friend of Johannes Brahms. He has a rectal ulcer named after him, and students from all over the world.

Hochenegg subjects Mahler to an excruciating procedure, inserting a large instrument into his rectum and probing around until the polyp is found and tied-off. Surgeon and patient are soiled with blood and fecal mucus.

Mahler tells Richard Strauß that he lost 2 and a half litres of blood :

« Hovering on the border between life and death, I wondered whether it would not be better to have done with it at once, since everything must come to that in the end. Beside, the prospect of dying did not frighten me in the least ... and to return to life seemed almost a nuisance. »

He adds :

« I thought my last hour had come. »

How true is that ? Death from hemorrhoids is unusual, and Hochenegg may be scaring him. Nevertheless, Mahler seems to recognize that this is a cross-roads in his life, a moment to assess past achievement and plan a different future. He agrees to go under the knife and is gratified to hear that Emperor Franz-Josef has written to Hochenegg, commanding him to take good care of his Opera director. Prince Montenuovo raises Mahler's salary by 16 % and doubles his expenses allowance.

**Monday, 4 March 1901** : Heartened, Mahler undergoes surgery and, during convalescence, reads a new Bach edition.

He tells Natalie Bauer-Lechner :

« Bach reminds me of those grave-stones that show the dead sleeping with hands folded-over their remains. They seem to hold on to life, even beyond this existence. »

His sepulchral imagery resembles that of the hallucinations of the recovery room, where patients are kept after general anesthesia, a place where the boundaries of life and death can blur in a patient's mind.

**Wednesday, 20 March to Saturday, 6 April 1901** : Mahler goes in convalesce for 2 weeks at a nursing home in Abbazia with the help of his sister Justine and Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

**Early April 1901** : After his return in Vienna, Mahler still experiences recurring symptoms. He is also tired of the complaints which comes from the Orchestra. He decides to cancel the 2 remaining Philharmonic concerts and withdraws his candidacy as conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic for the next season.

**Tuesday, 28 May 1901** : At the board-meeting of the Vienna Philharmonic, the « mediocre » Josef Hellmesberger junior is appointed to succeed the resigning Mahler.

In 3 seasons, Mahler conducted 80 concert including those of relatively unknown composers such as Hermann Gøetz, Wilhelm Kienzl and the Italian Lorenzo Perosi.

**Mahler : Fourth operation for hemorrhoids**

**Tuesday, 4 June 1901** : Doctor Julius Hochenegg must practice at the Løw Sanatorium a new operation to treat Mahler's hemorrhoids.

**Vienna : Løw Sanatorium**

The Lœw Sanatorium is located at Number 20 on « Mariannengasse », in the 9th District - at 15 minutes walk from the Vienna « Hofoper ». It was the biggest private hospital in Vienna.

In their study of Ludwig Wittgenstein's time in Vienna (« Wittgenstein in Vienna : A Biographical Excursion through the City and its History », Vienna and New York), Allan Janik and Hans Veigl give an account of the philosopher's time at the Sanatorium and its « milieu » :

« From the 18th to the 28th of July 1906, “ Ludwig Wittgenstein, student, 17 years old, single ” maintained a legal residence at “ Mariannengasse ” Number 20. The 4 story building still exists. It then stood on grounds enclosing 11,900 square-meters and was, at the time, the largest private hospital in the capital. It had been founded by Doctor Heinrich Lœw in 1859 in the Leopoldstadt, taken-over by his son, Anton (1847-1907), and moved to the 9th District in the vicinity of the General Hospital and the Polyclinic in 1882. In 1894 and 1906, it had been expanded by the architect, Leopold Schöne. It was considered to be one of the leading private hospitals for surgery. From 1907, it was operated under the name “ Wiener Sanatorium ”. It would be forcibly closed in 1939.

Ludwig Wittgenstein landed in the institution shortly after completing his studies at the Linz “ Realschule ”, and before enrolling at the Technical University in Charlottenburg (Berlin). Here, he would undergo his first of a series of hernia operations. Thus, he speaks of such an operation having taken place in July of the previous year in a letter to Bertrand Russell in June 1913. This malady would free him from the obligation of military service. So, he would not have to rally to the flag in 1914.

The Lœw Sanatorium was a place where the well-to-do frequently went to spend their waning days. Private hospitals were part of the elegant life style of the patrician class at that time. They, too, were a part of a life of fashionable luxury. The popular actors, Alexander Girardi and Hansi Niese, the editor of the “ Neues Wiener Tagblatt ” and father of Bertha Zuckerkandl, Moriz Szeps, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party, Viktor Adler, the composer and conductor, Gustav Mahler, passed on here. The celebrated “ Burgtheater ” actor, Josef Kainz did as well :

“ Josef Kainz passed-on in this building in the former Lœw Sanatorium ”, reads the memorial plaque.

Heinrich Benedikt's father was operated upon here. Arthur Schnitzler mentions the place in his note-books in connection with the illness of his wife Olga in 1897, in which he also reports of spending his vacation together with Anton Lœw in Welsberg, in 1907. The 60 year old director of the Sanatorium would himself pass-away shortly thereafter.

At the beginning of August 1918, the pregnant Alma Mahler would be brought to Lœw's Sanatorium, the very place where her husband, Gustav Mahler, had died in May 1911. Franz Werfel would learn that the life of his girl-friend swung in the balance ; his unborn child was also given little chance of surviving. In his last novel that he would begin in his Santa-Barbara exile and finish a few scant days before his death on the 26th of August 1945, “ Star of the Unborn ”, he would describe the situation in the summer of 1918 and Lœw's hospital :

“ The first thing that I see is a white door that I have closed with infinite care behind me as if I could somehow push reality away that way. I have come to this door by a long corridor and have hesitated for the length a couple of long heart-beats before knocking on the door. I am expected. I enter into a silence that is far deeper than the one outside. A stark white room. Lots of flowers. A modest hospital room. The window is open. It is August, 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and the humid air of the metropolis in summer rushes in ... The nurse has re-entered the room. I put on my harmless, lying face. The woman says to me in a soft voice, ' When you entered the room, there was funeral music outside ...' These words permit me to go to the open window and to look outside. A depressing street in the hospital District at whose end trees wither in a little park in late summer. ” »

The Lœw Sanatorium was particularly notable for its treatment of a number of important « fin-de-siècle » figures, including Gustav Mahler and Gustav Klimt, as well as Ludwig Wittgenstein.

## Patients

**Wednesday, 18 July 1906** : Ludwig Wittgenstein. Hernia.

**Monday, 4 March 1901** : Gustav Mahler. Surgery on hemorrhoids.

**Friday, 12 May 1911** : Gustav Mahler. Hospitalization.

**Monday, 15 May 1911** : Gustav Mahler (Room 82) . Death.

**Friday, 2 August 1918** : Alma Mahler gave birth to Martin Carl Johannes Werfel who also likely deceased here.

**Friday, 18 March 1932** : Richard Specht. Death.

Other patients who died at the Sanatorium :

Alexander Girardi, Emil Hertzka, Wilhelm Hesch, Josef Kainz, Rudolf Kaufmann, Ludwig Koch, Josef Loschmidt, Hansi Niese (who died on the transport there) , August Pettenkofen, Arthur Schattenfroh, Julius Scheff, Heinrich Schenker, Moritz Szeps, Ernst Wertheim und Heinrich Winterberg.

## Doctor Anton Lœw

The Jewish physician and art-collector Doctor Anton (Victor) Lœw was born on 20 October 1847 in Pozsony, Hungary (Bratislava, Slovakia) ; and died on 14 September 1907 in Vienna.

Son of Heinrich and Fanny Lœw.

Husband of Sophie Franziska Unger who died in 1933 (aged 79) .

Father of Gertrud Franziska Sophie Gerta von Felsövényi (16 November 1883 - March 1964) .

Brother of Charlotte Lucie Offer, Therese Fürth, Rosa Herschfeld and Arthur Lœw.

Anton Lœw studied medicine like his father, Doctor Heinrich Lœw, who had opened a private health-clinic in 1859 in a modest building located in the « Leopoldstadt » area (2nd District) . In 1874, Anton took-over and expanded the facilities considerably.

Around 1880, Anton bought the water-sanatorium in Purkersdorf (a suburb of Vienna) which he sold after a few years. The actual Sanatorium Purkersdorf was built on the same site in 1904-1905 by architect Josef Hoffmann for industrialist Victor Zuckerkandl - an example of the style of the Viennese Secession in architecture.

In 1882, Doctor Lœw decided to move his father's private clinic into a brand new building located in the 9th District, at Number 20 on « Mariannengasse » .

Designed by architect Leopold Schöne, it consisted in a 4 storey structure based on the late-historical architectural style with giant pilasters rising in the middle and a casted barrel-vault at the entrance in the « foyer » . The site totalized 11,900 square-meters of which 4,550 square-meters were built. Inside, you would find 36 single private bedrooms, 2 operating-rooms on the upper-floor spread over 4 separate areas, an X-ray room, a new gynecological obstetric department headed by Bianca Bienenfeld (the second woman to earned a medical doctorate in Austria) . Also, residential accommodation was offered to 50 sisters of the Congregation of the « Daughters of the Divine Saviour » who were working as nurses.

In 1894 (according to plans by Ludwig Richter) , the number of beds were increased to 90. Then, another expansion project (supervised by Ernst von Gotthilf) made possible the creation in the basement of a gymnasium for boxing, as well as a laboratory for bacteriological and histological examinations. Praised by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire for its size and modernity, the centre was considered one of the most highly-regarded medical institutions in Europe. Daughter Gertrud lived with her family at Number 7 on « Pelikangasse » , between « Alser-Straße » and the Vienna General Hospital (« Allgemeine Krankenhaus ») - right around the corner from the sanatorium. In 1902, when Gustav Klimt painted her, the health-clinic was mentioned in Lehmann's General Housing Gazette of Vienna. It received international awards from Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Serbia, Romania and Japan.

The Lœw family was able to join society's « élite » and give commissions to some of the most important artists of the day. Aside from his daughter's portrait, Anton Lœw also acquired Ferdinand Hodler's « Der Auserwählte » (« Kunstmuseum » , Bern) and Gustav Klimt's « Judith I » (Belvedere Museum, Vienna) . Gertha and her first husband Hans Eisler von Terramare (both serious enthusiasts of the « Jugendstil » æsthetic) engaged the artist Koloman Moser to design their apartment in the « Wiener Werkstätte » style.

In 1905, the Lœw Sanatorium became a corporate company. In 1906, an adjacent house was converted into a spacious apartment complex which was integrated to the clinic. In 1907, 3 additional houses were acquired. A real success story

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Anton Lœw was named medical director of the Red Cross Society of Austria. He was considered an eminent director and chief-doctor in the organization of hospitals.

After the death of her father on 14 September 1907, Gertrud became the company's main share-holder. It was, then, recalled : « Wiener Sanatorium Doktor Anton Lœw » .

Surgeon Doctor Julius Hochenegg was the director of the Lœw Sanatorium at the time of Gustav Mahler's operation in June 1901.

Doctor Michalik (Mihalic, Mihalik, Mihalicks, Michailitsch) was the resident physicist when Mahler was hospitalized at the Lœw Sanatorium in 1911.

The sanatorium (still under the administration of Gertrud) and the well-known private art-collection of Anton Lœw were confiscated by the 3rd « Reich » when the Nazis took-over power in Austria in 1938 (« Anschluß ») . After World War II, the Lœw family was partly compensated by the Republic of Austria. It was only in January 2011 that the restitution procedure was concluded with the return of some works of art.

Since 1960, the building has been the headquarters of the Austrian Federal Railways (« Österreichische Bundesbahnen » or ÖBB) .

#### Klimt : Portrait of Gertrud Lœw

#### Provenance :

Doctor Anton Lœw, Vienna (commissioned from the artist in 1902) .

Gertha Baruch von Felsőványi (« née » Lœw) , Vienna (by descent from the above) .

Gustav Ucicky, Vienna (acquired around 1941) .

Ursula Ucicky, Vienna (by inheritance from the above in 1961) .

Klimt Foundation, Vienna (a gift of the above in 2013) .

Klimt Foundation and The Heirs of Gertha Felsőványi (ownership settlement agreed between the 2 parties in 2014) .

Gustav Ucicky, is said to be an illegitimate son of Gustav Klimt with one of his models, bought the painting in 1938. He was member of the Nazi Party and a successful film-director. The painting until today has not been restituted.

« Bildnis Gertrud Løw » , painted in 1902, is an extraordinarily beautiful and captivating work from a crucial period in the artist's career. Wreathed in diaphanous folds of gossamer fine white and lilac cloths, the sitter's delicate features are composed into an expression of dreamy repose and gentleness, animated only by points of reflected light in her eyes. Klimt's vertically inclined composition helps to enhance the figure's somnambulant detachment by removing all extraneous details.

Discussing the narrow format and other compositional elements of the present work, Alfred Weidinger comments : « In a way similar to the portrait of Serena Lederer, Klimt here uses a strikingly narrow vertical format for his likeness of the 19 year old girl - except that here the format is even narrower. Along the right-hand side, a portion of her shawl is cut-off by the edge of the picture. This elongates the figure and reduces her distance from the viewer. The narrow format seems to have been inspired by Japanese art. Even the colour accents set by Klimt by means of his signet and the ornament in the area of the upper-left of the picture are reminiscent of Japanese woodblock prints. » A passion for Japanese and Chinese art had gripped European intellectuals since the latter half of the 19th Century. Numerous illustrated journals, exhibitions, recently opened museums and burgeoning private collections fuelled its integration with the avant-garde artistic practises of the day. Klimt's own devotion to Orientalism is evident in a number of works from 1900 onwards, culminating in the boldly experimental inclusion of Asian motifs in his later portraits of Friederike Maria Beer and Elisabeth Lederer.

The symbolist treatment of the female portrait was to be one of Klimt's definitive developments at the start of the 20th Century. The virginal purity of the tonalities and ethereal atmosphere evoked in « Bildnis Gertrud Løw » serve to elevate the work from its primary biographical purpose and engage with allegorical themes of youth and feminine purity.

Quoting from another source, Doris H. Lehmann argues :

« Each of Klimt's female portraits is more than just a representation of his model. As Thomas Zaunschirm has written :

“ Fundamentally, Klimt was less a portraitist than a painter who used female portraits for the purpose of his own allegories. ” »

This effect was achieved in part by the impressionistic brush-work which only loosely defined a sense of space in the picture, and was also due to the lack of topographical reference - a conceit that was a particular feature of Klimt's portraits until the introduction of geometrical forms in the portrait of Ludwig Wittgenstein's sister « Bildnis Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein » of 1905, now in the « Neue Pinakothek » in Munich.

When this portrait was exhibited at the « Kollektiv Ausstellung Gustav Klimt » at the 1903-1904 Secession exhibition, the critic Ludwig Hevesi commented on a group of the artist's most recent works as « 3 or 4 female portraits in all the magical charm of radiant filminess » of Klimt's distinctive brush-work, and admired the present work specifically for the « gauziest lyricism of which the painter's palette is capable » .

A week or so later, Havesi further stated that the « Bildnis Gertrud Løw » possessed certain stylistic distinctions particular to Klimt's latest paintings :

« Take (...) , at the other end of the scale, the very young lady in white from this year, a pure whisper, with 4 stripes of pale lilac silk running the length of her gauzy, crumpled dress. Within the shimmering cascade of the fabric, each stripe meanders this way and that, in a random fashion that conceals the most exquisite painterly plan. »

The fashion-conscious artist (whose « soul-mate » was the designer Emilie Flöge) often incorporated extravagant patterns and geometric designs into his work. However, those who sat for his portraits and may have been actually dressed in the current fashions were often reimagined entirely to the artist's own taste and for allegorical reasons, as Angela Völker explains :

« Gustav Klimt clearly had a preference for pale-coloured dresses. A number of the women he painted are wearing white or pastel shades. This does not necessarily comply with current fashion trends. The softly fluid fabrics, often transparent, of the classical style robes in his early allegories are echoed in the thoroughly different pink and white dresses in his portraits of Sonja Knips, Serena Lederer and Gertrud Løw. Knips' highly-fashionable frilled dress underlines the wearer's girliness, while Serena Lederer's Empire-style " Reformkleid " designed for a body unrestricted by whalebone-corsets, emphasizes the clearly sensual aspect of the wearer. Gertha Felsövänyi wears a close-fitting white dress with broad sleeve flounces and a transparent shawl with a pale blue border. Together with the unusual vertical format of the portrait, the dress underlines the petite stature and fragile complexion of this red-haired woman. »

...

**Wednesday, 5 June 1901** : Mahler spends his summer vacation in his own Villa in Maiernigg located at Number 31.

...

Doctor Gustav Singer, a specialist in intestinal troubles at the Vienna General Hospital, was another physician who treated Mahler in 1901.

### Doctor Gustav Singer

The Austrian internist Doctor Gustav Singer was born on 28 February 1867 in Brno (Brünn) . After concluding his medical studies in Vienna in 1891 with a doctorate, Singer worked as a junior physician at the Vienna General Hospital (« Wiener Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») until 1898. The same year, he qualified to lecture in internal medicine. He became chief-physician at the Empress Elizabeth Hospital in 1903, chief-physician of the first medical department of the Rudolf Foundation Hospital in 1905 - and associate-professor (« Professor extraordinarius ») in 1911. In 1924, he was named a Court councillor. Singer's writings include « Die Reizkörperbehandlung des Diabetes » (1929) . He died on 3 December 1944 in England.



## The illness of Hugo Wolf

Hugo Wolf : Psychosis due to syphilis. Hospitalized.

Neither his letters nor accounts given by friends indicate any mental disturbance in 1896.

One of his closest friends, the sculptor Edmund (von) Hellmer, introduces Hugo Wolf as follows :

« He was of very short stature (154 cm) - broad shoulders, strong and short his neck - almost graceful his small hands and feet. His head slightly bent forward - face and hands coloured like old ivory ... his eyes were dark like black-ink spots and seemed as burning from an inner-fire. »

**End of August 1896** : After a train trip to Graz, Hugo Wolf complained about cinders from the locomotive who had entered his eye by accident. Wolf's friend, the dentist Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg, referred him to the ophthalmologist Doctor Elschnigg to treat the conjunctival irritation. The smut was effectively taken-out but the specialist noticed the insensitiveness and rigidity of the pupils. His diagnosis was Argyll-Robertson pupils which indicates that the central nervous system has been affected. Doctor Elschnigg informed Doctor Potpeschnigg about his observation. Wolf, however, was not informed about this finding and its implications.

This abnormality can be regarded as evidence of tabetic changes, a view which is supported by the appearance of tabetic ataxia 9 months later.

## Dentist Heinrich Potpeschnigg,

The dentist, pianist and composer Heinrich Potpeschnigg was born on 1 August 1847 in Graz, and died on 1 September 1932 in Graz. Son of an advocate, grandson of the actress Luise von Holtei (« née » Roge) , he studied medicine at the universities of Graz and Vienna (1869-1870) . He received his doctorate in 1871 (?) . He then worked as a dentist in Graz and devoted himself to music. From 1902 to 1908, he lived in Berlin, undertaking several journeys as an excellent piano accompanist and concert pianist. He became one of Wolf's best friends in his final years. As a composer, Potpeschnigg was influenced by Wolf and Richard Wagner.

## Werke

2 Ländlerfolgen aus der Steiermark.

Nun ist der Tag geschieden (Ritornell) .

## Publikation

Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner, in : Musica divina (Oktober 1922) .

Konzert-erinnerungen, in : Grazer Tages-Post (9. Oktober 1932) .

...

**Monday, 22 February 1897** : Hugo Wolf's last public concert.

He accompanied his songs (including his early champion « Der Jäger » by Mörike) in a recital at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » in Vienna.

He performed for the first time :

« Daß doch gemalt all deine Reize wären » , « Gesegnet sei, durch den die Welt entstand » , « Hoffärtig seid Ihr, schönes Kind » , « Ihr seid die Allerschönste » , « Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen » , and « Wer rief dich denn ? » , all to anonymous words (translation : Paul Heyse) .

« Der Scholar » to words of Joseph von Eichendorff, and the first complete performance of « 3 Gedichte » von Robert Reinick.

Wolf was described as having been pale and looking as if he was in another world. Shortly thereafter, he slipped into syphilitic insanity, with only occasional spells of well-being. He left 60 pages of an unfinished Opera, « Manuel Venegas » which he desperately attempted to finish before he lost his mind completely.

In that same month, Wolf first met Michael Haberlandt, who became one of his most active supporters, and the 2 men took an instant liking to each other.

...

**Friday, 12 March 1897** : The Graz « Wagner Verein » gave a concert exclusively devoted to the works of Hugo Wolf.

**Saturday, 13 March 1897** : On his birthday, Hugo Wolf played parts of « Corregidor » to his friends, and was described by Michael Haberlandt as « like a boiling volcano, about to burst into flame, lightnings coming from his head, and sonic felt even the thunder » . (Ernst Décsey)

Wolf had now great hopes of seeing his « Corregidor » produced in Vienna.

**Second half of March 1897** : Hugo Wolf wrote his 4 Michelangelo songs, which are a supreme achievement except for the 4th, which Hugo Wolf himself regarded as inferior to the others.

**End of March - beginning of April** : Hugo Wolf was in a puzzling heavy-laden tiredness, having sleepless nights or troubled by nightmares. (Ernst Décsey)

**Saturday, 3 April 1897** : Creation of the Vienna Secession.

**Friday, 9 April 1897** : Composer Engelbert Humperdinck, aged 42, and « Frau » Humperdinck were struck by Hugo Wolf's shy, changed, irritable conduct in a Vienna restaurant where they met. Wolf changes his seat several times so that he will not be seen by acquaintances.

Engelbert Humperdinck, to whom there is no doubt Wolf was sincerely attached, had paid him a visit on his way to Pesth, where he was to conduct « Hänsel und Gretel » .

The 2 composers and « Frau » Humperdinck, after visiting the museum in the morning, went to take some refreshment. Wolf suddenly exhibited an inexplicable aversion to « Frau » Humperdinck. He shifted his seat several times, giving as his reason that he did not wish to be seen by any of his friends ; he was irritable and ill-humoured.

In the afternoon, Wolf began to play « Der Corregidor » to Humperdinck, his wife, and Richard Wallaschek, the well-known author of « Primitive Music » . He played on for about 2 hours, Humperdinck being greatly delighted with the work.

After hearing the 2nd Act, he and his wife had to leave, having another appointment in the evening. Promising to play the remaining 2 Acts to them on their return from Pesth, Wolf accompanied his guests to their carriage, closed the door of it abruptly, and ran-off without a word of farewell. When Humperdinck returned from Pesth, Wolf was not in Vienna, and the pair never met again.

**Saturday, 10 April 1897** : A letter to Emil Kauffmann, Hugo Wolf makes a virulent attack on Humperdinck as a « composer for street-organs » , and has been considered by some to be so extravagant as to suggest the psychotic. The hyperbolic language is, however, of a type habitual with Wolf, and the letter is orderly and coherent.

**April 1897** : The friends of Wolf had founded the Vienna « Hugo Wolf-Verein » , an association the main-object of which was to spread the recognition of his music, and to relieve the composer of any spade-work in connection with it.

He tells his mother in a letter that the associates already number more than 100. The president was Doctor Michael Haberlandt, Gustos of the Natural History Museum and a lecturer at the Vienna University (one of the later friends of Wolf) , but yielding to none of the others in energy and enthusiasm.

**Thursday, 22 April 1897** : Celebration of the founding of the Vienna « Wolf-Verein » . The composer was not present, but he met his friends afterwards over a glass of beer. Knowing his detestation of anything in the nature of hero-worship, Michael Haberlandt, in proposing the toast of the new Society, had to omit all mention of the name of it ; the grim humour of the situation at last seized upon Wolf, and he laughed till the tears ran down his face.

**Saturday, 8 May 1897** : There is an insolent remark in another letter from Wolf to Emil Kauffmann but, again, nothing

more than could be accounted for by his personality.

**Friday, 14 May 1897** : The Vienna « Hugo Wolf-Verein » meets for the first time and gives a very successful concert.

**Summer 1897** : Gustav Mahler had been appointed chief musical-director of the Vienna Opera. Hugo Wolf, as his letters show, found the performances more interesting than they had been under the old regime. He now goes frequently to the Opera.

Wolf wrote to his friend Hugo Faißt :

« It being possible, since Mahler's appearance at the conductor's desk, for people to venture again into those unhallowed halls. »

Gustav Mahler showed such a liking for « Der Corregidor » that Wolf counted on an early performance of the Opera. It would certainly be produced in the coming season.

He wrote to his mother (Katharina Nußbaumer) on **Friday, 4 June 1897** :

« I have to-day received the definite assurance of the new “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler (an old friend of mine) . He is now all-powerful at the Vienna Opera. He, himself, will rehearse and conduct my work ; this will be all the more agreeable to me as Mahler is more than any other man fitted to enter into my intentions. »

« We recently had the complete tetralogy of “ The Ring of the Nibelung ”, and, for the most part, without cuts - a very rare thing for Vienna. The Vienna performances of Wagner's works will soon rank as models. We have to thank Mahler for it all, who has put an absolute end to the old jog-trot routine. »

The performance was practically settled upon for **January or February 1898**. For reasons not perfectly understood, however, the work was put aside, Anton Rubinstein's « Demon » being given in its place.

**June 1897** : Intended to accompany his friend Michael Haberlandt on a bicycle tour, Hugo Wolf decided to take bicycle-riding lessons for this purpose.

Wolf wrote to his friend Hugo Faißt :

« Being a beginner, I have so far only learnt to know the dark-side of bicycle riding. My poor body is tattooed from bruises I have got in the driving-lessons. However, I will continue facing the divine pleasure which is waiting on me. »

Wolf simply was unable to stay on the bike and suffered numerous falls. He had to be stopped due to severe coordination deficits. The suggestion has been made that this was due to a tabetic ataxia.

**July 1897** : Hugo Wolf was beginning work on « Manuel Venegas » .

**Second week of July** : Hugo Wolf was in the old fever of creation, working morning to night.

**August 1897** : The same state persisted but now observers speak of the familiar traits of his work and talk having become distorted and exaggerated ; he was failing to answer his letters, and trying to support himself on an unusual indulgence in wine.

**Saturday, 18 September 1897** : Hugo Wolf had paid a visit to his former room-mate and friend from the days in the Vienna Conservatory, Gustav Mahler, who had already begun working as the provisional director of the Opera. Both composers had disputed about the plans to produce Wolf's « Der Corregidor » at the Vienna Court Opera which Mahler had previously promised to produce. During the dispute, Mahler finally expressed doubt as to whether the work would be performed in Vienna at all.

Wolf left Mahler raging bitterly and vowing revenge for this disappointment. In this extreme emotional state, Wolf produced the idea that removing the obstacle « Mahler » would lead the way to his so long merited success, his becoming director of the Opera House.

Alma's account on how Mahler reacted to Wolf's behaviour in « imperiously demanding the instant production of “ Corregidor ” » :

Mahler, knowing the work and its defects, made the usual evasions : no singers suited to it, etc. Wolf grew obstreperous and Mahler did not like the look of him. He had a special bell within reach for such occasions.

He pressed it and his man came in with the pre-arranged message :

« The Intendant wishes to see you at once, sir. »

Wolf found himself alone.

He rushed downstairs the Opera House and along the « Ringstraße » . His mind gave way ; he thought he was the Director and on his way home :

« I am Mahler ! I am Mahler ! »

When he arrived at Mahler's flat, at Number 2 on « Auenbruggergasse » , he rang the bell ; and when the servant opened the door, he shouted at her to let him pass - he was the Director. She slammed the door in his face in terror. He ran-down the steps again and into the street.

...

In her memoirs, Alma Mahler gives an account of the last meeting between Mahler and Wolf that, for the first time, is derived from Mahler's information. She claims that Wolf « imperiously demanded the instant production of "Corregidor" » .

Anyone who knew Mahler would realize that he vehemently opposed any outside pressure, particularly any attempt to impose something on him in matters of his directorship. Wolf's friends nevertheless allege that a promise had been made by Mahler to perform « Corregidor » , and, after studying the various letters and sources, even the English biographer of Wolf, Ernest Newman, came to the conclusion that the performance was originally envisaged for **January or February 1898**.

Newman writes :

« For reasons that are not entirely clear, the work was nevertheless set aside, and replaced by Rubinstein's "Dämon" . »

If the true reasons for the postponement of the « Corregidor » performance have not been outwardly explained, one thing is absolutely clear : despite its hypothetical character (« during which Mahler appears to have made some less-than-complimentary remarks about "Corregidor" ») , the previously cited account of the clash between Mahler and Wolf given by Heinrich Werner (official historian of the Hugo Wolf Society) has completely clouded and misrepresented what went on in the director's office, and even such a conscientious and serious musicologist as Ernest Newman could not escape the suggestive influence of this account. The main aim of Werner's account was obviously to conceal the fact that an already mentally disturbed Wolf sought-out the Opera-director Mahler in order to demand in an imperious tone the immediate performance of « Corregidor » . To this end, Werner lets the conversation between Mahler and Wolf begin with an argument over the merits or otherwise of Anton Rubinstein's Opera « Dämon » , which must appear all the more plausible to the reader given the concrete assertion that the score of this work lay open on Mahler's desk. This was supposed to have given the impression first and foremost that Opera-director Mahler imprudently favoured the work of the « foreigner » Rubinstein over the « native » composer Wolf. At the same time, it was difficult to cast doubt on the accuracy of Werner's account given that Rubinstein's Opera « Dämon » was indeed performed by Mahler, and the score, therefore, had to have been in Mahler's office at some point for him to study. Whatever the case, even Newman could not escape the conclusion based on these details and presumptions that « Corregidor » was put to one side, and Rubinstein's « Dämon » performed in its stead.

There is only one small snag. According to the list of new works and new productions under Mahler's directorship compiled by A. J. Weltner, archivist of the Vienna Court Theatre, and published in Richard Specht's Mahler biography, Rubinstein's « Dämon » appears neither under 1897 nor amongst the new works performed in 1898, but was not premiered until 23 October 1899. If, in fact, a postponement of « Corregidor » in favour of « Dämon » took place - as the Hugo Wolf party tried to convince the public in order to confirm that the conversation between Wolf and Mahler began with an argument over the merits or otherwise of the Opera « Dämon » (rather than with Wolf's brusque demand that his Opera « Corregidor » should be put into production « immediately ») - then, this is

tantamount to acknowledging that, by September 1897, Mahler's promise, given in June, to perform « Corregidor » in January or February 1898 was no longer valid and had meanwhile been withdrawn and replaced by an alternative arrangement : « Corregidor » would now figure in the long-term plans for the coming 1899-1900 season. Therefore, all the reproaches of the Hugo Wolf party that Mahler had not kept his promise, given in June 1897, to perform « Corregidor » in the 1898 season, would be completely invalidated.

**September 1897** : The decisive point in Hugo Wolf's illness with the overt outbreak of general paresis.

Wolf (who looked like a ghost) sent a hand-written letter on a sheet of music to his friend Michael Haberlandt :

« Piping hot ! Straight from the frying-pan ! Am beside myself ! Sell me up ! Am blissful ! Raving ! »

Haberlandt became suspicious of this strange letter and decided to see him at his apartment on « Schwindgasse » . Wolf appeared quite deranged and spoke excitedly about his new Opera, « Manuel Venegas » . He sat-down at the piano and played and sang from the fragmentary Opera in a highly-exalted mood, claiming that he had never composed anything so beautiful before. This performance, however, seemed to calm down his spirits and Haberlandt left his friends without anxiety.

...

Hugo Wolf opened the door himself, and Haberlandt was startled by the wildness of his look. Wolf stared blankly at Haberlandt as he made an apology for disturbing him ; then, he took him into the study and immediately began to talk excitedly and confusedly about his new work. Haberlandt was painfully affected, and besought him to take a rest or to go away for a time in order to recover his health ; but Wolf assured him that he had never felt better and had never written anything finer. He sat-down at the piano and played and sang the « Manuel Venegas » fragment with a most impressive look of felicity upon his face. His tears fell upon the piano, and he wiped them from the keys with his sleeve, like a child. The music seemed to soothe him, and Haberlandt went away, concerned for him but not immediately anxious, and with a promise that, on the following Sunday, Wolf would visit him in the country and, if he chose, bring his composition with him.

...

Hugo Wolf continued composing and invited all of his friends on the following Sunday, in order to « play the Opera at Perchtoldsdorf to all the faithful » .

This date was, again, preceded by strange letters such as the one to Melanie Köchert, where he urged her to join the audience for his performance :

« If, on the same day, you don't put-in an appearance, I shall never again set a foot in your house. »

**Saturday, 18 September 1897** : Hugo Wolf met his friend sculptor Edmund (von) Hellmer for lunch at a restaurant. While eating unusually fast, he picked-up the chop he had ordered and simply tore the meat away from the bone, gulping it down like an animal.

Suddenly, he whispered to Hellmer :

« Did you already know I have been named director of the Court Opera ? »

Hellmer first believed Wolf was joking, but Wolf repeated the « news » when Ferdinand Föll, another friend, arrived. (Wolf also said he would make Föll a chorus Master !)

They finally were given a private concert in Wolf's apartment. Then, Wolf drank brotherhood with them and ended-up talking about matters that, under normal circumstances, he would never have discussed openly - his family, his poverty and his relations with women.

**Sunday, 19 September 1897** : Hugo Wolf walked at high-speed through the streets of Vienna in order to find the Wagnerian tenor Hermann Winkelmann in his duty as the new director of the Opera. He aimed at engaging the singer for the same day's concert in Walter Bockmayer's house.

**Friday, 10 September 1897** : Walter Bockmayer had asked Hugo Wolf to come to his house in Mödling, outside Vienna, and had invited some 20 other people to hear the composer play as much as had been written of his new work. The meeting was for the afternoon.

Early in the morning, Wolf went to see his friend the sculptor Edmund Hellmer at his home in Perchtoldsdorf, which he had never entered before ; encountering Hellmer's mother, he represented himself to her as the director of the Vienna Opera. He recited a speech he had composed to the officials of the Opera, in which he finally dismissed the director. Then, he hurried Hellmer off to Michael Haberlandt's house, and forced them both, in spite of their protests, to go to Mauer, where the Opera tenor Hermann Winkelmann lived ; he insisted that Winkelmann was to go at once to Bockmayer's with him to sing the music of « Manuel Venegas » .

He burst into Winkelmann's house with the query :

« Do you know who your new director is ? I am ! I have just been with the Prince and have arranged everything with him. »

For the moment, Winkelmann was inclined to believe him, and was startled to hear what Wolf desired of him. Haberlandt, however, intimated by signs that something was wrong, and Winkelmann went away on the pretext that he had been called to the telephone. The friends managed to get Wolf out of the house, but he was furious with the singer ; if he did not come to Bockmayer's in the afternoon, he said, he would dismiss him.



Wolf's friends took him back to Perchtoldsdorf, where he had something to eat in Haberlandt's house, after which he slept a couple of hours. He had been awake since 3 o'clock that morning, had had no food for 24 hours, and was quite exhausted. Meanwhile, the other friends were told of what had occurred. Wolf's sleep did not, as Haberlandt had hoped, restore him to his normal state of mind ; as soon as he awoke, he was again possessed by the idea that he was director of the Vienna Opera. Still, no one yet suspected the real gravity of the situation. Bockmayer and the others agreed that it would be better to carry-out the original plan for the assembly at his house, since it was feared that a postponement of this would irritate Wolf still further. To Bockmayer's, they accordingly went about 5 o'clock.

Everybody met at 5:00 pm. Here, Wolf's conduct was stranger than ever, he insisted, for instance, on one lady leaving the room because he felt that she was unsympathetic towards him. Yet, when he sat-down and played and sang through the « Manuel Venegas » music, it was all done with perfect clearness and self-command ; some of the passages he repeated and explained.

The moment he rose from the piano, all lucidity vanished, and the crazed side of the poor brain became the Master again. He proclaimed to the audience his nomination as the new director of the Vienna « Hofoper » and that his first legal act would be dismissing from his post Gustav Mahler (but also Winckelmann and others ...) . Mahler had recently turned-down the idea of giving there a performance of « Corregidor » . Then, Wolf began to relate atrocious stories about his house-keeper (concierge) .

Fortunately, Michael Haberlandt had asked Doctor Gorhan from the local hospital to attend the concert as a precaution. Doctor Gorhan diagnosed the outbreak of madness and suggested bringing Wolf to an asylum immediately. They telephoned the private mental hospital of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin, but got the reply that no inmate could be received in the asylum at night - only in the morning.

Meanwhile, Wolf had become much calmer ; he seated himself at the piano and tried to play Richard Wagner's Prelude to « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , though his memory failed him towards the end and he had to stop.

He was taken into the dining-room, where he ate and drank well. Then, he talked quite lucidly about various episodes of his life, though every now and then, there were renewals of his former aberration.

At 11 o'clock, Ferdinand Föll and Walter Bockmayer accompanied him back to Vienna. He was in a good mood all the time ; but when they reached his house on « Schwindgasse » , he suddenly attacked the concierge with rage. The latter, of course, not understanding the situation, turned on him fiercely ; and a terrible scene ensued, Föll and Bockmayer both being in peril of their own lives in the attempt to separate the men. At last, they got Wolf to his room ; he gradually became more composed, ate some fruit, and, about 2 o'clock in the morning, went to sleep.

**Tuesday, 21 September 1897** : In the morning, Hugo Wolf (aged 37) put-on black clothes, saying he had to go to see the Court Opera « Obersthofmeister » Prince Liechtenstein for the signature of his contract as « new » music-director. Michael Haberlandt, Heinrich Werner and Doctor Gorhan humoured him in the idea : they called a carriage, then went-out with him, and quietly took him instead to the medical establishment of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin.

His friends lost sight of him, the most conflicting reports as to his condition reaching them now and then.

Hospitalized, Hugo Wolf continued to have delusions, thinking himself at various times to be « Jupiter » controlling the weather, and the director of the asylum, planning to heal Friedrich Nietzsche.

He was given a piano in the sick-room and tried to compose again.

At his home, 50 pages of the 1st Act of « Manuel Venegas » were found, and biographer Frank Walker states that they are fine powerful stuff, showing « no trace of incipient insanity » or any failure or weakening of his creative powers. It is noteworthy that a letter of **Tuesday, 7 September 1897** to Rosa Mayreder, his librettist, though somewhat exaggerated in tone and vague in matter shows no obvious psychotic features, unlike the plainly psychotic letters to Melanie Köchert of a week later. In his letters to Rosa Mayreder, written after **March 1895**, one is struck by his urge towards an increasing intimacy. But the same phenomenon occurred as early as **1881** in the correspondence with Henriette Lang, who seems to have taken exception to it. It seems that this was his way with his female friends. Letters written to male friends from **1895** onwards are in a much more sober style and make no insistent demand for familiarity.

The « Italienische Serenade » , a new work for small orchestra, was intended to be in 3 movements. Only the first one was completed. The full-score of this has been published, arranged by Max Reger. The other 2 movements were to have been an « Intermezzo » and a « Tarantelle » respectively. The manuscript of the second movement contains only 28 bars ; that of the third, written at the beginning of 1899, when Wolf was in Doctor Svetlin's institution, contains about 40 bars. In this movement, he made use of the well-known Neapolitan song « Funiculi, funicula » of Luigi Denza, which had immensely pleased him when he first heard it in August 1896. Richard Strauß used the same melody in his « Aus Italien » , under the impression that it was a genuine Neapolitan folk-song.

### Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin

The Austrian Roman Catholic physician and psychiatrist Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin was born on 5 May 1849 in Vienna and died on 24 August 1914 in Vienna. He was buried at the Hietzing Cemetery (Group 21, Row 1, Number 2) .

The son of a laboratory worker, Svetlin attended the Scots' College (« Schottengymnasium ») located in the 1st District of Vienna. In 1867, he entered the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Vienna. He completed his doctorate in 1873, graduating « first » of his promotion.

From 1874 to 1877, Svetlin was assistant to Doctor Maximilian Leidesdorf at the psychiatric department of the General Hospital of Vienna (« Allgemeine Krankenhaus ») . He, then, practised at the first Psychiatric Clinic of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of the Crown land of Lower-Austria in Bründlfeld (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt am Bründlfeld ») .

Therese Pabst, wife of retired Regiment-physician Doctor Pabst (who practised in Melk until 1829 and, then, moved to

Vienna) , already operated a private lunatic asylum in Melk and continued to do the same in Vienna.

After the death of her husband of cholera, Therese opened her own private lunatic asylum in 1833 in the horse-stables of « Mülker-Bastei » (a bastion of the former Viennese town fortification) , on the basis of a permission obtained in an audience with the Emperor. The need for a mental institution in the town of Erdberg already existed in 1848. So, she decided to move the asylum to the former Rasumowsky Castle located at Number 100 (7) on « Erdberger-Straße » .

After Therese Pabst's death in 1878, « nerve doctors » Zimmermann and Wilhelm Svetlin (with the support of Doctor Theodor Meynert) took-over the management of the private clinic. In 1880, the clinic was renamed : Private Svetlin Sanatorium for nervous and mental disorders (« Privatheilanstalt Svetlin für Nerven- und Gemütskranke ») .

A new street-connection named « Sophienbrückengasse » (today : « Kundmanngasse ») was opened in 1883. Between 1883 and 1884, Zimmermann and Svetlin asked stone-mason Master Eduard Hauser (who used Svetlin's design) to erect a 2 tower building (falsely named the « fool's towers » of Erdberg - « Erdberger Narrenturm ») on « Leonhardgasse » (3rd District of Vienna) - based. It was considered the best private facility of its kind in Vienna at the time. In 1890, builder Eduard Frauenfeld extended the capacity of the clinic to more than 60 patients.

Doctor Svetlin's sanatorium welcomed patients from all over the world.

Among the most famous :

Composer Hugo Wolf (in his case, the success of Svetlin's therapy was moderate) , painter Carl Schuch, writer Karl Wilhelm Meixner, and politician Carl Meißl.

Apparently, it was relatively easy to have someone put in a « mad house » during this period ...

### The Odilon-Girardi affair

Helene Odilon (1864-1939) started as an actress in Chemnitz, but she was contracted by the Court Theatre in Berlin according to the wishes of Emperor Wilhelm I. In 1891, she left for Vienna, where she was soon famous for her wild private life and her erotic radiation. She seemed to have bewitched the town, at least the male part of it. Odilon worked for the « Deutsches Volkstheater » where she starred as « Madame Dubarry » and « Madame Sans-Gêne » . In 1898, Hermann Bahr wrote the part of Lona Ladinsler for her in « Der Star » . She also performed successfully in London and in the United States (1902) .

In 1893, Odilon married the popular actor and comedian in the Vienna of the turn of the Century Alexander Girardi (who also sang as tenor in Operettas) but the marriage was a complete disaster. Odilon continued her numerous love-affairs and Girardi became extremely jealous. At home, Girardi made her listen for hours to parts of his Operetta's and, then, refused to listen to her when she was learning a new part. At one time, Odilon moved-over to the Sacher

Hotel and tried to get rid of Girardi by getting him committed to a clinic.

Without seeing Alexander Girardi in person, the famous Doctor Julius Wagner-Jauregg stated from his neuro-psychiatric clinic in Graz that he was dangerous (irritable and probably unhappy) because of his use of cocaine and should be committed to the mental home of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin.

Girardi watched from a window of his apartment the arrest of the house-holder who liked to dress and behave exactly like him. Girardi left with the help of a friend to find refuge at the house of the Austrian actress Katharina Schratz (1853-1940). Her intervention with Emperor Franz-Josef (who decided to reform the law) owed Girardi the examination of his mental state by judicially sworn specialists. They finally confirmed his normality.

Girardi made the following remark :

« If you're at Svetlin, you're gone ! »

In 1896, the marriage was formally over.

The dish « Girardirostbraten » (Girardi roast-beef) is named after him - a beef dish heavily covered with bacon and button mushrooms.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the clinic of Doctor Svetlin provided room for 70 patients. In the south-east wing, there were 5 isolating cells on each floor - with « special facilities » for « restless » patients.

The clinic was managed by Franz Angerer from 1903 to 1925.

In the summer of 2006, the District Council unveiled a memorial plaque on the façade of the house located at Number 3-5 on « Leonhardgasse », which reminds us of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin's private sanatorium.

In addition to his involvement in private psychiatry, Svetlin co-initiated the Lung Therapy-Center for Tuberculosis Disease (« Heilanstalt für Brustkranke ») in the town of Groisbach (District of Alland), Lower-Austria. He also committed to the care of neglected children.

Responsible for creating a « kindergarten » and 3 local water-sources for the inhabitants of Windischgarsten, Svetlin was named honorary citizen of the town.

Svetlin published numerous case-studies issued from his Private Sanatorium practice (« Die Privatheilstätte für Gemüths Kranke auf dem Erdberge zu Wien » (1884) ; 2. Bericht über die Private Heilanstalt für Gemüths Kranke auf dem Erdberge in Men (1891)) . He also published a Reference Book on institutional psychiatric treatments.

From 1903 to 1910, Regiment-Counselor Wilhelm Svetlin was President of the Children's protection and Siblings'

rescue Association (« Kinderschutz- und Resettungsgeschwister ») ; afterwards, he stayed as Vice-President.

Vice-President of the Alland Hospital Society.

Active member of the Medical Association.

Vice-President (1896-1909) and President (1909-1914) of the Vienna College of Physicians.

Member of the Board of Directors of the Vienna Chamber of Physicians.

President of the Eastern Medical Association.

### Publikation

Die einzige umfangreichere Publikation neben weiteren fast ausschließlich Falldarstellungen ist « Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Katalepsie » (in : « Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten » , Nummer 8, 1878) .

In seiner Schrift über « Die Frauenfrage und der ärztliche Beruf » (1895) sprach er sich gegen die alleinige Zulassung zum Medizin-studium, jedoch für die Öffnung aller Studium-richtungen für Frauen aus.

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Eisenberg, 2.

Fischer.

Kreuter.

UA, Wien.

...

**Friday, 8 October 1897** : Gustav Mahler was formally appointed to succeed Wilhelm Jahn as the Vienna « Hofoper's » music-director.

His first production in his new office was Bedřich Smetana's Czech nationalist Opera « Dalibor » , with a reconstituted Finale that left the hero Dalibor alive. This production caused anger among the more extreme Viennese German nationalists, who accused Mahler of « fraternising with the anti-dynastic, inferior Czech nation » .

The Austrian author Stefan Zweig, in his memoirs « The World of Yesterday » (1942) , described Mahler's appointment as an example of the Viennese public's general distrust of young artists :

« Once, when an amazing exception occurred and Gustav Mahler was named director of the Court Opera at 38 years old, a frightened murmur and astonishment ran through Vienna, because someone had entrusted the highest institute of art to “ such a young person ” ... This suspicion (that all young people were “ not very reliable ”) ran through all circles at that time. »

Zweig also wrote :

To have seen Gustav Mahler on the street (in Vienna) was an event that one would proudly report to his comrades the next morning as if it were a personal triumph. »

**Wednesday, 10 November 1897** : An « all Wolf » concert is performed at the « Kleine Musikvereins-Saal » . Wolf was ill by now and the concert was organized by Doctor Michael Haberlandt of the « Hugo Wolf-Verein » . According to those music-critics who went, it was well-attended. A review appeared in the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » , not by Max Kalbeck, however, but by Ludwig Karpath, the substitute employed to gather-up the crumbs under Kalbeck's table. Karpath noticed that the public which had stayed away from Wolf's concerts while he was in good health seemed to flock to the « Wolf-Verein » concerts now he was ill.

His criticism was favourable, but not without reservations :

« The “ Hugo Wolf Society ” (...) had a long series of Wolf's songs performed at its last musical evening. From all these compositions speaks a strong, if limited, talent. Wolf's innate province is that of lyric. There, he moves in flower-strewn fields with the most natural grace and freely flowing melodies, and in the splendid gardens of soft, dewy blossoms, whose noble fragrance blows over from the depths of a poet's heart like a warm breeze. »

It is interesting to note that, with the specifically musical references removed, Karpath's description of Wolf's songs could well apply to Kalbeck's poetry.

Břetislav Lvovský reported the concert, but made little of Wolf's songs but much of what he regarded as an inadequate performance. Otto von Kapff's account was even more brief, but he did manage to describe Wolf as « brilliant in his own way ». Robert Hirschfeld wrote at more length, regarding an evening full of Wolf's songs as too much of what in small doses would be a good thing. He advised the « Wolf-Verein » that, if it really wanted to increase the popularity and audience-exposure of Wolf's songs, it would do better by directing its energy towards lobbying artists (especially, the best singers) to include them in small numbers in their programmes.

Hofrat von Wærz remained unconverted :

« The “ Hugo Wolf Society ”, which according to its own statutes concerns itself with the popularizing of Wolf's compositions, wishes to prepare a treat for the concert-going public, not only its members, but also other people. Admittedly, the latter now disapprove of such “ Lieder ” and songs of the pathologically over-stretched composer, whose peculiarity consists precisely in unsingability, of very substantial difficulties, while the healthy part of Wolf's output needs no patronage at all in order to be bought, successful, and heard with pleasure. »

**Monday, 24 January 1898** : After 4 months in Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin's asylum, Hugo Wolf was discharged with the help of Melanie Köchert. His mental condition had improved to a certain degree but he was unable to work.

« The least mental occupation wearies me. I believe it is all over with me. I do not read, do not make music, do not think ; in a word, I vegetate. »

Wolf was then taken in charge by his sister (who lived in Celje) but he ran away very soon.

For most of the subsequent months, his friends would take him on several short holiday trips in Austria. Melanie and Hugo travelled in Italy. Visiting Trieste, Wolf saw the sea for the first and only time in his life. After his return to Vienna, symptoms of mental derangement manifested themselves in even greater degree.

**Sunday, 6 March 1898** : After his visits to various resorts, Hugo Wolf, aged 37, returns to a new Viennese home on « Mühlgasse » .

**October 1898** : During a stay in Traunkirchen, Hugo Wolf left his apartment one morning tormented by ideas of persecution. His friends, including his mistress Melanie Köchert, searched the vicinity for some time and he was finally found at the edge of a nearby forest, dripping wet. In a half-hearted suicide attempt, Wolf had tried to drown himself in the cold waters of the Traunsee River, but had swum to shore (a parallel with Robert Schumann's case forcibly suggests itself) . Then, he had wandered in the woods ashamed of what he had attempted to do. He was now conscious of the coming doom and was resigned to it. For a time, the Köcherts hoped to nurse him in their own house ; but, before long, signs of paralytic cramp were evident, and now, it was the poor stricken soul himself who asked to be taken into an institution.

Hugo Wolf shared with Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert all the psychological and neurological symptoms that

interfered with their artistic expression, especially in respect to Lied compositions. Wolf left his last Opera, « Manuel Venegas » unfinished, trying desperately to end it before he lost his mind completely ; he also created 3 songs based on the poems of the famous painter and sculptor Michelangelo Buonarroti, and baptized this work « 3 Michelangelo-Lieder » when he realized the coming end of his life. Their titles « Often do I reflect » , « Does my soul feel » and « All that is created must perish » depict the psychological situation of a desperate man :

All that is created must perish,  
everything around us passes away,  
for the time flies and the sun sees  
that everything has an ending -  
thinking, speaking, joy and sorrow.

And our children's children die away  
like night's shadow in the daylight  
or like a mist in a breath of wind.

We also were human beings,  
merry or sad like you.

And now we are lifeless here,  
nothing but dust, as you see.

All that is created must perish,  
everything around passes away.

...

Chiunque nasce a morte arriva  
nel fuggir del tempo ; et'sole  
niuna cosa lascia viva.

Manca il dolce e quel che dole  
e gl'ingegni e le parole ;  
e le nostre antiche prole  
al sole ombre, al vento un fummo.  
Come voi uomini fummo,  
lieti e tristi, come siete ;  
e or siàn, come vedete,  
terra al sol, di vita priva.



Ogni cosa a morte arriva.  
Già fur gli occhi nostri interi  
con la luce in ogni speco ;  
or son voti, orrendi e neri,  
e ciò porta il tempo seco.

...

In contrast to Franz Schubert whose disease began 6 years before his death, both Schumann and Wolf lived much longer after the primary infection. Both reached the stadium of general paresis, while Schubert probably died from meningo-vascular syphilis.

**Tuesday, 4 October 1898** : Hugo Wolf himself asked to be put in a mental home - « Only for God's sake not (Doctor) Svetlin's ! »

A telegram was sent to Michael Haberlandt, who made the needful arrangements with the Lower-Austrian Provincial Asylum (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt ») located in the Brünnefeld sector (known for its healing springs) . 2 attendants were sent-down, and Wolf went quietly with them into his living tomb.

Wolf remained in confinement, gradually lapsing into complete irrationality. His memory began to fail. His delusions grew worse. On good days, he could play the piano ; other times, he forgot his own identity and could not pronounce his friends' names when they visited. He experienced paralytic cramps and spreading paralysis.

The costs for Wolf's hospitalization were provided by the « Hugo Wolf-Verein » ; Emperor Franz-Josef also contributed !

In desperation, Wolf wrote to his friends and sister, imploring them to rescue him from the netted (caged) bed. For several weeks, he was allowed no visitors.

**1899** : Melanie Köchert visited and nursed Hugo Wolf 3 times a week at the Lower-Austrian Provincial Asylum. He was able to play Beethoven Symphonies, arranged for 4 hands, with an employee of the hospital, an amateur musician. Although his fingers did not always obey him, he pointed-out every little mistake to his partner.

Wolf's eye-sight got worse, as did his ability to speak.

Occasionally, he would howl :

« If only I was Hugo Wolf. »

**After mid-1899** : Hugo Wolf could make no music at all.

**Early 1900** : Hugo Wolf became manic-depressive again. He feared that he was going to be killed, skinned alive or poisoned. He often had severe paralysis muscle spasms, speech was more and more difficult. He became incontinent.

Conclusive proof that Alma Mahler's account is not only credible but also the only correct and feasible one is shown by new material on the mentally ill Hugo Wolf published by Robert Hernried in the January 1940 and January 1945 issues of the American music-journal « The Musical Quarterly » . For the sake of brevity, we will refer to the second of the 2 studies, which appeared in this journal under the title : « Hugo Wolf's " 4 Operas ". With Unpublished Letters from Hugo Wolf, Rosa Mayreder and Oskar Grohe » . Hernried remarked by way of introduction that, although we regard Wolf's songs above all as the most valuable and characteristic part of his output, he nevertheless clung fanatically to his Operatic plans, the first performance of his Opera « Corregidor » in Mannheim, on 7 June 1896, representing for him the high-point of his compositional career.

**August 1901** : Hugo Wolf was confined to a netted-bed built like a cage, where he stayed until his death.

**Monday, 16 February 1903** : Hugo Wolf caught a cold which moved into his lungs. His body was now too weak to offer any resistance to an affection, though there was still enough sensation left in the nerves for him to suffer agonies from paralytic cramps. It was seen that the end was near, and Michael Haberlandt, Heinrich Werner, and Melanie Köchert watched almost incessantly by his bed. After violent convulsions, death claimed him at age 43. As if to add the last touch of tragedy to his fate, none of them was in the room.

...

Doctor William A. Frosch, medical director of the Payne Whitney Clinic at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, agrees :

« Liszt and Mahler certainly led unusual and flamboyant lives. »

But they were not psychiatrically ill :

« Mahler was neurotic, and haunted by death, but did not have major affective disease. »

Hugo Wolf had not been diagnosed for psychiatric problems until age 36 and he died at age 43 from paresis after several hospitalizations and an attempt to drown himself in the Traunsee River, in Traunkirchen. However, long before his final illness, Wolf was infamous as an un-predictable, irascible man who often snarled at his best friends. He lived in poverty and had to work as a music-critic (one of the nastiest and least reliable who ever lived) but when the manic mood over-took him could churn-out masterly songs dozens at a time.

Doctor Frosch concedes :

« Wolf does appear to have had a pre-existent cyclothymic personality. »

In sum, however, the psychiatrist finds no clear reason to link manic-depressive illness or other major mental disturbance with musical creativity :

« That there is a psychology of musical creativity I do not doubt. That there is a meaning to it, perhaps imputed after the fact, I do not doubt. That there is a pathology to it. I find no compelling evidence. »

...

The mental disease of Hugo Wolf manifested itself in an acute form, the almost manic creative mood was followed by a psychotic frame of mind. The composer's behaviour changed : Hugo Wolf informed the doctors in his anamnesis that he knew he had been infected, which was recorded in his medical file. About a year previous to the outbreak of the mental disease, an ophthalmologist, who had removed a foreign body from his eye, established changes patho-gnomic of lues on his pupil and informed his colleagues in Vienna of his diagnosis, but there was no response.

...

A very full-account of the illness of Hugo Wolf is given in the biography by Frank Walker (1951) , and Ernst Décsey (1919) and Ernest Newman (1907) are also very informative. There can be no doubt that he died, as the physicians of the time considered, of general paresis, and that is also Juda's diagnosis.

A parallel is not infrequently drawn between the medical histories of Robert Schumann and Hugo Wolf, and some authors, such as Russell Brain (1948) , Leibbrand and Balet (1930) and Hecaen (1934) consider that the parallel is much closer than in the final psychosis alone. Thus, Leibbrand and Balet consider that Wolf showed distinct manic-depressive traits, and Hecaen diagnosed a definite manic-depressive psychosis, with circular attacks from the age of 28 to 37. The problem of Wolf's personality will have to be considered in detail in a later paper. There is certainly much to support the view that he was of cyclothymic constitution. But much more than in the case of Schumann, one sees also marked schizoid traits. Moreover, it seems hardly justifiable to regard him as having suffered from a manic-depressive psychosis, when he was never psychiatrically ill or in receipt of psychiatric treatment until the onset of the organic psychosis. The existence of very marked ups and downs of mood in the earlier history, however, makes the problem of deciding just when the general paresis had its onset one of some difficulty. He was a man of very unusual personality, impetuous and whimsical, extremely sensitive and ready to take offence, uncontrolled in his behaviour ; at times, even his most devoted friends found it almost impossible to get on with him. There is, therefore, no well-marked base-line of normality from which to take a departure.

In **1888 and 1889**, he was in one of his up-swings, which in **1891** was succeeded by a severe and lasting state of low-spirits and creative incapacity. At this time, he was suffering from recurrent sore throats, which have been interpreted as the signs of secondary syphilis. Certainly, not all these sore throats were caused by syphilis, since they continued to occur even after admission to the psychiatric hospital.

The years **1892 to 1894** were almost totally barren, and, for the greater part of this time, he was most unhappy and

complaining bitterly of his sterility. These 3 years constitute the longest and severest of his depressive episodes. One might be tempted to regard it as an atypical prodrome of his later organic psychosis, but that closer scrutiny shows that in essentials it was the same as his earlier depressive phases. There may have been contributory factors, for instance his burning desire to write (like Wagner) an Opera, and the failure of his attempts to find a suitable libretto. He may also have suffered from general « malaise » caused by secondary syphilis. Headache, difficulty in concentration, tiredness and irritability, and vague bodily discomforts, are not uncommon during the secondary stage and may also occur in asymptomatic neuro-syphilis (Mayer-Gross et al. (1954)). We have very little information about the course the disease took in his case before the discovery of the Argyll-Robertson phenomenon ; nor do we know anything of how he reacted to it. In the case of Schubert, the syphilitic infection had a most profound and lasting depressive effect (Deutsch (1946) ; Brown (1958)). Wolf's photo taken at about the end of the depressive period shows him markedly aged, sad and bitter (in contrast with the earlier portrait of 1889, also reproduced in Walker's biography) ; but it is still a noble and entirely composed face.

In **January 1895**, his mood improved, and, in April, he started work on « Der Corregidor » . With this, he passed into a lastingly excited and over-active state, so that he completed the Opera in 114 weeks. His mental excitement is described in terms which might suggest the onset of a mental illness ; yet, it was hardly greater than had been shown on earlier occasions. Previously, he had rejected Rosa Mayreder's libretto of « Corregidor » ; but, in January, in a better mood, he changed his mind. We do not think that this change was due to a psychotic failure of judgment. It was his friend Anton Lang who first suggested that he might revise his earlier opinion of it ; and there were others of his musical friends who shared his new enthusiasm. Wolf would not have been the first famous composer to use an inferior libretto. The music of « Corregidor » fully maintains his standards. The relative failure of the work lies in its dramatic weakness : Wolf, it has been said, is the Wagner of songs but not of Operas.

After the composition was completed, he continued to work through the summer on the scoring, and he remained in a cheerful active mood until the following spring. During this time, there is no suggestion of organic nervous disease, or of any change of personality. In the few weeks **between Wednesday, 25 March and Monday, 30 April 1896**, he wrote the entire 24 songs of the « Italienisches Liederbuch » , all of which show his usual mastery. The Italian songs are, indeed, not only one of the peak products of his artistic creation, but, according to Frank Walker (1955) , fully maintain unity of style with the first book of 5 years before.

His good mood was interrupted in the latter **end of May** by a state of apathy, insomnia and dreadful tiredness, from which, however, he improved in June. This set-back is partly explained by the circumstances which accompanied the first performance of « Corregidor » in Mannheim. He was always shy of publicity, and yielded only to repeated requests that he should attend. Moreover, the theatrical atmosphere was quite foreign to him, and he was hopelessly ill-equipped to control orchestral rehearsals. He is reported to have shown listlessness and apathy during the performance of the Opera ; but this can only have been a mask for his anxiety, and is in marked contrast to his joy when singing the Italian songs to intimate friends a few hours earlier, and his « best of humours » in their company when the performance was over. At this time, he left money in a drawer of his hotel room, and, afterwards, forgot and lost it : this is explicable on normal lines by his natural excitement. This and other similar blunders need no pathological explanation as they fit in with his fanatical absorption in artistic problems (see his letters to Melanie

Köchert of April 1895, quoted by Walker) .

Of his last works « Corregidor » , the second book of the Italian song-cycle and, probably, the Michelangelo songs were composed before the onset of the paresis ; while « Manuel Venegas » was the product of a mind which was already pathologically disturbed. However, the psychosis remained in its incipient stage until **September** ; and the work he put into « Manuel Venegas » (and the Michelangelo songs too, if the illness is dated back to include them) quite maintain his old quality. As effects of the illness, one can at best refer to the relative inferiority of the 4th of the Michelangelo songs, and to the fact that he could not complete the 1st Act of « Manuel Venegas » , possibly because psychotic restlessness interfered with concentrated work. During the composition of « Manuel Venegas » , he went, to begin with, into a state of creative excitement entirely similar to his state in previous phases of creative inspiration. There is little evidence that the incipient phase of general paresis acted as a stimulant (as Lange-Eichbaum (1956) has suggested as occurring in other cases) , or that it produced an alteration of style (as suggested by Jaspers (1949) in the initial phase of schizophrenic illness in Hölderlin) , or led to a markedly increased rate of production as in the case of Vincent van Gogh (also suggested by Jaspers) . From the time the patient went into hospital, all that has survived of subsequent compositions is artistically valueless, although scoring is still perfect. He himself realized the lack of worth in the work of his remission and actually destroyed some of it.

The published letters written by Hugo Wolf during his remission **from Wednesday, 26 January to Thursday, 20 October 1898**, are in their form in no way disordered. Most of them are short accounts of minor events, meetings with friends, the weather, excursions, food, and house-work carried-out by himself ! There is no reference to musical work done by him, nor to music in general. Their temper, compared with his pre-psychotic letters, is descriptive and almost un-emotional. Though they do not lack all insight into the change he had undergone, they produce a deadly impression.

### 1896-1903 (Ernest Newman)

Hugo Wolf returned to Vienna towards the end of June 1896, and, shortly afterwards, took possession of the new home in the « Schwindgasse » that the generosity of his friends had provided for him. It was the first time he had had a home of his own, and he was greatly pleased with it. His letters go with the most charming « naïveté » into all kinds of details as to the number and size and arrangement of the rooms. The place was fairly quiet, his work-room and sitting-room looking upon a small garden ; his friend Heinrich Werner lived in the same street, and they could talk to each other across the court-yard from their respective windows. The Mayreders lived only some 500 yards away. « How grateful I am for this blessing » , he writes to Hugo Faißt on the 11th July, « only those can estimate who, like myself, have for half a human life led a nomadic existence » . Each of his friends gave a contribution to the furnishing : Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg, a fine writing-table which had once belonged to his grandfather the poet Karl Eduard von Holtei ; « Frau » Melanie Köchert, a splendid Persian carpet and other gifts ; « Frau » Rosa Mayreder, a divan and some pictures for his study. « But you, my honest “ Faischtling ” » , (1) he writes in deep gratitude to Faißt, « you laid the foundation for all these delightful things, for without your secret management I should to-day be in the streets, instead of being well-provided for, on the 4th storey, to which a true heaven's ladder leads-up. Let me kiss and embrace you, dear good man, friend, brother and companion. I can only exclaim with Florestan : “ You will have your reward in a better world ” . »

In August, he went to « Schloß Matzen » again, leaving there on the 16th for Graz with Doctor Potpeschnigg. Here, he began to collate the new orchestral parts of « Der Corregidor » with the full-score. Later on, he subjected the Opera itself to a careful revision, not only changing many of the marks of expression and lightening the instrumentation here and there, but altering the music slightly at 1 or 2 points. The Hanover Opera authorities approached him during his stay at Graz with regard to a performance of the work, but nothing came of the negotiations. On the 3rd September, he was back in Vienna ; a few days afterwards, he was deeply distressed to hear of the death of Baroness Frieda von Lipperheide, who, as he said, had been a second mother to him. In October, he was again 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. His curiously fastidious taste deciding that the term « song » was inapplicable either to the form or the contents of the poem, he altered the title of his setting of it to « Morgenstimmung » . It was his intention to bring-out 2 other songs to words by Reinick : the « Gesellenlied » and the « Skolie » , composed in 1888 and 1889 respectively.

A recital of his songs that had been planned for Vienna did not take place ; but, on the 30th November, one was a liking for « Der Corregidor » that Wolf counted on an early performance of the Opera. It would certainly be produced in the coming season.

He wrote to his mother on the 4th June 1897 :

« I have to-day received the definite assurance of the new “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler (an old friend of mine) . He is now all-powerful at the Vienna Opera. He himself will rehearse and conduct my work (“ Der Corregidor ”) ; this will be all the more agreeable to me as Mahler is more than any other man fitted to enter into my intentions. »

« We recently had the complete tetralogy of “ The Ring of the Nibelung ”, and, for the most part, without cuts - a very rare thing for Vienna. The Vienna performances of Wagner's works will soon rank as models. We have to thank Mahler for it all, who has put an absolute end to the old jog-trot routine. »

The performance was practically settled upon for January or February 1898. For reasons not perfectly understood, however, the work was put aside, Anton Rubinstein's « Demon » being given in its place.

In March 1897, he had begun work upon a new poet, Michelangelo, 3 of whose sonnets he set to music. Paul Müller had sent him, the previous Christmas, a fine edition of Walter Tomow's translation of the poems. He planned a collection of at least 6 of these. His settings, he wrote to Faißt on the 23rd March, « are really antique, so far as one can be so in modern music. ... I work without intermission like a steam-engine » . These are the last songs that came from his pen. From another letter, it appears that the 4th of the set was actually begun, but Wolf was dissatisfied with it, and only 3 have been published.

At this time, his whole prospects looked brighter than they had ever done. In May 1897, someone (Wolf never knew who it was) settled on him a small annuity of 200 Gulden (about £ 17) . The generous donor was a Mannheim singer, Anna Reiß. Appreciation of his work, too, seemed to be coming at last. In a letter to his old mother of the 4th June 1897, he says that he foresees a rosy future for himself, and hopes that she will live to see the dawn of it. In the

previous April, his friends had founded an association, the Vienna « Hugo Wolf-Verein » . The main-object of which was to spread the recognition of his music, and to relieve the composer of any spade-work in connection with it. He tells his mother, in the letter already quoted from, that the associates already number more than 100. The president was Doctor Michael Haberlandt, Custos of the Natural History Museum and a lecturer at the Vienna University - one of the later friends of Wolf, but yielding to none of the others in energy and enthusiasm. The founding of the « Verein » was formally celebrated on the 22nd April. Wolf was not present, but he met his friends afterwards over a glass of beer. Knowing his detestation of anything in the nature of hero-worship (1) , Haberlandt, in proposing the toast of the new society, had to omit all mention of the name of it ; the grim humour of the situation at last seized upon Wolf, and he laughed till the tears ran down his face. (2)

Besides the Michelangelo songs, the spring of 1897 saw him engaged on a large new work : his second Opera, « Manuel Venegas » . (3) As we have seen, the possibility of an Opera on this novel of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón occurred to him in 1892, but, at that time, he put the idea aside. It came-up again in 1897. He applied to « Frau » Mayreder for a libretto, which she prepared rather against her will, feeling, for one thing, that it would be better for Wolf not to work at a second Opera on a Spanish subject. He was greatly pleased with the libretto at first, but the friends to whom he showed it were less enthusiastic, and gradually succeeded in bringing him round to their view of the inadequacy of it for stage-effect. It was Haberlandt who gave the finishing blow to the text. Wolf was greatly distressed at first, no doubt feeling that there lay before him another long period of anxious search for a libretto, and another epoch of musical sterility. Haberlandt, however, suggested that a good text might be put together by his friend and colleague Doctor Moritz Hørnes. He introduced Hørnes to Wolf ; the poet sketched-out the general plan of the action as he conceived it, and the composer was delighted. Some weeks afterwards, Haberlandt brought him the completed poem. Wolf read it in silence, and was so deeply affected by it that the tears ran down his pale and wasted cheeks. Hørnes made, at his suggestion, 1 or 2 slight alterations that would give freer scope to the composer's need for purely musical development. When the final text reached him at the beginning of July 1897, he was completely satisfied with it ; Shakespeare himself, he told Oskar Grohe in his glee, could not have made a better thing of the novel for him.

He made a short excursion to Traunkirchen ; then, on his return to Vienna, he began work upon the music of « Manuel Venegas » with his usual feverish and unresting ardour. Every physical discomfort was forgotten, every social observance put aside ; visits were neither paid nor received, and correspondence was not answered.

But those who knew him best and had most opportunities for observing him closely were beginning to be anxious about him. Already, there had been occasional slight signs of unusual strangeness in his manner. In the preceding April, Engelbert Humperdinck, to whom there is no doubt Wolf was sincerely attached, had paid him a visit on his way to Pesth, where he was to conduct « Hänsel und Gretel » . The 2 composers and « Frau » Humperdinck, after visiting the museum in the morning, went to take some refreshment. Wolf suddenly exhibited an inexplicable aversion to « Frau » Humperdinck. He shifted his seat several times, giving as his reason that he did not wish to be seen by any of his friends ; he was irritable and ill-humoured. In the afternoon, Wolf began to play « Der Corregidor » to Humperdinck, his wife, and Richard Wallaschek, the well-known author of « Primitive Music » . He played on for about 2 hours, Humperdinck being greatly delighted with the work. After hearing the 2nd Act, he and his wife had to leave,

having another appointment in the evening. Promising to play the remaining 2 Acts to them on their return from Pesth, Wolf accompanied his guests to their carriage, closed the door of it abruptly, and ran-off without a word of farewell. When Humperdinck returned from Pesth, Wolf was not in Vienna, and the pair never met again.

In a letter to Emil Kauffmann, the day after this episode, Wolf writes :

« We had scarcely gone through more than a third of the Opera when his complete lack of interest in it greatly vexed me. Now, I find it on the one hand quite comprehensible that a composer who has enriched the repertoire of all the barrel-organs should have no ear for the better music of another man ; but, on the other hand, it is sad indeed when rambling music-makers of this kind are trumpeted to the world as the ordained successors of Wagner » ... and so on in the same style.

One feels only pity at the outburst ; the man's mind was clearly in an abnormal state of irritation and suspicion.

There were further signs of nervous derangement while he was working at « Manuel Venegas » . His weakened physical system was now hardly equal to the strain of his intense thinking ; and, for the first time in his life, he had recourse to wine to stimulate him during composition when he felt his bodily forces ebbing. On the rare occasions when he called upon his friends, they were struck by the strange uneasiness and excitability of his manner. On the 15th September, Haberlandt received a flying note from him saying that, on the previous day, he had written the whole of Manuel's monologue at one sitting in spite of various interruptions, and bidding Haberlandt to call all the faithful to the standard on the next Sunday, when he would play them as much as he had written of the new Opera. (He wrote a postcard to his friend Walter Bockmayer in the same terms. The hand-writing of this was noticeably deranged.) He followed this up with a couple of sheets of music-paper on which he had jotted-down the theme of Manuel's love for Soledad and part of a duet ; across the first sheet, inter-lined with the music, he had written « Piping hot ! Just out of the pan ! Am beside myself ! Sell me up ! Am happy ! Raving ! » . Haberlandt says he felt a thrill of terror go through him as he read the words, but tried to re-assure himself with the reflection that, when Wolf was composing, he always seemed possessed with a demon that made him unlike a normal man. But his mind was not easy, and, at the risk of annoying Wolf by adding another to the visits which the composer so much resented at that time, he called at his rooms. Wolf opened the door himself, and Haberlandt was startled by the wildness of his look. Wolf stared blankly at Haberlandt as he made an apology for disturbing him ; then, he took him into the study and immediately began to talk excitedly and confusedly about his new work. Haberlandt was painfully affected, and besought him to take a rest or to go away for a time in order to recover his health ; but Wolf assured him that he had never felt better and had never written anything finer. He sat-down at the piano and played and sang the « Manuel Venegas » fragment with a most impressive look of felicity upon his face. His tears fell upon the piano, and he wiped them from the keys with his sleeve, like a child. The music seemed to soothe him, and Haberlandt went away, concerned for him but not immediately anxious, and with a promise that, on the following Sunday, Wolf would visit him in the country and, if he chose, bring his composition with him. A day or so afterwards, dining with a couple of friends, Ferdinand Föll and Edmund (von) Hellmer at a restaurant, Wolf assured them that he was now director of the Vienna Opera and would make Föll a chorus Master. They took it to be a grim joke of his, and thought no more about it ; the real significance of the remark only became clear to them some days later.



Walter Bockmayer had asked Wolf to come on the Sunday, the 10th September 1897, to his house in Mödling, outside Vienna, and had invited some 20 other people to hear the composer play as much as had been written of his new work. The meeting was for the afternoon. Early in the morning, Wolf went to Hellmer's home in Perchtoldsdorf, which he had never entered before ; encountering Hellmer's mother, he represented himself to her as the director of the Vienna Opera. He recited a speech he had composed to the officials of the Opera, in which he finally dismissed the director. Then, he hurried Hellmer off to Haberlandt's house, and forced them both, in spite of their protests, to go to Mauer, where the Opera singer Hermann Winckelmann lived ; he insisted that Winckelmann was to go at once to Bockmayer's with him to sing the music of « Manuel Venegas » .

He burst into Winckelmann's house with the query :

« Do you know who your new director is ? I am ! I have just been with the Prince and have arranged everything with him. »

For the moment, Winckelmann was inclined to believe him, and was startled to hear what Wolf desired of him. Haberlandt, however, intimated by signs that something was wrong, and Winckelmann went away on the pretext that he had been called to the telephone. The friends managed to get Wolf out of the house, but he was furious with the singer ; if he did not come to Bockmayer's in the afternoon, he said, he would dismiss him.

Wolf's friends took him back to Perchtoldsdorf, where he had something to eat in Haberlandt's house, after which he slept a couple of hours. He had been awake since 3 o'clock that morning, had had no food for 24 hours, and was quite exhausted. Meanwhile, the other friends were told of what had occurred. Wolf's sleep did not, as Haberlandt had hoped, restore him to his normal state of mind ; as soon as he awoke, he was again possessed by the idea that he was director of the Vienna Opera. Still, no one yet suspected the real gravity of the situation. Bockmayer and the others agreed that it would be better to carry-out the original plan for the assembly at his house, since it was feared that a postponement of this would irritate Wolf still further. To Bockmayer's, they accordingly went about 5 o'clock. Here, Wolf's conduct was stranger than ever, he insisted, for instance, on one lady leaving the room because he felt that she was un-sympathetic towards him. Yet, when he sat-down and played and sang through the « Manuel Venegas » music, it was all done with perfect clearness and self-command ; some of the passages he repeated and explained. The moment he rose from the piano, all lucidity vanished, and the crazed side of the poor brain became the Master again. He once more maintained that he was the director of the Opera, and that he would dismiss Mahler, Winckelmann and others ; then, he began to relate atrocious stories of his house-porter.

There could now be no doubt of the state of Wolf's mind. Among Bockmayer's guests, as it happened, there was a physician of repute, who declared it to be imperative that Wolf should be placed in an institution without delay. They telephoned to Vienna, but got the reply that no inmate could be received in the asylum at night. Meanwhile, Wolf had become much calmer ; he seated himself at the piano and played the Overture to « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , though his memory failed him towards the end and he had to stop. He was taken into the dining-room, where he ate and drank well. Then, he talked quite lucidly about various episodes of his life, though every now and then, there were renewals of his former aberration. At 11 o'clock, Ferdinand Föll and Bockmayer took him back to

Vienna. He was in a good mood all the time ; but when they reached his house in the « Schwindgasse » , he suddenly attacked the concierge. The latter, of course, not understanding the situation, turned on him fiercely ; and a terrible scene ensued, Föll and Bockmayer both being in peril of their own lives in the attempt to separate the men. At last, they got Wolf to his room ; he gradually became more composed, ate some fruit, and, about 2 o'clock in the morning, went to sleep.

The next day, he put-on black clothes, saying he had to go to the « Hofmeister » and sign the agreement regarding the Opera appointment. Haberlandt, Werner and a physician humoured him in the idea, went-out with him, and quietly took him to the medical establishment of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin. This was on the 20th September 1897. Then, his friends lost sight of him, the most conflicting reports as to his condition reaching them now and then.

It was at one time rumoured that he was paralyzed, and, at the most, could not live more than a year. The latter diagnosis proved incorrect, but the tendency to paralysis became clearer as time went on. (Doctor Potpeschnigg, it seems, had already suspected something of the kind. About a year before, when Wolf was staying with him in Graz, some cinders from a locomotive entered Wolfs eye. Potpeschnigg took him to a specialist, who noticed the insensitiveness and rigidity of the pupils. He communicated the fact to Potpeschnigg, who, to his great sorrow, recognized in it one of the signs of brain disease.)

The mental disease took one of its most frequent forms, Wolf had delusions in which he believed himself to be various great personages. At times, he thought he was director of the establishment, and meant to take Friedrich Nietzsche and heal him ; at other times, he thought he was Jupiter and could control the weather. It makes piteous reading, but the probability is that he was not unhappy in these delusions, and that he suffered less at this time, both physically and mentally, than in any of the later stages of his disease.

He gradually improved, but with returning health felt a pathetic shyness with regard to the old friends to whom his first derangement had been disclosed. He seemed, as time went on, to be recovering completely, and, before long, was able to work quite collectedly at music. He scored a chorus from « Manuel Venegas » and 2 of his Spanish songs, « Wer sein holdes Lieb verloren » (Emanuel Geibel) and « Wenn du zu den Blumengehst » (Paul Heyse) , turned the « Morgenstimmung » into a « Morgen-hymnus » for chorus and orchestra, took-up the « Italienische Serenade » again, and re-wrote part of the « Penthesilea » , afterwards burning the last-named, however. He read Heinrich von Kleist continually, and thought of another Opera on the subject of the « Prinz von Homburg » .

On the 24th January 1898, he was discharged from the establishment. He now conceived a dread of Vienna, and indeed of Austria, and wished to go anywhere else to live Italy or Switzerland for preference. For 3 days, he stayed with « Frau » Köchert and Doctor Werner ; then, he went with Werner to Graz. After a day's pause there, he went on a tour with Potpeschnigg in southern Styria. Once, he played to his companion the new version of « Penthesilea » . When he came to the passage he had added during his illness, he paused and reflected for a moment, then, angry at the poverty of it, tore the page out and was with difficulty persuaded by Potpeschnigg not to burn it, there and then.

For a little time in February, he wandered about with his sister Modesta, visiting Trieste, Pirano, Lussinpiccolo, Abbazia

and other places. He was still sadly out of tune, and nothing that man or nature could do could give him any joy in life. To Faißt, he wrote on the 2nd February that he had no mind for work, and thought he would never write another note. Music-making of any kind was odious to him ; even his unfinished Opera now pleased him so little that he felt no desire to go on with it.

He concluded :

« Greet for me, your lovely, delightful Swabian country, and take a warm embrace from your worn-out and dismantled Hugo Wolf. »

On the 5th, he wrote to Haberlandt in the same gloomy strain :

« Thanks for your friendly lines, but do not ask for a letter from me. The least mental occupation wearies me. I believe it is all over with me. I do not read, do not make music, do not think ; in a word, I vegetate. This is a true picture of my inner-being. »

There was a proposal from the Marquis della Valle that he should visit Pallanza, but the invitation was for April. On the 12th February, he writes to Faißt, wearily asking if it cannot be arranged for him to go to Pallanza, at once ; any little room where he can be quiet will do for him, for he is tired of wandering about. He begs his friend to forgive him for the brevity of his letter, for nothing now repels him so much as the idea of correspondence ; he can scarcely bring himself to write a single page.

Nowhere could he find rest or happiness. Suddenly abandoning his Italian tour, he paid a flying visit to his home in Windischgrätz. Thence, he went to Salzburg, thought of settling there, changed his mind again, and, on the 8th of March, was back in Vienna, hoping, he wrote to Grohe, that he would be able to resume work at « Manuel Venegas » . In May, he tells Faißt, he means to go to live in Hietzing, outside the city, where he will be near the Schönbrunn Park. He is fatigued after all his wanderings, but, on the whole, feels better. He at first put-up at a small hotel in Vienna ; then, lodgings were found for him in the « Mühlgasse » , his financial needs, both now and later, being looked after by the Vienna « Hugo Wolf-Verein » , aided by some of his old friends. In his new quarters, he began to feel his interest in music reviving ; he improved the ending of the « Vaterland » and revised the Eichendorff songs, rejecting the « Erwartung » , « Die Nacht » and « Das Waldmädchen » from the new volume-edition (« Manuel Venegas ») however, he still could not bring himself to touch, though he discussed the libretto with Doctor Moritz Hørnes. His health probably improved a little about this time. His appetite, he writes to Faißt on the 21st April, is excellent. He contradicts the report that he is moody and un-sociable ; it simply means that he has resolved to keep quietly to himself, a course which his friends have misinterpreted. The justification itself seems a confession ; he was undoubtedly a changed man.

On the 24th May, he went with the Köcherts to Traunkirchen. He gave himself up entirely to the quest of health, doing no work beyond the correction of the proofs of the 3 Michelangelo songs ; the intention of orchestrating them was never carried-out. For a time, he seemed to improve ; he looked ahead and planned to spend the winter near

Gmunden. In October, however, he became decidedly worse. One day, he threw himself into the Traunsee River, intending to drown himself ; but the coldness of the water effected a revulsion of feeling and he swam mechanically back to the shore. He was now conscious of the coming doom and was resigned to it. For a time, the Köcherts hoped to nurse him in their own house ; but, before long, signs of paralytic cramp were evident, and now, it was the poor stricken soul himself who asked to be taken into an institution, only begging pathetically that it might not be Doctor Svetlin's. A telegram was sent to Haberlandt, who made the needful arrangements with the Lower-Austrian Asylum in Vienna. 2 attendants were sent-down, and Wolf went quietly with them into his living tomb. He was destined still to live on for more than 4 years, but he never again entered the outer-world as a free man.

His condition varied from time to time. In the spring of 1899, he was rather better ; he joined in the games of the other inmates, read a little, and, sometimes, received visits. All that was possible was done to make his bed of pain a little lighter. Besides the contributions of the « Wolf-Verein » and of other institutions, the Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef made a yearly grant of 1,200 Kronen, which was paid regularly until the composer's death. A piano was placed in his room ; it happened that one of the officials of the asylum was himself a musician of modern tendencies who knew and admired Wolf's work, and the two often played Anton Bruckner's and other works as piano-duets. Now and then, he was allowed to go to Perchtoldsdorf and other places with an attendant, but his remarks on everything he saw indicated how disturbed his brain had become ; he thought that well-known buildings and scenes had been changed by enchantment, and changed for the worse. Occasionally, he forgot his own identity. On the whole, he was declining steadily, both his memory and his powers of perception growing gradually weaker. One day when Potpeschnigg visited him, at the end of 1899, he found Wolf enclosed in a kind of lattice-bed like a cage. Wolf recognized his friend's voice before he entered the room, and, when he saw him, clasped his hands and begged Potpeschnigg to release him. The attendants let him out for a time ; a pitiful conversation ensued and a no less pitiful parting, Wolf urging his friend to go quickly lest they should imprison him too in that dreadful place.

Early in 1900, the lesions in the nervous system extended. His powers of speech were now affected, but he could still recognize his friends though he could hardly pronounce their names. In August 1901, however, the paralysis spread alarmingly ; all he could do now was to lie in his cage-bed, day and night, refusing nourishment so far as he could, already almost blind and deaf to everything around him. The doctors gave him up at the beginning of 1902, but the heart was quite sound and he still lived on. At last, in February 1903, the deliverance came. On the 16th, he was attacked by an affection of the lungs, to which his body was now too weak to offer any resistance, though there was still enough sensation left in the nerves for him to suffer agonies from paralytic cramps. It was seen that the end was near, and Haberlandt, Werner, and Köchert watched almost incessantly by his bed. But, as if to add the last touch of tragedy to his fate, none of them was in the room when he died. He passed away alone, except for the presence of an attendant, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, the 22nd February 1903.

## Notes

(I) Hugo Wolf was fond of addressing his friends in affectionate diminutives, of which he had a great store at his command.

(1) In one of his letters to Paul Müller, Wolf characteristically begs him not to address him any more as « Meister » .

(2) The « Verein » gave 26 concerts of Wolf's works. It looked after the stricken composer during his illness, and attended to the business side of the publication of his music. It was dissolved early in 1906, its work having been accomplished.

(3) In the early part of 1896, Paul Müller had suggested Prosper Mérimée's « Colomba » to him as a likely subject for an Opera. Wolf's reply was :

« I read it 15 years ago. It is un-composable ; blood-revenge is not an adequate theme for us, Hyperboreans. ... I also know the music to “ Colomba ” [by our own esteemed compatriot Sir Alexander Mackenzie] , dreadful, dry stuff. We, Viennese, say of the Scottish composer, who is sometimes served-up to us in the concert-room, “ ma kennt Sie ”, and, then, pay-out obedient respects. »

### Death of Hugo Wolf

**Sunday, 22 February 1903** : At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Hugo Wolf, aged 42, died in convulsions alone (except for the presence of an attendant) of what the Victorians called « the wound that will never heal » .

Wolf's medical file, interestingly, disappeared from the private sanatorium of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin as well as the Lower-Austrian Provincial Asylum (« Niederösterreichische Landesirrenanstalt ») . It is suspected that it had been stolen, probably with the intention of selling it to the person who did not wish to make the medical record public.

In the late-19th Century, calomel, mercurous chloride, a purgative and laxative, was used as an inunction and in tablet form and later as an injection to fight syphilis.

Wolf's death was one of the most protracted, miserable and bitter in the history of music. But, even in the poignancy of his death, Wolf has been transcended by Gustav Mahler. To the 20th Century, it is Mahler's incurable illness (the cancer from which he died in Vienna in 1911) that has become the emblem of Viennese corruption and decline.

**Tuesday, 24 February 1903** : The body of Hugo Wolf was taken from the asylum to a room in the adjoining hospital, where it lay for a time surrounded by flowers and wreaths.

Doctor Ernst Décsey :

« Wolf was not disfigured but his friends were appalled at the sight of him. He looked like a small doll of white wood ; the nose came sharply out of the waxen face ; the delicate hands had become still more delicate ; they were crossed and the fingers hung loose, like the fingers of a white glove. This was all Fate had left of the artist who once bore a whole tone-world in his brain a fragment, a human ruin. »

It was the day of the annual Vienna Carnival. The dead musician was carried to his grave in the « Votivkirche » through decorated streets and past crowds of gay masqueraders. The church was full of musical people of all kinds, friends of Wolf, composers, executants, music-critics, and representatives of many musical institutions.

According to Willi Reich, Alban Berg who witnessed Wolf's burial was « shaken » by his death, indicating the knowledge of the composer and his works.

The Vienna « a cappella » choir, conducted by Eugen Thomas, sang Wolf's « Ergebung », an early setting dating from 1881, of a poem of Eichendorff praying for the pity of Heaven upon poor human-kind. Ferdinand Löwe's arrangement of the Adagio from Anton Bruckner's 7th Symphony for winds and brass was also performed.

When the coffin had been lowered into the grave, Michael Haberlandt (surrounded by members of the Wagner Society, the Wolf Society and the Styrian « Tonkünstler » Society) delivered a brief funeral oration, ending by quoting the poem of physician Doctor Justinus Kerner which Wolf had set to music of the most divine consolation :

Zur Ruh', zur Ruh',  
Ihr müden Glieder !  
Schließt fest euch zu,  
Ihr Augenlider !

Ich bin allein,  
Fort ist die Erde ;  
Nacht muß es sein,  
Daß Licht mir werde ;

O führt mich ganz,  
Ihr innern Mächte !  
Hin zu dem Glanz  
Der tiefsten Nächte.

Fort aus dem Raum  
Der Erdschmerzen  
Durch Nacht und Traum  
Zum Mutterherzen !

Max Graf :

I shall never forget the day, **February 19, 1903**, when we brought the mortal frame of Hugo Wolf to the « Votivkirche » in Vienna. When the priest walked solemnly, with the crucifix and incense, to the door of the church where the coffin had been deposited, intoning the very old Catholic prayers for the dead, from behind the altar a choir began

one of the sacred choruses of Hugo Wolf, « Ergebung » (Submission) . This chorus of the dead composer sounded mysteriously through the Gothic aisles of the church and proclaimed the greatness of the man who, unruly and unrestrained in life, struggling with passionate dark powers in his soul, prayed :

« Be a pitiful judge to us sinners. »

No other composer found more vibrant melodies and harmonies for all the moods of desperation and struggle, no other was more moving and more human in the confession of sin. He was a suffering mortal who prayed, in his sacred songs, for pardon. Heaven rewarded him with fame and immortality.

### Mahler's hand in plaster

**Sunday, 30 August 1903** : Letter from Gustav Mahler to Alma :

« Vienna, 30 August 1903.

My dearest “ Almscherl ”,

Firstly : I'm in despair. All the shops are shut, and even if they weren't, I still wouldn't know what to buy you for your birthday. So, I can only hope you will be happy with my heartfelt wishes for tomorrow instead of an expensive present.

What more can one give, when one has already given oneself ? If you join me for one of our beloved afternoon sprees on the “ Karntnerstraße ”, we can find something nice for you. Is that all right ? I'm already looking forward to it. Now, it's time to catch-up on the news. I'll have to make a big effort not to forget anything.

Yesterday, once (Alfred) Roller had swathed my hand in (Doctor Theodor) Billroth plaster, I wrote your card from the Kahlenberg, then, we took the path you and I have so often trod, my “ Almscherl ”, through the “ Hohe Warte ” to the tram-stop, and from there to the Opera. (...) »

...

**Sunday, 25 October 1903** : Death of Katharina Nußbaumer, Hugo Wolf's mother. She saw the fame of his son securely established, but having also had the pain of witnessing the tragedy of his last years.

The family of Hugo Wolf would receive some 260,000 Marks for the rights to his works.

...

According to Erik Werba, in the year of his death, interest in Hugo Wolf on the part of music-lovers seemed to be on

the rise. He seemed to be accepted into the pantheon of German-Styrian musical heroes with streets named after him and commemorative plaques heaped upon his honour. Plaques were placed on the house in Windischgrätz in which Wolf was born, and on Werner's house in Perchtoldsdorf in which so many of his songs were written.

Streets were named after him in Graz and Mannheim.

Memorial concerts were given in various places.

The songs also began to have a good sale, and many articles on him appeared in the German magazines. Some of the pioneer discussions of his work had been already collected and issued in book-form in 1898, under the title of « Gesammelte Aufsätze über Hugo Wolf » ; a second volume of them appeared in 1899, and a similar collection of essays on « Der Corregidor » in 1900.

Richard Strauß greatly appreciated Hugo Wolf. He wanted to promote a performance of the Opera « Der Corregidor » .

« In any case, I would be pleased if a performance can contribute a bit to bring the name of such an outstanding musician like Wolf into the public. »

**1903** : Publication of the first volume of Doctor Ernst Décsey's biography on Hugo Wolf.

**1903** : Publication of Hugo Wolf's letters to Emil Kauffmann.

**Sunday, 1 March 1903** : 1 week after the composer's death, premiere of « Manuel Venegas » (Opera to words of Doctor Moritz Hørnes after Juan Ruiz de Alarcón) . It is performed in Mannheim at the « Konzert-Saal des Großherzoglichen Hof- und Nationaltheaters » .

**Friday, 28 August 1903** : Gustav Mahler returns to Vienna and, for a few days, stays at the Kahlenberg Hotel.

**October 1903** : « Der Corregidor » was successfully revived in Munich.

**Thursday, 18 February 1904** : Gustav Mahler conducts the Viennese premiere of Hugo Wolf's « Der Corregidor » .

**1904** : Publication of Hugo Wolf's letters to Hugo Faißt.

**Thursday, 20 October 1904** : The body of Hugo Wolf did not lie long in the « Votivkirche » . An artistic monument to the composer, designed by his friend the sculptor Edmund (von) Hellmer, was unveiled in Vienna's Central Cemetery. The remains now repose besides those of Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven.

Other grave statues by Hellmer : Hans Makart (1889) and Nikolaus Dumba (1903) .



## Edmund von Hellmer

The Austrian sculptor Edmund Ritter von Hellmer (ennobled in 1912) was born on 12 November 1850 in Vienna and died on 9 March 1935 in Vienna. He worked in the styles of Historicism and « Art Nouveau » .

Hellmer studied architecture at the « Polytechnikum » in Vienna. At the same time, he received his first artistic training from his uncle, the sculptor Josef Schönfeld. In 1866, Hellmer decided to study sculpture full-time at the Academy of Fine-Arts in Vienna. While there, he also worked in the studio of Hanns Gasser, who helped him to finance a short stay in Paris. In 1869, at the age of 19, he presented a statue of Prometheus at the International Art Exhibition in Munich. He won a prize that included a scholarship, enabling him to spend almost 2 years in Italy. In 1870, Hellmer returned to Vienna and worked as a free-lance sculptor. In 1879, he was appointed as Professor at the Academy and, from 1882 to 1892, was a member of the Faculty there. Emil Fuchs was one of Hellmer's most prominent students. In 1897, he was one of the founders of the Vienna « Secession » . From 1901 to 1922, he was an associate dean, then a full-dean at the Academy. During the last year of his life, he was confined to a wheel-chair.

## Major works

« Franz-Josef I Gives His People a Constitution » : Pediment at the Austrian Parliament Building (1879) .

Schindler marble monument in the « Stadtpark » in Vienna (1895) .

« Die Macht zu Lande » (The Forces on Land) , marble fountain at the « Hofburg » in Vienna (1897) .

Gœthe bronze monument at the Vienna Opera House on the « Ringstraße » (1900) .

Empress Elisabeth monument in Salzburg (1901) .

Castalia fountain at the University of Vienna (1910) .

Johann Strauß bronze monument with marble reliefs in the « Stadtpark » in Vienna (1921) .

**1905** : Publication of Hugo Wolf's letters to Oskar Grohe.

**Wednesday, 21 March 1906** : Melanie Köchert, confidant, lover and support to Hugo Wolf during his last years, fall into a deep depression. Tortured by her unfaithfulness to her husband Heinrich, she plunged to her death from the 4th floor window of her home located in the neighbourhood of « Neuen Markt » , in Vienna.

## Melanie Köchert

Melanie Köchert was the daughter of business owner Anton Lang. In 1878, she married Heinrich Köchert, co-owner of

the firm A. E. Köchert, Imperial Court Jeweller. Since 1879, she was Hugo Wolf's piano student. The resulting friendship is documented by the correspondence between the two, which is preserved in the manuscript collection of the Vienna Library at Town Hall. The 250 pieces of correspondence form an essential source for the composer's biography. The love was mutual and lasted roughly 20 years, though Melanie remained with her husband and children.

The Köchert family was one of Wolf's most important benefactors. He was frequently their house-guest. Melanie offered him various accommodations in Vienna, and invited him during summer to her country-house in Traunkirchen. As Wolf's biographer Frank Walker put it, Melanie's husband, Heinrich, seems to have recognized that genius is not to be judged by the standards of normality and tolerated the situation.

The whole of Hugo Wolf's life's work, his songs to texts by Eduard Mörike, Joseph von Eichendorff and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, his Italian and Spanish Song-books, his Michelangelo Poems, none of them would have been possible without the benefaction of Heinrich and Melanie Köchert. He dedicated the manuscripts of his songs to her.

**April 1906** : When the Vienna « Hugo Wolf-Verein » was dissolved, it handed-over to the town the composer's death-mask, his piano, and a few other personal relics. The remainder were given into the custody of the Vienna « Wagner Verein » .

**Thursday, 4 to Monday, 8 October 1906** : An elaborate « Hugo Wolf Festival » , organized by Hugo Faißt and that group of Swabian friends who had done so much for Wolf and his art during his lifetime, was held in Stuttgart.

The first 2 evenings were devoted entirely to the songs, of which 70 were given, drawn from the Mörike, Goethe, Spanish, Italian, Keller, and Eichendorff settings.

On the third evening, a performance was given in the church of Max Reger's arrangement for organ of some of the spiritual songs from Mörike and the « Spanisches Liederbuch » , while the chorus of the Opera House sang the 6 « a cappella » settings of Eichendorff's poems.

The 4th evening was devoted to « Der Corregidor » .

The 5th evening presented a choral and instrumental concert, comprising some of the orchestrated songs, the « Spring Chorus » from « Manuel Venegas » , the « Elfenlied » , the « Feuerreiter » , the « Italienische Serenade » , and « Penthesilea » . So that, unfortunate as Wolf was in his lifetime, posthumous justice has not been so slow-footed in his case as it has been in that of some other musicians. Since the death of Franz Schubert, there is no musician whose premature end has been so truly irreparable a loss to art.

### Death of Eduard Hanslick

In the last year of his life, spa-treatments in Meran and Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) were not able to improve Eduard Hanslick's bad health conditions which finally resulted in several heart-attacks. He took his last cure at the spa-resort

of Baden, near Vienna, which he had repeatedly visited during the summer since 1869.

Hanslick died at the Clementine House (« Clementinen-Hof ») on **Saturday August 6, 1904**, after 30 hours in the coma. He was 78.

His body remained in Baden until the morning of the funeral on **Tuesday August 9, 1904**.

The funeral procession did not start from his residence but from the building of the « Neue Freie Presse », located in the inner-city at « Fichtegasse » Number 11. He was buried at the « Zentralfriedhof » (Group 18 ; Row 1 ; Number 9) .

Hanslick's much younger Jewish wife, the singer Sophie Wohlmüt (who married him at the age of 19 and survived him by 40 years !) donated a bust of her late-husband (executed by sculptor Viktor Tilgner) which she unveiled in 1913.

What most disturbed Hanslick was the Wagner cult, which was both a political (nationalistic) and an artistic phenomenon. The artistic effects of the cult he clearly believed were reflected in what he regarded as the bad taste of much of Wagner's music (« Effekthascherei » and « Opiumrausch ») .

In his warnings about such a cult, he was, after all, somewhat prescient. Some 3 decades after his death, Cosima Wagner, who embodied and encouraged absolutely the worst aspects of Wagner's character, was being fawned upon by Adolf Hitler at Bayreuth. A few years later, Sophie Wohlmüt was obliged to go underground in Vienna in the last years of the Nazi regime.

Hanslick's death elicited a host of articles of varying tenor, the most favourable originating, of course, in Vienna. For example, both Julius Korngold and Guido Adler published warm and respectful eulogies in the « Neue Freie Presse » .

Korngold concluded :

« In Eduard Hanslick, we bury a proselytizer for music-æsthetic perception, a master of style, an adornment of criticism, a pride of this paper. His name will live on. »

Another eulogist, writing in « Der Kunstwart » of 1904, was not so kind - in fact, was not kind at all :

« And thus, despite the dazzling outer garb (of his writings) , Hanslick represented in reality a low-point of musical judgment. »

Needless to say, the « Bayreuther Blätter » maintained silence over his passing, perhaps less out of hostility than out of a simple lack of concern, a tacit recognition of his irrelevance for that journal's project. It should not surprise us that the press from other parts of Europe and the world did take note of Hanslick's death, given his notoriety.

For example, in New York, which was riding the crest of the wave of the city's Wagner mania, the following passage appeared in an obituary from the « New York Times » :

« He was one of the most bitter opponents of Wagner and one of the last critics to recognize the possibilities of the new style of opera. »

Death may have silenced his voice in the press, may have ceased his editing of « Vom Musikalisch-Schönen » (with the 10th edition of 1902) , but Hanslick's legacy (more accurately expressed, legacies) carried on, with an exponential intensification of the bifurcation. On the one hand, the ideas of « Vom Musikalisch-Schönen » influenced some of the leading figures in early 20th Century Austrian and German musical æsthetics : Arnold Schœnberg, Heinrich Schenker, and Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno. On the other, only one of the collections of Hanslick's criticisms underwent further publications posthumously, « Suite » appearing again in 1910. The next edition of Hanslick's critical writings did not appear until 1947, with Heinrich Kralik's « Aus Eduard Hanslicks Wagner-Kritiken » . The absence of reprints in the first decades of the Century reflects the wide-spread disdain for his critical writings, not for their style but rather their (mis)pronouncements on important figures like Wagner and Anton Bruckner.

Recent research has led to a better understanding of how important his thought was for certain key composers and æstheticians of the period ; his influence on Schœnberg, Schenker, and Adorno has been well-documented. Yet, the esteem that associated thinkers brought to Hanslick's æsthetic work remained largely isolated, considering the ongoing appeal of the « Musik als Ausdruck » ideology - for example, among the epigones of Richard Strauß and the New German School, who continued producing large-scale tone-poems and philosophical systems rooted in program music well into the 20th Century.

That his legacy would eventually become involved in the politics of the Third « Reich » stands to reason : on the one hand, he was Jewish by virtue of his mother ; on the other, he had opposed composers favoured by the Nazis. Needless to say, he received extended treatment in the « Lexikon der Juden in der Musik » by Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk. For most of the musical commentators of the Third « Reich » , however, Hanslick simply had not existed - after all, he was a critic, one of the professions of « intellectual piracy » that Josef Gœbbels had replaced with « Kunstbetrachtung » . And Hanslick could more easily be written-out of music history altogether than figures like Mendelssohn and Schœnberg, the omission of whose historical contributions to music was more difficult (although not impossible) because of their importance.

Needless to say, it was in the context of his opposition to the « great » German composers Wagner and Bruckner that Hanslick's name did arise in the music literature from the Nazi period.

Max von Millenkovich-Morold reflects the Party's animosity toward the critic Hanslick when he writes :

« I can attest from long-term personal observation that the Wagner enmity in Austria, and beyond that among the all-German “ intelligentsia ”, was awakened by Hanslick, fed by Hanslick, again and again flogged by Hanslick. »

The vehement Nazi partisan Robert Scherwatzky made clear the reason for Hanslick's opposition to Bruckner :

« Then, however, a hostile, invidious press began to embitter his life. Under the leadership of the totally uncomprehending, maliciously wise-cracking half-Jew Hanslick (...), it viciously tore apart his creations or was simply silent about them. »

These complaints against Hanslick's general antipathy toward the 2 composers were by no means new, but now, they were informed by the racial politics of the Third « Reich », according to which his Jewishness was responsible for Hanslick's critical positions - he had become a racially flawed character incapable of rendering correct judgments. Another Nazi propagandist who drew public attention to Hanslick was Goebbels himself. On the occasion of the International Bruckner Festival in Regensburg in June 1937, the « Reichspropagandaminister » gave a speech to the « Bruckner-Gesellschaft » ; members of the « Reichsmusikkammer » and high-level Nazi functionaries, including Hitler. In this propaganda on behalf of the « Aryan » Bruckner, Goebbels blamed the Jewish element for the composer's difficulties, mentioning Hanslick by name and quoting from one of his reviews (alongside unidentified reviews by Gustav Dömpke) :

« A hostile, journalistic branch of criticism, with its incessant torments, embittered him (Bruckner) to his rich life of work. (...) It is with reluctance and disdain that we turn our attention today to these intellectual carpet-baggers, who in Bruckner's day misused their esteemed station as judges in order to set-down sentences such as this one about his music, whose form-creative innovation they simply could not understand :

“ We truly shudder before the scent of mould that assaults our noses from the discords of this putrefactive counterpoint. ” (Gustav Dömpke) »

Or :

“ It is not impossible that the future belongs to this dream-distorted, hung-over style (' traumverwirten Katzenjammertil ') - a future which, for that reason, we do not envy. ” (Eduard Hanslick) . »

Goebbels also cited the widely disseminated statement « I destroy whomever I wish to destroy », which he put into the mouth of Hanslick during an encounter with Bruckner. Julian Horton effectively situates this speech in the context of Nazi Bruckner « Rezeption », but we can just as easily position it within the Wagnerian critique of Hanslick, which was initiated by Wagner himself and subsequently taken-up by Wilhelm Tappert and carried further by the Bayreuth Circle of Hans von Wolzogen, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Carl Friedrich Glasenapp :

« In the battle against the greatest German artist, no means appeared too base and too corrupt. A fictitious letter (arose) from one of the main-camps of poisoned animosity, the Viennese “ Neue Freie Presse ”, the headquarters of “ Herr ” Hanslick. »

Hanslick the aesthetician also came in for severe criticism from the ideologues of the Third « Reich », all the more

because of Wagner's aforementioned critique of « Vom Musikalisch-Schönen » that centered the pamphlet's problems on its author's Judaism. In contrast with the formulation of Wagner's æsthetics as « music as expression » , the system of Hanslick was identified as pure and simple formalism, which helped Nazi writers about music to position him with Jewish creators and their unnatural, « entartete » (degenerate) productions.

Paul Ehlers articulated the differences of the 2 « Weltanschauungen » in the following comparison of Hanslick's book with Friedrich von Hausegger's « Die Musik als Ausdruck » (1887) :

« There the formalistic principle as the embodiment of the nature and effect of music - here, the inner-spirit of the creative artist as the womb and shaping force of music. »

According to this assessment, Hanslick's incomprehension of Wagner and Bruckner resulted from his Jewish, formalist æsthetic system, which led to serious error in his critical judgments.

### Doctor Albert Neisser and Mahler

**End of 1906** : Gustav Mahler undertook 3 more trips abroad, 2 of them to conduct the 3rd Symphony, which continued to amuse interest in Germany. At the instigation of his friend Doctor Albert Neisser, the eminent dermatologist, he had again been invited to Breslau at the end of October.

...

Doctor Albert Neisser was the first cousin of Siegfried Berliner, the father of Arnold, Mahler's close friend from Hamburg days. According to Doda Conrad, son of the soprano Marya Freund (« née » Mimi Henschel in 1876) , Albert Neisser on that occasion introduced the soprano to Mahler, who declined to audition her in Neisser's salon, but asked her to sing an air from « Carmen » on the stage of the Breslau Opera, and, thereafter, sought to discourage her from singing Opera, warning that « there, it is fresco painting, while you prefer miniatures ! » . He steered her toward his own Lieder, which she was soon singing throughout Germany. She sang the « Kindertotenlieder » for their Paris premiere in 1912, and her success was such that she repeated them again during the same season at a Lamoureux concert. In 1914, Marya Freund sang the same cycle under Pierre Monteux in a programme at the « Casino de Paris » which also featured « Le Sacre du printemps » by Stravinsky.

...

Barely 2 weeks after the Vienna concert, Mahler went to Breslau where, thanks to his friend, the famous dermatologist Albert Neisser, he had been invited to conduct his 5th Symphony. As the capital of the German province of Silesia, Breslau had become an important centre of commerce and industry, largely because of its geographical location at a cross-roads between Northern and Southern Europe and, more important still, between the Eastern (Slav) and Western (German) world. Thanks to its prosperity, it had also become a cultural centre, where science and the arts flourished and music occupied a privileged position. Mahler's friend, Albert Neisser, taught at the University in Breslau and exerted

a powerful influence on the musical activities of the city. He had invited Mahler to stay at his home and Mahler had accepted on the following conditions :

« I shall arrive in Breslau early on Sunday. I have one great favour to ask of you : that you neither fetch me at the station nor get-up to let me in at so early an hour. It is crucial to my feeling at ease that my early morning arrival shall disturb no one's sleep, and you have promised me that I would feel at home in your house, and not a " guest ". Therefore, I do ask you to let me make my way to the " Furstenstraße " on my own. There, a servant or chambermaid will let me in and take me to my room, where I shall make myself as presentable as my nature permits. From there, I shall betake myself full of arduous longing to the breakfast room, where I shall help myself to coffee and bread and butter, and await the beginning of events with a cigar and some reading.

So, please, you will be so kind as to take no notice whatever of my arrival, won't you, and just come-down to breakfast at your usual hour ... »

...

Breslau had changed hands several times in the course of its complicated history. Its University, built at the beginning of the 18th Century, had been enlarged, transformed, and re-organized in 1811. Thanks to it, Breslau had become one of the scientific and cultural centres of Europe. Mahler's friend, Arthur Neisser, taught there, and there, he had studied various microbes and discovered that of gonorrhoea. According to Mahler's report in a letter to Alma, the Neissers were « lavish hosts and lived in a superb house » . Arnold Berliner, Mahler's old friend from Hamburg and Arthur Neisser's cousin, had come from Berlin for the performance. Every afternoon, Mahler posed for the artist Fritz Erler who, at Neisser's request, painted his portrait, and later, used it as the basis for an engraving. Erler was well-known in Germany for his interior decoration and for his portraits. His « décors » for the Munich « Künstlerhaus » and collaboration with Georg Fuchs, the celebrated stage-director, had added to his fame. He was a close friend of the Neisser family, had decorated their music-room, and painted several portraits of « Frau » Neisser. His design for the Neissers' music-room had become a famous example of the new style of interior decoration. He adorned the walls with his frescos, and designed all the wood fittings, including the light-fixtures, organ-case, music-stands, seats, door-locks, etc. Mahler must have felt very much at home in this very contemporary « décor » , which surely reminded him of the « Hohe Warte » .

...

**1933** : The « Internationale-Bruckner-Gesellschaft » (IBG) founded the « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » for the express purpose of publishing the Bruckner Complete Edition. Under the general editorship of Robert Haas, plans were also made for a Hugo Wolf complete edition ; « Penthesilea » was given its first critical edition, and the « Scherzo and Finale » and numerous early songs were published for the first time. The War, however, prevented further progress towards a complete edition.

**1939** : In the course of the « aryianization » of objects of cultural value, parts of Hugo Wolf's estate was incorporated

into the municipal collections.

**March 1940** : The Nazi municipal administration would plan a memorial to the composer and organize a large Hugo Wolf exhibition.

**Saturday, 25 September 1943** : A museum dedicated to the memory of Hugo Wolf opens in his birthplace, Windischgrätz. This area will be in dispute between German and Slovene speakers during the collapse of the German resistance in 1945 and everything written in German will be destroyed. Many important items of Wolf memorabilia will be lost.

### 1909 : Gustav, Alma and Eusapia Palladino

The late-19th and early 20th Centuries saw a world-wide upsurge of belief in spiritualism, the ability to contact loved ones after death. In New York City, there were both bizarre private « séances » and organized churches of spiritualists. Spiritualist congregations met in large groups to hear ministers lecture as smaller groups gathered in a circle at the front of the congregation and attempted to contact the spirits of the departed.

Private « séances » were led by drunken mediums like Eusapia Palladino, whom the Mahlers visited in 1909. Alma was already beginning to acquire a fashionable taste for mysticism and theosophy. Palladino wore a peasant's shawl round her head and made dark prophecies about Mahler, claiming that he was in danger. Although they did not know what to make of all this, the « séance » certainly gave them pause for thought. At one point, a mandolin flew through the air and slightly injured Mahler.

Born in Italy in 1845, Palladino manifested psychic experiences at an early age, and was admired and reviled in equal measure. A well-known figure, she held her New York « séances » in rooms on lower-Broadway, next to a squalid bar.

This was a period when theosophy and spiritualism were all the rage - at more or less the same time Baron Schrenck-Notzing was making a similar impression on Thomas Mann in Munich.

Gustav and Alma also toured the opium dens of New York's Chinatown with Gustav Schirmer, the music-publisher.

These mediums were often simply charlatans, more expert at a form of parlour magic than a true connector between the world of the dead and our own world of the living.

...

Eusapia Palladino visited America in 1909 with Hereward Carrington as her manager. Her arrival was accompanied by a veritable campaign in the American popular press, with newspapers such as the « New York Times » and magazines such as the « Cosmopolitan » publishing numerous articles on the Italian medium.



The magician Howard Thurston attended a « séance » and endorsed Palladino's levitation of a table as genuine. However, at a « séance » on 18 December 1909 in New York, the Harvard psychologist Hugo Münsterberg with the help of a hidden man lying under a table, caught her levitating the table with her foot. He had also observed Palladino free her foot from her shoe and use her toes to move a guitar in the « séance » cabinet. Münsterberg also claimed that Palladino moved the curtains from a distance in the room by releasing a jet of air from a rubber bulb that she had in her hand. Daniel Cohen noted that she « was undaunted by Munsterberg's exposure. Her tricks had been exposed many times before, yet, she had prospered » . The exposure was not taken seriously by Palladino's defenders.

In January 1910, a series of « séance » sittings were held at the physics laboratory at Columbia University. Scientists such as Robert W. Wood and Edmund Beecher Wilson attended. The magicians W. S. Davis, J. L. Kellogg, J. W. Sargent and Joseph Rinn were present in the last « séance » sittings in April. They discovered that Palladino had freed her left foot to perform the phenomena. Rinn gave a full account of fraudulent behaviour observed in a « séance » of Palladino.

Milbourne Christopher summarized the exposure :

« Joseph F. Rinn and Warner C. Pyne, clad in black coveralls, had crawled into the dining-room of Columbia professor Herbert G. Lord's house while a Palladino séance was in progress. Positioning themselves under the table, they saw the medium's foot strike a table leg to produce raps. As the table tilted to the right, due to pressure of her right-hand on the surface, they saw her put her left-foot under the left table leg. Pressing down on the table-top with her left-hand and up with her left-foot under the table leg to form a clamp, she lifted her foot and “ levitated ” the table from the floor. »

Palladino was offered \$ 1,000 by Rinn if she could perform a feat in controlled conditions that could not be duplicated by magicians. Palladino eventually agreed to the contest but did not turn-up for it, and instead returned to Italy.

In England, America, France and Germany, Palladino had been caught utilizing tricks. Psychical researchers such as Hereward Carrington who believed some of her phenomena to be genuine, accepted that she would resort to trickery on occasion.

Historian Peter Lamont has written that although Palladino's defenders accepted that she would cheat, they « pointed to the best evidence (where, they argued, fraud had been impossible) , but critics argued that the investigators had simply missed it » .

On the subject of fraud and Palladino, the philosopher and skeptic Paul Kurtz wrote :

« Palladino was caught red-handed in blatant acts of fraud by members of the Society for Psychical Research in Cambridge and by scientific teams at Columbia and Harvard Universities. She was shown to be substituting her hand or foot and using them in darkened seances to move objects so that they appeared to be levitating. Even her

defenders conceded that she cheated, at least some of the time. The problem that puzzles me is this : If one finds sleight-of-hand techniques being used some of the time by such individuals, then why should one accept anything else that is presented by them as genuine ? (...) Skeptics question the first Feilding report because in a subsequent test by Feilding and other tests by scientists, Palladino had been caught cheating. »

### Leyden : Mahler meets Freud

Alma seems to have indicated to Mahler that she did not intend to leave him even if she was rebelling against the reducing of his libido. Nevertheless, he was so shaken by her love-affair with Walter Gropius that he arranged on the spur of the moment to consult with Sigmund Freud and traveled to Leyden, in the Netherlands, in order to do so, less than 1 week before the final rehearsals of the 8th Symphony in Munich were due to begin ; he and Freud talked together for one afternoon, to beneficial effect. Mahler then returned to Alt-Schludersbach.

**Thursday, 25 to Sunday, 28 August 1910** : Gustav Mahler traveled by train to Leyden, in the Netherlands, to consult Doctor Sigmund Freud. During the trip, Mahler sent a number of telegrams to Alma. It was Doctor Richard von Nepalleck who acted as go-between with Mahler and Freud, and arranged the appointment.

Nepalleck and Mahler must have previously talked about Freud (his theories, and methods, and the new science of which Freud was the founder) .

**Friday, 26 August 1910** : Mahler stayed at the « Hotel of the Golden Lion » (« Hôtel du Lion d'Or » ; « Hotel De Gouden Leeuw ») located at Number 24 Bree Street (« Breestraat ») . No hotel receipt survived.

Freud had an analytical discussion with Mahler during a long walk through the town of Leyden which lasted 4 hours. They passed in front of the Academic building (located at Number 73 on Rapenburg Street) , and also went through the « Hortus Botanicus » (« den Vergulden Turk ») .

Mahler told Freud his life history, and, very soon, Freud notices how Mahler, as a child, must have felt very specially linked with his mother, and how this specific link would throw its shadow over the adult composer.

The meeting ended late in the evening.

**Saturday, 27 August 1910** : Mahler was leaving for Vienna again. He was acquainted with the Netherlands because of his very good and friendly contacts with Willem Mengelberg and Alphons Diepenbrock.

...

Sigmund Freud and his wife, his sister-in-law and 2 sons were spending some time at the coastal resort of « Noordzee am Strand » located in the town of « Noordwijk aan Zee » , near Leyden. He was about to leave « Noordwijk aan Zee » for Sicily and, normally, did not interrupt his summer vacations, but Mahler was a famous man. He stayed in the Hotel-Pension of « Noordzee in Noordwijk aan Zee » located at Number 8 Noord Boulevard. Freud had

no particular interest in music and came by tram-car from « Noordwijk aan Zee » to Leyden.

In 1925, Sigmund Freud told his pupil Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962) about the meeting with Gustav Mahler. Her diary makes it obvious that Mahler and Freud immediately understood each other. Mahler was 50 years old and Freud 54. There were similarities in the men's lives. Both spoke German (with regional colouring), had the same social, historical and cultural background from Vienna (Congruence of cognition), both had an international reputation, been in America, studied Philosophy, were fascinated by Fyodor Dostoyevsky and both had a morbid fear of death.

### Appointment

3 appointments were cancelled. Talk about fear and scepticism !

Reasons might have been :

Mahler was ill for a few days with tonsillitis.

He had worried Alma when she had found him unconscious in the middle of the night, working on his 10th Symphony.

The distance Mahler would have to travel.

In the end, Freud put Mahler in front of an ultimatum. He pointed-out that the end of August would be the last chance of meeting, as he would leave for some time to stay in Sicily with Sándor Ferenczi.

Only after this, the meeting could take place.

We can see that Mahler had his reasons for cancelling his appointment with Freud 3 times. Could it have to do with the fact that Mahler, unconsciously, knew all the above ? If Mahler, in his talk with Freud, would be confronted with all these hidden feelings, conflicts and deficiencies, and with the significance composing his music had for him, would he ever have been able to compose another Symphony ? Possibly, Mahler was scared to death that insight into the depths of his soul would make the fountain of his creativity run dry. And, with that, he would have given-up a last unconscious motive in his life, which is the need for immortality. The theme of life and death, and, with that, mourning, is clearly present in Mahler's life. The wish to be immortal, and to mask the pain of all that loss through that. And not just the loss from his early childhood. He never really recovered from the untimely death of his eldest daughter. She was « his » child. By identifying with his music, Mahler was able to have the fantasy of out-living his own death. On top of that : he was also, of course, seriously ill.

### Analysis

Nature : Obsessions (« Zwangsvorstellungen ») and anxiety.

Method : Mahler told his whole life history.

Subject : His marriage.

Situation : He married a younger woman. They could not get along at the time. He was a normal rigorous man, who loved his wife.

Elements : Mother fixation (his mother's first name was Marie as in Alma-Marie Mahler) . When he was young, he heard the quarrels of his parents ; he could not stand it and ran out into the street. There, he heard a barrel-organ playing a simple tune « Ach, du lieber Augustin » . He reproduces in his music as a conjunction of « high-tragedy » and « light amusement » . (This is one of Mahler's most original features ; the change of « tone » and « style » . As from « Sublime » to « Vulgar » .)

The only plausible explanation of Mahler's tragic state of regression is that Alma had become a mother-figure - the loss of whom was unbearable.

The question remains : what Mahler told Freud about the love-affair of Alma with Walter Gropius which was the origin of the current troubles.

### Gustav and Alma

Mahler contacted Freud because of serious relationship problems with his wife Alma, showing among others in potency complaints. Ernest Jones, in his biography of Freud, writes that the 2 men walked through Leyden for 4 hours, in which a kind of psychoanalysis took place. This analytical talk would have had some effect, because the potency complaints disappeared, and the marital relationship supposedly improved. Unfortunately, Mahler died within the next year. Although Mahler was totally uninformed about what psychoanalysis was, Freud said never before to have met anyone who understood so quickly what psychoanalysis was about.

Alma, in her autobiography, writes about the meeting between Freud and Mahler, that Mahler contacted Freud out of fear of losing her. Freud would have told him that he, Mahler, was, in every woman he met, looking for his mother, who was a poor, suffering and anguished woman. A little further in her book, Alma writes that Gustav, when she met him, apart from a few seductions by experienced women, had remained a virgin although he was already 40 years old. She said this was not a coincidence : Mahler was celibate and afraid of « the woman » . « His fear of being “ pulled-down ” was enormous and this is why he avoided life and, therefore, everything female. » By the way, Freud had also said that Alma was looking for her father as a psychological principle in her relationships with men and that, because of this, she would never leave him. Alma's father died when she was 12 years old.

She writes about her father's dying :

« I felt I had lost my mentor, the star that guided me, and no-one but him would have understood that. I was used

to doing most things for him. »

### Mahler's final illness

In 1907, Gustav Mahler's world dramatically changed when he witnessed the death of his young daughter just 5 days after his 47th birthday. His wife's subsequent collapse from exhaustion prompted a visit by the local physician. Doctor Carl Viktor Blumenthal re-assured « Frau » Mahler that her health was fine. Then, as if on whim, he examined the Mæstro, only to discover a heart murmur, becoming the first to discover Mahler's rheumatic valve disease.

Eventually confirmed by the famed Viennese cardiologist Friedrich Kovacs, Mahler's diagnosis, the sounds of which likely meant mitral stenosis and regurgitation, required a strict regimen of rest ; Kovacs even forced Mahler to carry a pedometer to measure (and thus, limit) his exertion. Although typical for that time, these restrictions made Mahler feel like an invalid, filling his brain with thoughts of imminent death.

**Thursday, 11 July 1907** : Maiernigg, south of Klagenfurt. Death of Gustav Mahler's daughter Maria (« Putzi ») .

**Friday, 12 July 1907** : Maiernigg, south of Klagenfurt. Mahler's mother-in-law, Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen, suffered a « heart spasm » and his wife Alma fainted. Valvular heart-disease disclosed by Toblach local Doctor Carl Viktor Blumenthal.

Alma Mahler :

« Mahler asked my mother and me to go down to the shore. There, for no apparent reason, she had palpitations of the heart. I bent-down to the lake in order to make a cold compress for her heart. Then, Mahler came-down the path, his face distorted with grief. My eyes wandered-up and, beyond him (and up above me on the road) , I saw them, lifting the coffin into the carriage. I now understood the reason for her sudden heart-attack and for the way he looked. Mahler and I were so distraught, so helpless that (with almost a feeling of happiness) I fainted and was unconscious for a long time.

The doctor came, diagnosed a serious cardiac dysfunction and ordered complete rest ; he failed to understand how I could still walk around with such a heart. Mahler wanted to cheer us up in our mournful room and said :

“ Look here, doctor, don't you want to examine me as well ? My wife is always worrying about my heart. She shall have some good news today. She needs it. ” »

The doctor examined him. He stood-up and looked very serious. Mahler was lying on the sofa, Doctor Blumenthal had knelt-down beside him, and said, almost cheerfully (like most doctors when they diagnose a fatal illness) :

« Well, you've no cause to be proud of a heart like that. »

Regular health checks were totally alien to Mahler's whole nature and, indeed, unusual at this period. It seems likely that, until then, he had consulted doctors only when he was acutely ill. At all events, it is unlikely that he had ever had his heart examined : only auscultation was available at this time, electro-cardiograms and X-ray examinations still lying far in the future.

Alma's comment :

« This verdict marked the beginning of the end for Mahler. »

It reflects her own medical ignorance and represents a completely un-necessary over-dramatization of the actual facts of the case.

Mahler was shattered by Blumenthal's diagnosis. After the initial shock, wiser counsels prevailed. After all, Doctor Blumenthal was only a « country doctor » and his fears may have been exaggerated. Thus, it was decided that Mahler should go to Vienna to consult Professor Friedrich Kovacs, who had treated Alma. An appointment was made, and Mahler left Maiemigg on 17 July, in the company of the neurologist Richard Nepalleck, who had come to Maiemigg to be of service to the bereaved couple.

...

Alma's memoirs (first published in German in 1940) mentioned that the initial diagnosis made by Doctor Blumenthal « marked the beginning of the end » . Yet, it is also important to recognize that this claim was neither new nor original.

In his 1922 « portrait » of the composer, stage-designer Alfred Roller had already made reference to the « severe and disabling » effect that Blumenthal's diagnosis had exerted on the composer. Indeed, Roller goes on to discuss the effect this knowledge had on his walking habits :

« That summer yielded no artistic fruit. He abandoned Maiernigg forever after the death of little Maria-Anna and rented a place in Schluderbach. His mood was one of silent resignation. The long, happy rambles (“ Wanderungen ”) had been replaced by careful little strolls (“ Spaziergänge ”) . An old friend succeeded in restoring his shattered confidence in his physical powers. Mahler tried taking longer walks (“ Spaziergänge ”) and ignored the doctor who had sent him so much into his shell. But there were to be no more route marches (“ Sturmschritt ”) , mountaineering (“ Bergsteigen ”) , rowing or swimming. »

### Doctor Carl Viktor Blumenthal

« Medizine Rat Doktor Carl Blumenthal. Viktring, Karnten, Telefon Klagenfurt 337. »

(Viktring is south of Klagenfurt near Maiernigg.)

General practitioner (1868-1947) .

« Blumenthalgasse » : Street named in Klagenfurt-am-Worthersee after Doctor Carl Viktor Blumenthal.

...

**Thursday, 18 July 1907** : According to Alma Mahler's biography, Doctor Friedrich Kovacs « confirmed the verdict and forbade him mountain ascents, bicycling and swimming ; indeed, he was so blind as to order a course of training (“ Terrainkur ”) to teach him to walk ; first, it was to be 5 minutes, then 10, and so on until he was used to walking (“ Gehen ”) ; and this for a man who was accustomed to violent exercise ! (“ bis man sich ans Gehen gewöhnt ! ”) And Mahler did as he was told. Watch in hand, he accustomed himself to walking - and forgot the life he had lived-up to that fatal hour. »

Alma says further that in that winter, « Mahler was so shattered by the verdict on his heart that he spent the greater part of the day in bed. He got-up only for rehearsals or for the performance if he was conducting » .

And again, to confirm the suspicion that Mahler was made unduly « heart-conscious » by his doctors :

« We avoided strenuous walks owing to the ever-present anxiety about his heart. Once, we knew he had valvular disease, we were afraid of everything. He was always stopping on a walk to feel his own pulse ; and he often asked me to listen to his heart and see whether the beat was clear, or rapid, or calm. I had been alarmed for years by the creaking sound his heart made (it was particularly loud at the second beat) and I had always known that it must be diseased ; he had a pedometer in his pocket. His steps and pulse-beats were numbered and his life was a torment. » According to Alma's unsupported testimony, Kovacs diagnosed a compensated congenital heart valve defect, a formulation which, medically speaking, is difficult to sustain. After all, no doctor at this period could ascertain whether a heart defect was congenital or acquired. If Mahler's defect had been congenital, then, he is unlikely to have reached the age that he did. And if the valvular defect was compensated (and, as we have noted, Mahler had an extraordinary ability to push himself to the very limits of his physical endurance) , then, there could be no question of the beginning of the end, for Mahler had demonstrated with his physical and intellectual exertions that he was fitter than most people of his age - he was 47 when this diagnosis was made.

### Doctor Friedrich Kovacs

The Austrian physician, internist and cardiologist Friedrich Kovacs was born on 16 January 1861 in Vienna and died on 11 February 1931 in Vienna.

In 1885, he studied medicine at the University of Vienna. From 1893, head-physician at the « Franz-Josef-Spital » . From 1900, held the same position at the Vienna General Hospital (« Wiener Allgemeines Krankenhaus ») . A diagnostician and teacher of high repute, specializing in internal medicine, he published a great deal, notably on the pathology of the circulatory system.

Kovacs confirmed Mahler's diagnosis (mitral stenosis and regurgitation) requiring a strict regimen of rest. He even forced Mahler to carry a pedometer to measure (and thus, limit) his exertion. Although typical for that time, these restrictions made Mahler feel like an invalid, filling his brain with thoughts of imminent death.

...

Gustav Mahler returned to Europe in the summer to his composing hut at Toblach, Austria. His delicate health made exercise problematic, which was a source of frustration :

« For many years, I have been used to constant and vigorous exercise - roaming about in the mountains and woods, and then, like a kind of jaunty bandit, bearing home my drafts ... now, I am told to avoid any exertion, keep a constant eye on myself, and not walk much. »

...

Having arrived in Vienna in the afternoon, Mahler sat in the « Café Imperial » , no doubt reading the newspapers, when he met Ludwig Karpath, who told him that he had heard from the best possible sources that Prince Liechtenstein, the Lord Chamberlain himself, had said :

« We will not let Mahler go, we shall not grant him permission to go. »

Later on, he met Carl Moll, dined with Richard Nepalleck, and went for a short walk after dinner, after which he retired to bed at 9, and slept until half past 7 the next morning :

« I feel very well (if Blumenthal hadn't said anything I would already have been roaming about for a long time) and wouldn't have gone to bed before midnight yesterday. So you see, my love, everything has its good side. From now on, I shall make a point of not doing too much, and if I have to stay here (in Vienna) , I shall live and do what Kovacs tells me to do. »

We do not know what the Viennese doctor told Mahler, for the telegram he sent Alma the next day is no longer to be found.

Mahler told Alma that Richard Nepalleck, « whom I like more and more » , had come to see him at the Molls on the same day that he had received Felix Weingartner's letter. Everybody had greeted him « with affection and respect at the Opera » although Wondra and Przystaupinsky were « the only ones who behave marvellously » . « So, everything is going better than we thought. » Mahler dined that evening with the Zuckerkandls in Purkersdorf.

« They were delighted, and Emil cheered-up visibly. His health has also improved over the last few days. Just think, they are following Doctor (Heinrich) Lahmann's diet to the letter and speak very highly of it ; they implore me to do the same. I thought the food excellent. I feel ever so much better here. At any rate, my nervous condition is almost



over ... »

Mahler spent his afternoons in the Molls' garden in the « Hohe Warte » , and, the following day, he sent Alma a postcard from there. Emil Freund, who had come to keep him company, added his signature.

**Tuesday, 27 August 1907** : The Vienna « Neue Freie Presse » published another interview with Mahler in which he explained the underlying reasons for his resignation.

### Doctor Richard von Nepalleck

The physician, neurologist, psychoanalyst and lawyer Doctor Richard von Nepalleck (Nepallek, Nepalek) was born on 26 April 1864 in Vienna ; and died on 31 October 1940 in Vienna.

Richard von Nepalleck was closely linked to Alma Mahler. He came to Maiernigg at the time of Maria-Anna's (« Putzi ») death to comfort and support the afflicted couple.

Alma had chosen Richard von Nepalleck as her « Wahl-Onkel » , together with his brother Wilhelm Friedrich (1862-1924) , Master of Ceremonies at the Court. In 1907, Richard co-signed a letter which Mahler wrote to Alma in the train moving from Klagenfurt to Vienna.

Nepalleck accompanied Mahler to Vienna to consult a heart specialist.

He visited Mahler at the house of Carl Moll (« Hohe Warte ») located at Number 10 on « Wollergasse » , 2nd District of Vienna.

During World War II, Richard von Nepalleck stayed in Vienna (Number 16 on « Lazarethgasse » , 9th District ; Number 41 on « Alserstraße » , 8th District) due to old age.

He was buried on 9 November 1940 in the Simmering's « Feuerhalle » (Grave : 6-3-2-182) .

### Doctor Heinrich Lahmann

The German physician Johann Heinrich Lahmann was born on 30 March 1860 in Bremen, Germany ; and died on 1 June 1905 in Friedrichstal near Radeberg. He was a pioneer of naturopathic medicine.

Lahmann earned his medical doctorate at the University of Heidelberg, and, after graduation, became a general practitioner in Stuttgart. On 1 January 1888, he opened a sanatorium called the « Physiatic Sanatorium » at Weißer Hirsch, outside of Dresden. This institution would eventually become well-known internationally.

Lahmann was influenced by the methods used by Vincenz Priëbnitz (1799-1851) and Johann Schroth (1798-1856) ,

both pioneers in the field of alternative medicine. He eventually turned away from traditional medicine, and was disdainful of drugs and un-natural medications. Lahmann stressed the importance of diet, exercise and fresh air, and was an ardent practitioner of physiotherapy and hydrotherapy.

Lahmann recommended a vegetarian diet of fruits, vegetables, nuts, whole-grain bread and dairy products, and believed in limiting one's intake of table salt and liquor. He developed 5 separate diets for his patients, which included food for diabetics, food for the over-weight, as well as a strictly vegetarian diet. In his 1891 book, « Diätetische Blutentmischung als Grundursache der Krankheiten » , he argued that diseases were ultimately caused by a poor diet, and, therefore, a proper diet was needed to prevent illness. He was also one of the first physicians to recognize the importance of minerals in an individuals' diet, feeling that many foods were mineral deficient.

Lahmann was an advocate of animal rights, refusing to use them in laboratory experiments. He also advocated loose-fitting clothing for all his patients, and recommended both sauna and open-air bathing.

...

One of the most prominent and successful doctors running a sanatorium and health-spa in Weißer Hirsch was Doctor Heinrich Lahmann. He started his business in 1887 and it became so successful, adding many building, baths and exercise facilities and, in a short time, added several (7) villas to his emporium to accommodate the flow of new patients.

One of them, Villa Eschebach, build in 1877 as a summer residence for Dresden industrial, art-collector, patron and one of Dresden's richest inhabitants Carl Eschebach (1842-1905) , he rented from 1887 as his house but, after his untimely death, it is known as « Kurpenzion Donath » .

The villa was used as a hotel for patients of the sanatorium until probably 1918 when it was bought by Dutch Consul Willem van Ameyden van Duym (1857-1917) and his family who owned the house until 1930.

Both Lahmann and Eschebach died in 1905 of complications of the influenza pandemic. Penicillin had yet to be discovered (Fleming, 1928) but it lasted until WWII becoming available as anti-biotic treatment. No sanatorium or naturopathy treatment could save these men.

...

Johann Heinrich Lahmann, deutscher Arzt und Naturheiler : geboren 30. März 1860 in Bremen ; gestorben 1. Juni 1905 auf Gut Friedrichsthal bei Radeberg. Er stand den Gedanken der Lebensreform nahe.

Heinrich Lahmann wurde 1860 als Sohn des Reepschlägers Albert Lahmann und dessen Frau Elisabeth Erichs in Bremen geboren. Nach dem Abitur studierte er erst zwei Jahre lang Technik in Hannover. 1880 wurde er dort Mitglied des Corps Hannovera. Anschließend studierte er Medizin in Greifswald, München, Leipzig und Heidelberg, wo er promoviert

wurde. Zunächst ließ er sich in Stuttgart als praktischer Arzt nieder, wo er seine erste Schrift publizierte mit dem Titel Kritik der Professor Doktor Jägerschen Wollbekleidungslehre, Seelenlehre und Heiltheorie. Darin kritisierte er die Ansichten des Mediziners Gustav Jäger, der eine Reformkleidung aus Wolle als einzig gesunde Kleidung propagierte und auch herstellen ließ. Lahmann plädierte dagegen für Baumwolle vor allem als Unterwäsche und ließ später auch solche unter dem Namen « Doktor Lahmann » von der Fabrik Heinzemann in Reutlingen produzieren. 1922 erteilte er ebenfalls der Firma Lahco im schweizerischen Baden AG « das Recht, die von mir erfundene Unterkleidung anzufertigen » .

1886 bot ihm Johann von Zimmermann die Leitung seiner Naturheilanstalt in Chemnitz an. Doch zerstritten sie sich offenbar innerhalb kurzer Zeit, denn schon 1887 wechselte der Mediziner nach Dresden und eröffnete am 1. Januar 1888 im Dresdner Vorort (heute Stadtteil) Weißer Hirsch ein eigenes Sanatorium unter dem Namen « Physiatisches Sanatorium » im « Frida-Bad », einer 1883 geschlossenen Kuranstalt. Zunächst arbeiteten dort nur zehn Mitarbeiter, doch behandelte er schon im ersten Jahr 385 Kurgäste. Im selben Jahr heiratete Lahmann Pauline Haase (1867-1910) ; aus der Ehe gingen sechs Kinder hervor. Lahmann starb 1905 im Alter von 45 Jahren an einer Herzmuskelentzündung als Folge einer Grippe. Er wurde auf dem Waldfriedhof Weißer Hirsch beigesetzt.

Lahmann hatte sich bereits während seines Studiums mit Naturheilkunde beschäftigt, unter anderem mit den Methoden von Vincenz Prißnitz und Johann Schroth. Er wandte sich ganz von der klassischen Medizin ab und strebte die Schaffung eines einheitlichen alternativen Heilsystems an, das vor allem die Hydrotherapie, die Schwedische Heilgymnastik, Luftbäder und gesunde Ernährung umfassen sollte. Medikamente lehnte er grundsätzlich ab. 1891 veröffentlichte er sein Buch mit dem Titel Die Diätetische Blutentmischung als Grundursache aller Krankheiten. Darin entwickelte er die Theorie, alle Krankheiten seien letztlich durch falsche Ernährung verursacht und folglich auch durch richtige Ernährung zu verhüten.

Er ging davon aus, daß die übliche Kost zu säurereich sei und zu wenig basische Mineralstoffe enthalte, die er « Nährsalze » nannte. Damit war er wohl der erste, der die Bedeutung von Mineralstoffen erkannte ; die Vitamine waren zu dieser Zeit noch nicht entdeckt. 1895 richtete er ein Labor ein, in dem Untersuchungen zum menschlichen Stoffwechsel durchgeführt wurden, die seine Theorien bestätigen sollten. Seine Ernährungstheorie zur « Blutentmischung » und die Empfehlung einer « basenreichen Ernährung » ist heute bei Ernährungswissenschaftlern und Medizinern umstritten, wird aber in der Alternativmedizin nach wie vor als richtig angesehen.

Lahmann empfahl eine überwiegend vegetarische Ernährung, die vor allem aus Salat, Gemüse, Obst und Nüssen bestehen sollte, ergänzt durch Milch und Milchprodukte sowie Vollkornbrot. Fleisch und Genussmittel sollten auf den Sonntag beschränkt bleiben. Im Laufe der Zeit entwickelte er fünf verschiedene Kostformen für seine Patienten : « Normalkost » , rein vegetarische Kost, Kost für Übergewichtige, Schonkost und Kost für Diabetiker. Der Ernährungswissenschaftler Maximilian Bircher-Benner weilte zu einem Informationsaufenthalt bei Lahmann, ehe er sein eigenes Sanatorium in Zürich eröffnete.

Lahmanns Kurkonzept basierte neben der Ernährung auf Wasseranwendungen, so genannten Luftbädern und Bewegung in der freien Natur, also Prinzipien der Abhärtung. Einige Patienten waren in « Lufthütten » untergebracht, auch

verordnete er Liegekuren im Freien. Jeden Morgen trafen sich die Patienten leicht bekleidet zur Gymnastik im Park, die Frauen im « Luftbadehemd », die Männer in kurzen Hosen, und zwar auch im Winter. Zur Abwechslung wurde in dieser Kleidung auch gekegelt, Männer wurden auch zum Holzsägen und Sandschippen angehalten.

Das Sanatorium entwickelte sich zu einer namhaften, international frequentierten Einrichtung. 1893 hatte es erstmals in einem Jahr über 1.000 Patienten, im Todesjahr Lahmanns 1905 waren es knapp 4.000. Bekannte Kurgäste waren in späteren Jahren unter anderem Heinrich George, Heinz Rühmann und Johannes Heesters.

Nach Lahmanns Tod wurde das Haus von der Familie weitergeführt. Von 1920 bis 1924 war Johannes Heinrich Schultz, der das Autogene Training entwickelte, Chefarzt und wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Sanatoriums. Im 2. Weltkrieg diente es als Lazarett.

Von 1946 bis 1992 wurde Lahmanns Sanatorium von der Sowjetarmee genutzt und dabei die Bausubstanz extrem vernachlässigt. Bei der Rückgabe befanden sich einzelne Gebäude in einem ruinösen Zustand. Seit dem Abzug der Roten Armee stand das denkmalgeschützte Lahmann-Sanatorium leer und verfiel zusehends weiter. Anfang 2011 wurde es an die Baywobau verkauft, die es sanierte und mit luxuriösen Eigentumswohnungen versah. Ein prominenter Bewohner des als Doktor Lahmann Park vermarkteten Areals ist seit April 2015 der sächsische Ministerpräsident Stanislaw Tillich.

...

Doktor Johann Heinrich Lahmann war ein deutscher Arzt und Besitzer des gleichnamigen Sanatoriums auf dem Weißen Hirsch.

Als Sohn eines erfolgreichen Bremer Kaufmanns studierte Lahmann zunächst nach erfolgreichem Realgymnasiumabschluß 5 Semester Bauwesen, widmete sich aber schnell der Medizin. Schon während seines Studiums befaßte es sich der Naturheilkunde in all ihren Facetten und mit der vegetarischen Lebensweise. Frisch von der Universität bekam er eine unerhörte Chance - der Mäzen der Naturheilkunde, der Industrielle Johann von Zimmermann, holte Lahmann an seine Naturheilanstalt nach Chemnitz. Jedoch nach anderthalb Jahren in der Einrichtung von Zimmermann war Lahmann Feuer und Flamme für eine eigenes Sanatorium - bei zwei Besuchen in Dresden hatte er sich den Kurort Weißer Hirsch mit seinem Frida-Bad, welches sich ideal für seine Wasserbehandlungen nutzen ließ, auserkoren und konnte somit am 1. Januar 1888 sein « Physiatisches Sanatorium » mit 10 Angestellten eröffnen.

Doktor Heinrich Lahmann zeichnete sich vor allem dadurch aus, daß er seine praktisch gewonnenen Erkenntnisse nicht nur systematisch ordnete, sondern diese auch naturwissenschaftlich begründete. In seinem 1891 erschienen gleichnamigen Buch entwickelte er die Theorie von der « diätetischen Blutentmischung als Grundursache aller Krankheiten ». Dieser heute überholten Auffassung nach führt eine falsche Ernährung zu einer falschen Zusammensetzung des Blutes und damit zu einer falschen Zusammensetzung aller Körpergewebe. Zum Nachweis seiner Auffassung ließ Lahmann in seinem chemisch-physiologischen Laboratorium von Ragnar Berg Untersuchungen zum menschlichen Stoffwechsel, insbesondere dem Mineralstoffwechsel vornehmen. In der säurereichen Nahrung und der daraus folgenden Unterversorgung mit basischen Mineralstoffen (Nährsalzen) sah er eine Hauptursache für Erkrankungen.

Die Erfolge der Lahmannschen Kur, das Sanatorium und die hier geleistete wissenschaftliche Arbeit trugen den Ruf des Weißen Hirsches als Kurort in alle Welt. Diesem hervorragenden Ruf folgten nicht nur Patienten, sondern auch weitere Ärzte nicht nur der Naturheilkunde.

Er verstarb schon in seinem 45. Lebensjahr am 1. Juni 1905 an Influenza durch Überanstrengung des Organismus in seinem Gut Friedrichsthal bei Radeberg. Er wohnte zuletzt in der Lahmannstraße I im damaligen Dresdner Vorort Weißer Hirsch und wurde auf dem Waldfriedhof Weißer Hirsch beerdigt.

Bereits zu den Lebzeiten von Heinrich Lahmann, im Jahr 1903 wurde die bisherige Karlstraße im damaligen Dresdner Vorort Weißer Hirsch, wo Doktor der Medizin Heinrich Lahmann wohnte, zu seinen Ehren und aufgrund seiner Verdienste in Lahmannstraße umbenannt. Zwar erfolgte bereits 1926 eine weitere Umbenennung in Stechgrundstraße, allerdings erfolgte dies aufgrund der Namensgebung des neuen Lahmannringes.

Heinrich Lahmanns heiratete 1888, im Jahr der Eröffnung seines Sanatoriums Louise geborene Haase (geboren 1868 in Stettin, heute Szczecin/Polen ; gestorben 1910 in Dresden) . Sie hatte zuvor als Kinderfräulein in Chemnitz gearbeitet. Louise Lahmann übernahm nach seinem Tod als Inhaberin das « Sanatorium Doktor Lahmann » .

Heinrich und Louise Lahmann hatten zusammen sechs Kinder, und andere :

Hans Heinrich Albert Lahmann (gestorben 1935 in Dresden) , Doktor der Medizin, approbierter Arzt, königlich-sächsischer Militär-Assistenzarzt der Reserve. Er war mit Walburga Lahmann verheiratet und wohnte zuletzt in der Wolfshügelstraße 2.

Hans Heinrich Friedrich Otto Lahmann, Kaufmann. Er wurde später Vorstandsvorsitzender des « Doktor Lahmanns Sanatorium Weißer Hirsch » .

Hans-Heinrich Lahmann, Landwirt (auf Gut Friedrichsthal) , königlich-sächsischer Leutnant der Reserve.

Der Kaufmann Otto Albert Lahmann (gestorben 1914 in Dresden) , der ebenfalls auf dem Weißen Hirsch in der Eschebachstraße 4, später der Hausnummer 11 wohnte, übernahm als Direktor das Lahmannsche Sanatorium. In diesem Amt blieb er bis 1907. Er war mit Maria Eugenia Johanna Lahmann verheiratet.

Die gemeinsamen Kinder waren :

Otto Albert Reiner Lahmann, Kaufmann. Er wohnte zuletzt in der Seidnitzer-Straße 19.

Otilie Erika Erdmuthe Lahmann, Ilse Maria Elisabeth Lahmann. Alle 3 Kinder wohnten anfangs in der Hermann-Prell-Straße 11.

...

Das Lahmann-Sanatorium wurde 1887 vom Arzt Doktor der Medizin Heinrich Lahmann gegründet, als dieser das 1883 in Konkurs gegangene Fridabad des Loschwitzer Bauunternehmers Theodor Lehnert pachtete. Am 1. Januar 1888 ging das Bad offiziell in Lahmanns Besitz über und hieß nun « Doktor Lahmanns psychiatrisches Sanatorium Weißer Hirsch ». Im Mittelpunkt der Behandlung der Patienten stand die gesunde Ernährung, in enger Verbindung mit Bewegung an frischer Luft und regelmäßigen Luftbädern. Außerdem fanden bestimmte psychotherapeutische Maßnahmen statt, die das Gesamtbefinden der Kurgäste verbessern sollten. In einem eigenen chemisch-physiologischen Laboratorium befaßte sich Lahmann auf naturwissenschaftlicher Grundlage mit Fragen des menschlichen Stoffwechsels und entwickelte eigene diätische Produkte und Nahrungsergänzungsmittel. Nach seinem Tod wirkte ab 1909 der schwedische Ernährungsforscher Ragnar Berg für einige Jahre im Sanatorium und entwickelte hier eine bis heute gültige Lebensmitteltabelle zum Mineralstoffhaushalt.

Lahmanns Konzept war ein voller Erfolg, der alljährlich zahlreiche Besucher anzog. Zwischen 1888 und 1913 wuchs deren Zahl von 385 auf über 7.400 an. Bis zum 1. Weltkrieg wurden deshalb neue Kurgebäude errichtet, Wasserleitungen und Dampfheizungsanlagen eingebaut und verschiedene Bade- und Gemeinschaftshäuser eingerichtet. Zur Versorgung seines Sanatoriums erwarb Lahmann 1894 das Gut Friedrichsthal bei Radeberg und ließ hier eine Musterwirtschaft anlegen. Um die Gäste unterbringen zu können, baute beziehungsweise kaufte der Arzt außerdem insgesamt 15 Villen auf dem Weißen Hirsch, darunter die 1905 von Max Herfurt erbaute Villa Urvasi am Lahmannring. Lahmann selbst wohnte bis zu seinem Tod am 1. Juni 1905 in einem repräsentativen Gebäude unmittelbar auf dem Klinikgelände. Diese Villa, Heinrichhof genannt, wurde 1896 gebaut und von Paul Kayser entworfen.

Bis zum 1. Weltkrieg besuchten Gäste aus aller Welt den Kurort am Dresdner Nordrand, bevor der Kriegsausbruch ein abruptes Ende setzte. Zu den berühmten Kurpatienten gehörten neben wohlhabenden Kaufleuten und Militärs auch Mitglieder der Familie der Hohenzollern und der russischen Zarenfamilie, Könige und Fürsten aus Europa, Asien und Ägypten, aber auch Schauspieler, Sänger und Schriftsteller. Über 300 Angestellte sorgten sich um deren Wohl, nahmen medizinische Behandlungen vor und organisierten den Klinikbetrieb. Ab 1914 befand sich hier ein Vereinslazarett des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes.

Nach 1918 gelang es nur mühsam, wieder an die alten Besucherzahlen anzuknüpfen. 1921 wurden das Lahmann-Sanatorium und einige andere private Kureinrichtungen unter Verwaltung der Stadt Dresden zu einem Kurbezirk zusammengefaßt. Dennoch blieb das Lahmann-Sanatorium bis zum 2. Weltkrieg bekanntestes in der Dresdner Umgebung und wurde weiterhin von In- und Ausländern besucht. Als Kurgäste erwähnt werden sollen hier nur der Flugzeugkonstrukteur Hugo Junkers, Reichsminister Doktor Neuhaus, der Schriftsteller Thomas Mann, die Sängerin Claire Waldoff, Operetten-komponist Paul Linke und die UFA-Stars Zarah Leander, Marika Röck, Heinz Rühmann und Willy Birgel.

1940 übernahm die Wehrmacht die Gebäude und richtete hier ein Lazarett mit Genesungsheim für Soldaten ein. 1945 beschlagnahmte die Sowjetarmee den Komplex. Bis 1991 dienten die Gebäude als Sanatorium der sowjetischen Streitkräfte. Obwohl keine grundlegenden Umbauten erfolgten, wurde die historische Bausubstanz in dieser Zeit schwer in Mitleidenschaft gezogen. 1991 verließ die Sowjetarmee die Kurhäuser in ruinösem Zustand. Alle Konzepte zur Reaktivierung des Gebietes, die und andere die Einrichtung eines Seniorenstiftes der Stiftung « Augustinum »

beziehungsweise ein Europäisches Wellness- und Forschungszentrum vorsahen, scheiterten an den hohen Kosten und Auflagen des Denkmalschutzes.

2011 erwarb ein Investor das frühere Sanatorium und will dieses unter weitgehender Erhaltung der vorhandenen Bebauung in den kommenden Jahren zu einem Wohnpark umgestalten. Vorgesehen sind außerdem Arzt- und Therapiepraxen im Eckhaus zur Stechgrundstraße sowie der Bau einer Einfamilienhaussiedlung am Heiderand. Dabei sollen die historischen Gebäude in ihrer Grundsubstanz erhalten bleiben und durch moderne Zutaten behutsam ergänzt werden. An den Entwürfen sind mehrere renommierte Architekturbüros beteiligt. Baubeginn war Mitte 2013.

...

Der Arzt Doktor der Medizin Heinrich Lahmann entdeckte auf einer Reise 1887 das Fridabad im Ort Weißer Hirsch bei Dresden. Er war von der Lage, hoch über dem Elbtal am Rand der Dresdner Heide, so begeistert, daß er alles daran setzte, seinen Traum von einem eigenen Sanatorium zu verwirklichen. Sein Motto « Natura sanat - die Natur heilt » wurde dann von ihm ab 1888, nach dem Kauf des Fridabades, zielstrebig umgesetzt.

Das « Doktor Lahmann's physiatrisches Sanatorium » entwickelte sich zu einem weit über die deutschen Grenzen hinaus bekanntes und geschätztes Sanatorium. Persönlichkeiten aus Wirtschaft, Kunst, Kultur und Politik kamen nach Weißer Hirsch.

Eine rege Bautätigkeit führte zu auch architektonisch besonderen Gebäude, so entstanden das Herrenbad, die Villa Urvasi, der Heinrichhof und vieles andere mehr.

Nach dem 1. Weltkrieg entwickelte sich der Weiße Hirsch, wesentlich bestimmt durch die Sanatoriumsgäste, zu einem « Bohème » -Ort. Viele Künstler gaben sich hier ein Stelldichein. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg wurde es Lazarett der Sowjetarmee, seit 2012 wird es zu einem Wohngebiet ausgebaut.

...

Heinrich Lahmann, geboren 1860 in Bremen, studierte Ingenieurwissenschaften und später Medizin. Ab 1886 arbeitete er als praktischer Arzt, wurde später an eine Naturheilanstalt in Chemnitz berufen und gründete bereits 1888 ein eigenes Sanatorium am Weißen Hirsch in Dresden, das rasch Weltruhm erlangte. Es wurde von vielen Patienten besucht - so kamen 1906 über 4.000 Kurgäste. Zu ihnen gehörten auch Hochadel, Fürsten und Könige aus Deutschland, die russische Zarenfamilie, Politiker, bedeutende Unternehmer und Künstler wie Flugzeugbauer Hugo Junkers, Reichswirtschaftsminister Doktor Albert Neuhaus, Schriftsteller Thomas Mann, Schauspielerin Marikka Röck, Schauspieler Heinz Rühmann und viele mehr.

Obwohl viele Ärzte seine Methoden studierten (so lernte Max Bircher-Benner bei ihm) und später in ihrer Praxis anwendeten, wurde er von der Ärzteschaft angegriffen und verhöhnt. Heute wissen wir, daß Lahmann Recht hatte, wenn er seinen Patienten frische Luft und Sonne verordnete, Bewegung im Freien, Ruhe, Erholung und eine naturgemäße

Ernährung. Auch wenn seine Ernährungsempfehlungen aus heutiger Sicht einer Korrektur bedürfen, war er seiner Zeit voraus, denn auch heute würden viele Menschen an Gesundheit gewinnen, wenn sie seinen Empfehlungen folgen.

Lahmann forderte Gesundheitserziehung an den Schulen, damit die Kinder frühzeitig lernen, wie sie zu leben haben, um Krankheiten von vornherein zu vermeiden.

...

Heinrich Lahmann : Die Kohlensäurestauung in unserem Körper - Die wichtigste allgemeine Krankheitsursache (1905) , Buschhoven (1986) .

Heinrich Lahmann schickte diese Schrift in einer Auflage von 50.000 Broschüren (!) an Ärzte in Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz sowie nach Holland, Skandinavien und Ungarn in der Hoffnung, daß sie sich von der symptombezogenen Heilbehandlung abwenden und der ursachenorientierten zuwenden mögen.

Für Lahmann war die Kohlensäurestauung in den Geweben und im Blut die wichtigste Krankheitsursache. Er empfahl als prophylaktische Therapie besonders intensive Bewegung an frischer Luft, den Aufenthalt in gut gelüfteten Räumen und lockere, nicht beengende Kleider, damit die im Stoffwechsel entstandene Kohlensäure aus den Geweben ins Blut und vom Blut über die Lungen abgeatmet werden kann.

Lahmann begründete seine Theorie damit, daß ein hoher Gehalt an Kohlensäure im Blut und in den Gewebeflüßigkeiten viele basische Mineralien zur Neutralisation erfordern. Diese fehlten dann, um die im Stoffwechsel entstehenden Säuren abzupuffern wie Harnsäure, Phosphorsäure und Schwefelsäure. Aus diesem Grunde sprach er sich für eine basenreiche und säurearme Kost aus, bestehend aus viel Obst, Grünblattsalaten und Gemüse und weniger Fleisch und Eiern.

Wörtlich heißt es zur säurereichen Kost :

« Daß wir darunter zum Beispiel Fleisch verstehen und nicht etwa Obst, ist ja der landläufigen Anschauung zuwider ; aber wir müßen die unverbrennliche Schwefel- und Harnsäure, nicht die leicht verbrennliche Obstsäure fürchten. »

(Seite 19.)

Interessant ist Lahmanns Erkenntnis, daß Fließschnupfen oder Nasenbluten Entgiftungsversuche des Körpers sind. Krampfanfälle führt er auf Fehlernährung zurück, auf zuviel Kochsalz und säurereiche Nahrung. Lahmann erkennt den Schaden, den Alkohol, Nikotin, Kaffee, Tee und Kakao anrichten. Er spricht sich gegen die Vielesserei aus. Zu große Nahrungsmengen (auch von gesunder Kost) überschreiten unsere Verdauungskapazität und führen zu Darmgärung, zu anhaltenden Darmstörungen mit ...

« Alkaliverarmung, in dem die Gärungssäuren im Darm schon Alkalien der Nahrung binden und ungenützt für das Blut zur Ausscheidung bringen. Der Gipfelpunkt der Schwierigkeiten tritt stets ein, wenn die starken Säuren mangels



Alkalideckung zu den Basen greifen, welche integrierende Bestandteile der lebenden Gewebe bilden, einzelne Bausteine aus den Zellen herausreißen und zu ihrer Zerstörung führen. Setzt so die I. Zerstörung eigenen Zellmaterials ein, dann ist der Zellverfall oft überhaupt proklamiert ; denn die Produkte desselben, die Oxybuttersäure, die Acetessigsäure, sie sorgen für schnelle Verarmung des Organismus an Alkali, wodurch immer wieder neuer Eiweiß-, neuer Zellverfall wachgerufen wird. Dieselbe Säureschädigung ... ruft hier den Skorbut und Rachitis, dort spinale Kinderlähmung hervor. Hier haben wir Herzentzündung und dort einen jugendlichen deformierten Gelenkrheumatismus. Hier haben wir Zucker- oder Bright'sche Nierenkrankheit, dort eine Gehirnerweichung oder sonstige Erkrankung des Zentralnervensystems. »

(Seite 25f.)

...

Heinrich Lahmann : Die diätetische Blutentmischung - als Grundursache der Krankheiten, I. Auflage (1894) , Buschhoven (1987) .

Lahmann zeigt, daß wir Menschen wie auch Pflanzen und Tiere ausreichend und in richtiger Komposition Mineralstoffe brauchen. Zu viel Stickstoff (in unserer Ernährung als Protein aufgenommen) zieht Krankheit nach sich.

« Wie die Seuchen unter den falsch ernährten Menschen wüten, so hausen sie unter den falsch ernährten Pflanzen. Dort Diphtherie und Tuberkulose - hier Rüben-, Kartoffel-, Rebenkrankheiten. Was fehlt den Pflanzen ? - Mineralstoffe fehlen ihnen ! »

(Seite 27.)

Ebenso wie den meisten Menschen Mineralstoffe fehlen. Doch nicht anorganische Salze brauchen wir, sondern Mineralstoffe, die im organischen Verbund stehen.

Der Verzehr von Kochsalz ist nach Lahmann einer der größten Ernährungsfehler überhaupt.

« Bei Ernährung mit Fleisch und Brot ohne Salzzusatz scheiden wir in 24 Stunden nicht mehr als 6 bis 8 g Alkalisalze aus. Bei Ernährung mit Kartoffeln und dem entsprechenden Zusatz von Kochsalz werden täglich über 100 g Alkalisalze durch die Nieren getrieben. »

(Seite 55.)

Jedes Nahrungsmittel, das gesalzen wird, laugt aus und verliert seine basischen Mineralien. Lahmann illustriert das an folgendem Beispiel (Seite 53) , wie durch das Salzen von Fleisch die organischen Mineralien mit dem Wasser beziehungsweise der Salzlake verloren gehen :

« Wenn wir schon kochen wollen, sollten wir nach Lahmann kein Kochsalz verwenden oder zumindest sparsam damit

umgehen und auch nicht das Kochwasser wegschütten, denn wir würden sonst kostbare Mineralstoffe verlieren.

Wo viel Käse, Schinken und andere Salzkost und dafür wenig basenbildende Pflanzenkost verzehrt wird, sind Blasen- und Nierensteine verbreitet, weil es im Stoffwechsel an basischen Mineralien fehlt. »

(Seite 71.)

Nach Lahmann sollen wir hauptsächlich nährsalzreiche (sprich mineralstoffreiche) Grünblattsalate, Gemüse und Früchte möglichst roh essen, da diese dann besser zu verdauen sind und die Mineralien in ihrem organischen Verbund richtig ausgenutzt und verwertet werden können. Bei der übrigen Kost sollten wir uns zurückhalten und diese nur als Beikost betrachten : Fleisch, Eier, Milch, Brot, Gebäck, Getreideprodukte, Hülsenfrüchte, Kartoffeln.

« Der Mensch gehört seiner Anlage nach nicht zu den Fleischfressern, sondern zu den Pflanzenfressern und Fruchtfressern. Er gehört auch nicht zu den Körneressern - wozu sich die Menschheit gemacht hat. Der Mensch kann von beiden Dingen, von Fleisch und Körnerfrüchten, essen - darf sie aber nur als Zukost zu wichtigeren Nahrungsmitteln betrachten. »

(Seite 74.)

Den Einwand, daß sich die Armen nicht Früchte, Gemüse und Salate leisten könnten, begegnet er :

« Die Salatunkräuter, die auf jeder Wiese, an jedem Wegrain wachsen, können ungezählten Armen die Stoffe für ihr Blut schaffen, deren sie heute ermangeln. So liefert die Brennessel in ihren jungen Trieben einen Spinat, der besser schmeckt als der in Gärten gezogene. Im zeitigen Frühjahr, wenn der Arme noch keinen grünen Halm bezahlen kann, kann er so gut seinen Spinat essen wie der Bemittelte. »

Lahmann fährt fort :

« Zunächst sind es die gebleichten Frühlingstriebe der Cichorie, die der Butterblume oder des Löwenzahns, die einen hochfeinen Salat geben, den unsere Nachbarn, die Franzosen zu schätzen zu wissen. Das Löffelkraut, die Bachbunze, der Salatwegerich, der Sauerampfer, der Boretsch, der Sauerklee schließen sich an. Ja, das Wiesenschaumkraut wird in den Trieben vor der Blüte als Salat gepriesen. In England und Frankreich wird der Wegsenf gern gegessen. Der gute Heinrich, der sehr häufig ist und an allen Wegrändern und auf Schuttplätzen wächst, liefert gleichfalls einen guten Spinat und Salat. In Italien, wo es dem Volke fast gleich ist, was es genießt, wenn es nur Salat ist, wird auch die Vogelmiere oder Hühnerdarm (*Stellaria media*) benutzt. Und es gibt noch viele Salatunkräuter, die umsonst zu haben sind und an Sonntagen oder freien Nachmittagen eingeheimst werden können, zum Beispiel die gemeine Melde, die überreichlich überall wächst. »

(Seite 239.)

Um die Früchteversorgung für die Armen zu bessern, rät Lahmann den Gemeinden, ...

« jeden Weg mit Obstbäumen zu bepflanzen und nicht zu dulden, daß ein Obstbaum abgehauen wird, ehe ein anderer gepflanzt ist, oder zu sorgen, daß ein Grundbesitzer jedes Jahr seinen Obstbaum pflanze. »

(Seite 240.)

Zur Gesundheitserziehung lesen wir bei Lahmann :

« Ebenso wie wir in den verschiedensten Disziplinen belehrt werden, müßen die heranwachsenden Generationen auch in der Grundlage aller Lebensweisheit - der Lehre von der leiblichen Wohlfahrt unterrichtet werden. Nur so ist eine wirkliche ... Krankheitsverhütung möglich. »

Und er fährt fort :

« Indem leibliches Elend, Krankheit und Siechtum weniger werden, werden auch Ärzte als solche weniger Verwendung finden, das heißt sie werden für die neu zu schaffenden Posten der Gesundheitslehrer und Gesundheitswächter frei. Erst dort kann sich der dem wirklichen Arzte innewohnende ideale Trieb : von Grund aus zu helfen, das heißt zu verhüten, frei entfalten. »

« Wir haben eine Unzahl Ärzte und doch Krankheit und Siechtum in Menge. Es kann nicht eher anders werden, als bis wir (die Ärzte d.R.) Gesundheitslehrer geworden sind, als bis das Publikum in der Schule gelernt hat, daß man durch ... falsche Ernährung krank wird. »

(Seite 244f.)

...

Heinrich Lahmann : Das Luftbad als Heil- und Abhärtungsmittel (1898) , 4. Auflage, Buschhoven (1986) .

Lahmann beklagt, daß so gut wie niemand weiß, wie man zu leben hat, um gesund zu bleiben. Er kritisiert mit dieser Schrift besonders die Naturheilärzte, die mit ihren vielen Wasseranwendungen den geschwächten Patienten die letzte Lebenskraft rauben, denn Wasser leitet im Gegensatz zu Luft die Körperwärme stark ab.

« Ich kenne viele Hunderte von Wasserfanatikern, aber Keinen, der gesund ist. »

Dem falschen Konzept der Kaltwasserbäder, die keine Abhärtung bringen und nur die Lebensenergie vergeuden, setzt er seine Empfehlung entgegen : das Luftbad. Für Lahmann ist reine, frische Luft das Lebenselixier ; möglichst kombiniert mit Licht und Sonne. Man solle soviel wie möglich draußen und dabei möglichst wenig bekleidet sein ; je weniger die Haut bedeckt ist, um so besser. Zu akzeptieren sei gerade soviel Kleidung, daß man in der kalten Jahreszeit nicht friere.

Wem kalt ist, wer zum Frösteln neigt, der müsse sich mehr bewegen und so seinen Stoffwechsel anregen. Lahmann belegt die Wirksamkeit seiner « Luftbad-Kur » mit vielen geheilten Menschen.

Eine enge und dicke Bekleidung sowie überheizte, schlecht gelüftete Zimmer führten zu einer fieberhaften Überhitzung, zum Wärmestau, zu einer Blockierung der Entgiftung über die Haut. Durch Temperaturreize, durch Sonnenlicht und Bewegung an frischer Luft funktionieren Stoffwechsel und Entgiftung besser.

« Es scheint ja ungeheuerlich, daß heutige verzärtelte, in beständiger Erkältungsangst lebende Kulturmenschen in unserem Klima und nun gar zur Winterzeit sich unbedeckt für 5 bis 20 Minuten der Luft und dem Wetter aussetzen können, ohne sich den Tod zu holen. Und nun sollen sie sogar dabei gesunden ?! Ja, das zu verstehen ist dem Durchschnittseuropäer so unmöglich, daß ihn nur das Experiment am eigenen Körper überzeugen wird. Wer einmal die physische und moralische Wirkung des Luftbades im Freien verspürt hat, der fühlt sich leiblich und seelisch gesunder, nein er fühlt sich nicht nur so, sondern er ist es auch. »

(Seite 19.)

Bemerkenswert ist auch Lahmanns Erkenntnis des Zusammenhangs zwischen Freßsucht und der sitzenden Lebensweise in geschlossenen Räumen. Wie oft verfliegt doch der eingebildete Hunger, wenn wir ins Freie gehen.

Lahmanns Kinder mußten « stets abends vor der Essenszeit bis zum Schlafengehen im Zimmer und auf der Diele in Badehöschen turnen und spielen » .

Und weiter unten :

« Wie glühen die vollangezogenen Kinder zum Beispiel im Winter im geheizten Zimmer, wenn sie lebhaft Spiele spielen. Wie aufgereggt werden sie und wie schwer ist das Einschlafen. Beim Luftbad der Kinder kennt man diese Unbequemlichkeit nicht. Und dann der Tieferblickende, der die harmlosen Kinder beiderlei Geschlechts harmlos spielen sieht, sieht er nicht, wie sittliches Bewußtsein oder vielmehr unbewußte Sittlichkeit an Stelle fluchwürdiger Prüderie tritt, sobald der nackte Mensch etwas Selbstverständliches wird. Und dann fast das Wichtigste : Die Eltern sehen wirklich einmal ihre Kinder (nicht nur ihre aus den Kleidern guckenden Köpfe) mit ihren körperlichen Vorzügen und etwaigen Fehlern. »

(Seite 26.)

Der vernünftige Erwachsene wird jede « Gelegenheit suchen, im Sommer im Freien sich der Luft auszusetzen, dort wo man es schicklicher Weise allein kann. » , geschrieben wohlgemerkt bereits 1898.

Als Realist bemerkt Heinrich Lahmann mit Hinweis auf Alexander von Humboldt : eine Wahrheit brauche 200 Jahre bis sie sich durchsetzt. Hundert Jahre sind vorüber. Geben wir uns Mühe, daß es keine weiteren hundert Jahre dauert, bis die Menschen diese Wahrheit erkennen.

In Lahmanns Büchern konnte ich keinen Hinweis finden, daß er irgendein Medikament empfahl. Bei ihm gab es nur eine Therapie : Bewegung, frische Luft, Sonne, Ruhe und Erholung, basenbetonte Ernährung (Obst und Gemüse) ; egal um welche Erkrankung es sich handelte und er war erfolgreich damit und « konnte dem Tode noch manche Beute entreißen » . Lahmann war vor über hundert Jahren weiter als die meisten der heute praktizierenden Ärzte, die sich nicht die Mühe machen, nach den Ursachen der Krankheiten zu suchen.

Zur Medizin bemerkt er :

« Ich halte ... die Medizin für keine Wissenschaft, sondern für eine Kunst, bei der vielerlei Wissen nötig ist, also Hilfswissenschaften gelernt werden müßen. Es ist aber der Fluch der heutigen Medizin, daß sie als Wissenschaft angesehen und als Wissenschaft gelehrt und geübt wird. Sie ist dadurch in der Praxis ein Unding und ihre Jünger sind therapeutisch vielfach geradezu impotent. »

Lahmanns Sanatorium ähnelte eher einem Urlaubsetablisement als einem Krankenhaus. Die Patienten nahmen Sonnenbäder (im Winter in geschützten Glashäusern) , sie kegelten im Freien, spazierten und wanderten in der Dresdner Heide. Kein Wunder, daß bei solch angenehmen Aufenthalt und den hohen Heilquoten die Patienten in Scharen kamen und ein Haus nach dem anderen gebaut werden mußte, um die Patienten unterbringen zu können.

Das Sanatorium steht heute noch. Es wurde von der sowjetischen Garnison als Offizierskrankenhaus viereinhalb Jahrzehnte bis 1990 genutzt. Seitdem steht der Komplex leer. Die heruntergewirtschafteten Häuser sehen traurig aus und sind dem Verfall preisgegeben.

## Werke

Die Reform der Kleidung. A. Zimmer's Verlag (1898) .

Das Luftbad als Heil- und Abhärtungsmittel, Otto Reichl Verlag (1986) - Neuauflage der Ausgabe Stuttgart (1898) .

Die Diätetische Blutentmischung als Grundursache der Krankheiten. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Krankheitsanlage und Krankheitsverhütung. Otto Reichl Verlag (1987) - Neudruck der 15. Auflage, Leipzig (1905) .

Die Kohlensäurestauung in unserem Körper - die wichtigste allgemeine Krankheitsursache. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Wesens innerer Krankheiten. Otto Reichl Verlag (1986) - Neudruck der 3. Auflage, Stuttgart (1905) .

...

**Thursday, 29 August 1907** : After Gustav Mahler was vaccinated in Vienna, he underwent a cardiac examination by Doctor Franz Hamperl. Diagnose : mitral stenosis, rheumatic valve disease. A fact that Alma does not mention in the main-narrative, although Mahler's letter referring to this meeting is included at the end of the book :

« Yesterday, I had my inoculation. Doctor Hamperl did it, and while he was about it he examined me too, he found a small valvular deficiency which has been entirely compensated for, and thinks nothing of the whole business. He said I could most certainly follow my profession and I should live an absolutely normal life, except that I should avoid over-exerting myself. The strange thing is that he actually said the same as Blumenthal, but his whole manner had something comforting about it. »

Doctor Hamperl's diagnosis had immediate consequences in that it allowed Mahler to ignore the strict instructions laid out by Doctor Kovacs earlier that summer. Indeed, in the same letter, he even engages in some wishful thinking, expressing his desire to « take a hike up the Schneeberg ! »

Letter from Gustav Mahler to Alma :

« Doctor Hamperl found a slight valvular defect, which is entirely compensated, and he makes nothing of the whole affair. He tells me I can certainly carry on my work just as I did before and in general lead a normal life, apart from avoiding over fatigue. »

Heart murmur « loud second sound » .

In other words, only one of the valves between the left-ventricle and the left-ventricle was slightly narrower than normal as a result of changes caused by inflammation, so that its function was somewhat impaired. Possibly, it was a combined mitral defect, meaning that the mitral valve did not close properly and tended to leak, while, at the same time, it did not open sufficiently. In turn, this would lead to coronary insufficiency. But if, in the view of Mahler's doctors, his heart defect was « compensated » , then, this would mean that the body had learnt to cope with a long-standing defect without showing any of the symptoms usually associated with such insufficiency, namely, shortage of breath and swollen legs, neither of which is attested in Mahler's case. Be that as it may, this diagnosis was far from being a death sentence for a man like Mahler who, by contemporary reckoning, had already completed 3 quarters of his life expectancy without apparently suffering from any heart-condition. Today, the heart-valve would probably be replaced, but such an operation was still a distant prospect in Mahler's day. Hamperl's diagnosis also had the advantage of ultimately allowing Mahler to ignore Kovacs's strict instructions to avoid all forms of strenuous exercise, which would have meant a complete change in Mahler's lifestyle.

Above all, the total avoidance of all physical activity beyond the occasional stroll (in other words, a ban on swimming and hiking) briefly turned Mahler into a hypochondriac who kept stopping to check his pulse. For a time, he had followed Kovacs's orders, which admittedly reflected the current state of knowledge, but he soon noticed that his physical fitness was unimpaired and that it was now the lack of physical exercise that was making him ill. He reverted to his former practices, albeit reducing them slightly, and was delighted to discover that they did him the world of good. On more than one occasion, he reassured his friends that he felt as fit as he had done in the past. At least until the autumn of 1910, there can be no question of a serious deterioration in Mahler's health, as one would have expected with someone suffering from a weak heart. In short, Alma's claim that Blumenthal's diagnosis marked the beginning of the end for Mahler is no more than a widow over-dramatizing the situation.

## 1907 : Mahler visits Paris

**Monday, 9 December 1907** : Gustav Mahler arrives in Paris (from Vienna) . He is staying at the « Hôtel Bellevue » which is located at « n° 39, Avenue de l'Opéra » .

**Wednesday, 11 December 1907** : Mahler visits the « Palais Garnier » (Opera House) .

**Thursday, 12 December 1907** : Mahler leaves Paris for New York.

## New York : Hotel « Majestic »

**Saturday, 21 December 1907** : Gustav Mahler arrives in New York and settles in a suite at the Hotel « Majestic » .

Mahler lived on Central Park West and 72nd Street, an intersection that, for some people, instantly brings to mind the famous Dakota building. But Mahler's residence was the building directly across the street. Back then, it was called the Hotel « Majestic » and was originally constructed in 1894 in an opulent style. But by the time the Great Depression came along, the « Majestic » , like many of the old 19th Century New York hotels, had been converted and re-designed as more modest apartment units. Mahler's days at the « Majestic » carry an interesting anecdote. According to his wife Alma, Mahler heard the muffled sound of a beating bass-drum in the street outside their 11th floor window. It was a funeral procession rolling down Central Park West to honour a fallen fire-fighter. Mahler was so moved by the emotional weight of the drumming sound, he incorporated it into the 5th movement of his 10th Symphony which he composed 3 years later.

Henry-Louis de La Grange, in the 4th volume of his epic Mahler biography, summarizes the recollections of one Otto Wantuch, a director of the Hotel « Majestic » , Mahler's first home in New York :

« One winter afternoon, a young man managed to gain access to Mahler's rooms and asked to play him his latest Opera, a work peopled by “ supermen ”. With exemplary patience, Mahler sat him down at the piano, but as the composer presented his score and characters, he grew increasingly nervous. Finally, just as the principal leitmotif was about to repeat itself, Mahler touched him on the shoulder and said, “ Such super-human work demands super-human ears.” He then left the room. Wantuch also recalls an example of Mahler's absent-mindedness : once, he stayed on the subway until 140th Street instead of getting off at 72nd Street. »

(The stations in question no longer exist : the 9th Avenue Elevated came down in 1940. Mahler probably realized that something was amiss when he went around Suicide Curve.)

...

**1908** : Encounter of Alma Mahler with Doctor Joseph Fränkel from New York.

**1908** : Encounter of Alma Mahler with Doctor Joseph Fränkel from New York.

**1908** : Re-encounter of Alma Mahler with Doctor Joseph Fränkel. Meeting with Opera singer Enrico Caruso in New York.

**Saturday, 21 November 1908** : Mahler arrives in New York, where he stays at the « Savoy » Plaza Hotel.

**1909** : Mahler is suffering of fever, tonsillitis, fatigue and over-work.

**1909 : Mahler visits Paris**

**Monday, 19 April 1909** : Mahler arrives in Paris (from Vienna) for a holiday. He is staying at one of Paris's most luxurious hotels, the « Hôtel Majestic » which is located at « n° 19, Avenue Kléber dans le 16e arrondissement » .

The « Majestic » was among the most elegant addresses in Paris and certainly a place to see and be seen !

During his stay in Paris, Mahler attends his first posing session for sculptor Auguste Rodin at his « atelier » of Meudon, Île-de-France.

**Friday, 30 April 1909** : Mahler returns to Vienna.

**June 1909** : Mahler gets anxious at the mere idea of falling ill.

**Friday, 8 October 1909** : Mahler arrives in Paris (from Amsterdam) . He returns at the « Hôtel Majestic » .

Mahler attends his second posing session for Rodin at his « atelier » of Meudon.

**Tuesday, 12 October 1909** : Mahler leaves for New York.

**Paris : « Hôtel Majestic »**

The « Hôtel Majestic » opened in 1908. It served as a field hospital for wounded officers during World War I, staffed largely by British aristocrats. During World War II, it served as the headquarters of the German military high-command in France during the Nazi occupation of Paris. The hotel played a pivotal role in the deportation of Parisian Jews and the 1944 assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler.

...

« Avenue Kléber » , part of Baron Haussmann's rebuilding plan for Paris, was originally known as « Avenue du Roi de Rome » in tribute to Napoléon I's son. In 1864, a rich Russian nobleman named Alexandr Basilewski constructed a palace at « 19, Avenue du Roi de Rome » , designed by architect Clément Parent. Basilewski sold the palace in 1868 to the Duke of Sesto, who re-named it the « Palacio Castilla » . It was bought in behalf of Queen Isabella II of Spain, who had just exiled to Spain following the Glorious Revolution. She continued to live in Paris until her death in 1904.



The property was then acquired by hotel magnate Leonard Tauber after a bidding war that involved the United States government and the King of Belgium. Tauber constructed the luxurious « Hôtel Majestic » on the site, retaining Queen Isabella's bathroom accoutrements, including her marble bath, in the Presidential suite. Designed by Armand Sibien, construction began in 1906 and the hotel opened in December 1908. The hotel was purchased by Henry Devenish Harben for use as a military hospital at the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and served in this capacity for 5 months. It was damaged during its hospital service, and was not renovated and re-opened until 1916. In 1922, it was the site of a famous dinner hosted by Violet and Sydney Schiff and attended by Marcel Proust, Igor Stravinsky and Pablo Picasso (the « dinner party of the Century ») . The first unofficial Chess Olympiad was held at the hotel in 1924. George Gershwin wrote « An American in Paris » while staying at the hotel in 1928.

The hotel was purchased by the French government in 1936 to serve as offices for the Ministry of Defence. It served as the headquarters of the German military high-command in France (« Militärbefehlshaber Frankreich ») , from October 1940 to July 1944, during the occupation of Paris in World War II. During the Nazi Occupation of Paris, staff army officials at the « Majestic » fought fierce battles with the « Gestapo » and the SS over policy, especially with regard to the deportation of Jews to concentration camps, reprisals against French partisans and protection of works of Art in French museums. The « Majestic » became known as a centre of opposition to certain aspects of Adolf Hitler's policies, especially when Carl Heinrich von Stülpnagel took charge of administering the « Militärbefehlshaber Frankreich » .

On May 22, 1942, after the Wannsee conference, an exclusive presentation was made to the higher echelons of the German army at the « Hôtel Majestic » by Reinhard Heydrich, one of the main architects of the Holocaust. He spoke of experiments for the killing of Jews using a specially prepared truck whose exhaust fumes would kill the deportees.

...

**1910** : Mahler is suffering from laryngitis, nervous disintegration and has a strained arm.

**July 1910** : 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.

**Monday, 22 August 1910** : Mahler is victim of a severe attack of angina in Toblach.

**Sunday, 4 September 1910** : Mahler is victim of a severe attack of angina in Munich.

**December 1910** : Mahler is suffering from laryngitis in New York.

**1911** : Mahler is suffering of laryngitis and endocarditis.

**January 1911** : Mahler is annoyed by frequent sore throats in New York.

**February 1911** : Mahler is victim of a attack of pharyngitis (strep throat) in New York.

**Monday, 20 February 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Mahler catches a cold. He wakes-up in the morning with a sore throat and fever (37.8°C) . He is examined by Doctor Joseph Fränkel. Mahler has to stay in bed. The next few days are better, but the fever stayed.

### Doctor Joseph Fränkel

The Austrian-American physician, endocrinologist and a neurologist Doctor Joseph Fränkel was born on 4 July 1867 in Russia and died on 24 April 1920 at his home (Number 101 East 94th Street, New York) . The obituary was written by Doctor Charles L. Dana.

An accounting of the estate of Joseph Fränkel was filed in the Surrogate's Court by Herman B. Baruch, the executor. Doctor Fränkel at the time of his death was the husband of Ganna Walska, now the wife of Harold F. McCormick of Chicago, whose first wife was the daughter of John D. Rockefeller.

Fränkel studied medicine at the University of Vienna, graduating in 1889. Not accepting the rejection of Judaism, he could not practice in Austria, and emigrated to the United States. In 1892 or 1893, he practised in New York. He was an assistant to Doctor Charles L. Dana at the Post-Graduate Hospital and Medical School located at Number 303 East 20th Street. He taught neurology at Cornell University Medical College. He consulted Montefiore hospital patients and, until October 1913, the ones at Bellevue.

Joseph Fränkel was a member of the Academy of Medicine and the New York Neurological Society (chairman in 1905, 1906) . In 1909, together with Joseph Collins, he founded of the Neurological Institute of New York. In 1916, he married Ganna Walska, an Opera singer.

From December 1907 to March 1908, Fränkel met Gustav and Alma Mahler in New York. The friendship consolidated during the second stay in New York, which lasted from November 1908 to April 1909.

...

**Tuesday, 21 February 1911 (8:15 pm)** : 13th regular subscription-concert of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall. 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.

Program :

Works by Leone Sinigaglia, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (« Italian » Symphony) , Giuseppe Martucci, Ferruccio Busoni (world-premiere of the « Berceuse élégiaque ») , Marco Enrico Bossi.

Soloist : Ernesto Consolo, piano.

The « New York Times » reports that Busoni attended the concert, sharing a box with conductor Arturo Toscanini. This is confirmed by a letter from Busoni to his wife.

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. (He will be forced to abandon the last 10 remaining ones.)

**Wednesday, 22 February 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. In the morning, Mahler suffering from a hectic fever cancelled the repeat performances scheduled for February 24th, which only emphasizes the gravity of his illness. First visit of Doctor Emanuel Libman of Mount-Sinai Hospital in New York to Mahler at the request of Doctor Joseph Fränkel.

Libman too found that, in addition to endocarditis, there was also an older, chronic mitral-valve defect with a presystolic-systolic heart murmur. But it must be stressed that this heart defect was not the cause of Mahler's death, even if it was a decisive factor in rendering his heart non-resistant to bacterial infection. We can no longer say whether a healthy heart would have succumbed to such a bacterial attack at a time when there was no known remedy, and yet, it is correct to say that, medically speaking, such a valve defect is classified as a « locus minoris resistentiæ » - a point at which bacterial pathogenics such as the streptococcus that causes endocarditis can settle more readily than in healthy parts of the heart, not least because the inflammation leads to an enlargement of the surfaces that can serve as a colonization area.

Theodore Spiering stepped-in as Mahler's substitute at the first cancelled concert, and continued to replace Mahler during the season's remaining 5 weeks. However, Spiering's name never appeared in the printed programs, which all announce Mahler as conductor, even the improvised extra-concerts (that were not part of the New York Philharmonic season) were scheduled as subscription-concerts. This can only mean that Mahler constantly hoped that he would soon recover his health and resume work with the New York Philharmonic. It is not known whether or not Mahler took an active part in programming the concerts during his illness. The Viennese newspapers did not take any notice of Mahler's illness before March 24th, when the « Neue Freie Presse » announced that Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen, Mahler's mother-in-law, had left Vienna for New York in order to support her daughter in looking after Mahler.

### Doctor Emanuel Libman

The American internist Doctor Emanuel Libman was born in 1872 in New York and died in 1946.

He was the son of Fajbal Libman, a prosperous picture-framer who had emigrated from Prussian-Poland in 1865. He studied at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University, where he received his doctorate in 1894. He interned at Mount-Sinai Hospital from 1894 to 1896, and then, went abroad for further education in Vienna, Berlin,

Graz, Munich and Prague, making valuable contacts with leaders of European medicine. In Vienna, he worked with the paediatrician Theodor Escherich (1857-1911), of e-coli fame.

Libman was a generalist in an era before specialization. He was legendary for his brusque, dazzlingly fast and unorthodox diagnostic methods. Some attributed his talent to a diagnostic sixth sense. Sceptics said that he was superficial, or merely a good-guesser. A better observer than a listener, he claimed to be able to smell certain diseases, keenly sought the smallest details, and developed a unique method of applying pressure over patient's mastoids to ascertain their pain threshold.

Examination by the famous diagnostician could be harrowing as is illustrated by the following account written in 1939 by the short-story writer and playwright Samuel Nathaniel Behrman (1893-1973) in « The Yorker Magazine » :

« A patient visiting Doctor Libman for the first time is likely to find his method of examination bewildering and incoherent. To go through such an examination is quite worth the price of admission. After he has given you the Libman test, he will jump from one part of the body to another, tapping hard in one place, lightly elsewhere, pulling down eyelids, pressing under ears, running his thumbnail across the chest. His eyes shift everywhere, his movements are jerky, his speech rapid, his questions staccato and continuous, with no time out for answers. It is only when he reaches auscultation that his tempo becomes slightly legato. Then, as like as not, the telephone rings. Someone wants Libman's advice about a student who has been sent to Europe with money from the Emanuel Libman Fellowship Fund, set-up some years ago in his honour by patients and former pupils. " I cannot ", you hear Libman say, " take the responsibility of sending that young man to Istanbul. However, I've been thinking about him. I have a feeling he should go to Vienna. " He returns to his thumb-nailed torso, acquiescent on the sofa, taps and pokes, asks a few more questions without waiting for the answers. The telephone rings again. This time, Doctor Libman only listens. He returns, picks-up a derby, and claps it on his silver-grey head. " Sorry. Have to go to Brooklyn. Very interesting case - suppuration behind the ear. " And he is gone. You get-up to put your shirt on, disturbed by the suspicion that without suppuration behind the ear you are an egregious bore. »

Doctor Libman had many famous patients including Fanny Brice, Sara Bernhardt, Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein.

Einstein sent him an autographed photograph with the inscription :

« To the noble-minded Doctor Libman with the secret-divining eyes. »

Just before Franklin D. Roosevelt's 4th term election in 1944, he remarked to a friend :

« It doesn't matter whether Roosevelt is re-elected or not. He'll die of a cerebral hemorrhage within 6 months. »

When he turned-out to be prophetic, Doctor Libman was asked how he knew ?

He replied :

« I only saw him in the newsreels. But, I've seen that special wasting look many times. He couldn't last 6 months. »

Libman led an eccentric and solitary life. He often worked 20 hours a day, was devoted to his students, and was a stimulating teacher in an era when a flair for the dramatic or flamboyant in teaching style was in vogue. On rounds, he created an atmosphere of excitement and very often of intimidation.

From 1909, he taught clinical medicine at Columbia University.

At Mount-Sinai Hospital, Libman combined his great talents of clinical observation with his pathology skills and made many basic contributions to sub-acute endocarditis, blood culture and blood stream infections. Emanuel Libman almost single-handedly founded the cardiology department at Mount-Sinai. He also was responsible for many important initiatives in medical education throughout the world including at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

In 1929, Emanuel Libman donated \$ 10,000 for the funding of a lectureship in the History of Medicine at The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. He requested that the lectureship be named in honour of Hideyo Noguchi (1876-1928) . In 1957, he gave to the School of Medicine a sum of \$ 10,000 for the establishment of a lectureship in honour of Doctor Paul Ehrlich.

On the occasion of Libman's 60th birthday, 147 of his former pupils, friends and colleagues, the « élite » of the research world, dedicated a 3 volume anniversary book to him in which each described their own contribution to medical science.

Perhaps, the finest tribute came from his friend, the 1912 Nobel Prize winning scientist Alexis Carrel (1873-1944) who remarked :

« Libman is medicine itself. »

His pupils included Leo Buerger (1879-1943) , Alfred Einstein Cohn (born 1879-1957) , Albert Arthur Epstein (1880-1965) and others.

...

Doctor Emanuel Libman was chief of medical service at New York's Mount-Sinai Hospital, and associate-director of laboratories. Doctor Libman's life paralleled the scientific development of bacteriology, a field to which he contributed significantly. In the days before the compartmentalization of medicine into science and practice, Doctor Libman combined both brilliantly.

Emanuel Libman was something of a maverick and, even in the home he owned and shared with his sister's family at 180 East 64th Street, he was quite private. He took his meals separately, served by his « chauffeur » , and lived chiefly in his well-appointed office on the ground-floor or in his bedroom on the third. He would sometimes meet

there with visiting scientists or occasional guests - but never women. A nephew, Doctor George Engel, speculated that Libman was homosexual in an age when disclosure would have been perilous to his standing. The rare times he entertained, he took guests out to dinner at a favourite restaurant, often the old Lindys ; he was said to be quite a gourmet.

There was also a small laboratory in Libman's home, where he carried-out some of his research. Mount-Sinai was then only 3 blocks away, at 67th and Lexington, and he might be found working there at any hour. Although not as popular as Doctor Joseph Brettauer with the house staff, Libman was highly-respected and held in awe on 3 accounts. First were his scientific accomplishments, despite the fact that Mount-Sinai, then a small and not very famous Jewish hospital, was not yet a teaching and research institution. Second was his astonishing success as a doctor. His patients included both the rich and the famous : Sarah Bernhardt, Queen Maria of Romania, the popular Fanny Brice. Third was Libman's power in the medical community. It was said that if one could become associated with Libman and get in his favour, then one's career (provided one had the capability) would be assured.

...

Doctor Emanuel Libman, already a famous Doctor when he consulted on the Mahler case, became a legendary figure on the New York scene. Although he readily responded to difficult diagnostic problems throughout the city, one had to know someone to see him in his office and his fees set the high-water mark in the community. However, because of his teaching and philanthropic work, he was said to have earned about a quarter of what he might have. Noted for his generativity, he mentored numerous young physicians and paved the way for their further studies in Europe through his reputation and many friendships, often offering financial support. Gifts from grateful patients funded this as well as Libman's numerous philanthropic causes. He was benefactor to such widespread institutions as the Royal College of Physicians in London, the Hebrew University in Palestine, the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama - and, of course, the Mount-Sinai Hospital, his clinical base of operations. Mount-Sinai did not have a medical school at that time and his academic appointment was at the Columbia-Presbyterian School of Medicine.

In 1939, the 67 year old Libman was profiled in the « New Yorker » by S.N. Behrman, who depicted a mercurial and alert man with interests beyond medicine, in music, food, and people. A prodigious letter writer, Libman corresponded with Sarah Bernhardt, Fanny Brice, Albert Einstein, and Thomas Mann, among others. At the time of his death at 74, Doctor Libman was still active as practitioner and teacher.

...

**Thursday, 23 February 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Mahler drinks Metschnikoff Bulgarian milk (yoghurt) .

**Friday, 24 February 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Mahler falls ill with slow endocarditis, initially diagnosed as influenza.

The most probable diagnosis is rheumatic heart-disease with superimposed subacute bacterial endocarditis. Mahler's

mother and, perhaps, siblings had « heart-disease », not further defined. Rheumatic heart-disease notoriously runs in families. Mahler is said by at least 2 biographers to have had « St. Vitus' Dance » in childhood. He had had many bouts of pharyngitis throughout life, some with visible exudate. There were 2 bouts of sudden weakness and « heart-consciousness » that might have been arrhythmia - the dates are uncertain.

A heart murmur, said to denote a « compensated, slight valvular defect » was discovered when he was 47. The fact that it was virtually asymptomatic before that is entirely consistent with rheumatic valvular disease. The character of the murmur we only know from Alma's description ; the alleged « angina » could have been associated with aortic stenosis or with the pulmonary hypertension of mitral stenosis.

**Saturday, 25 February 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Doctor Joseph Fränkel suspected the onset of endocarditis, a heart-disease incurable at the time (streptococcal bacteremia ; intermittent fevers) . He called-in the world-authority from the nearby Mount-Sinai Hospital, Doctor Emanuel Libman, a man of monolithic certainties.

Doctor Libman and Doctor George Baehr met with Mahler for a blood culture.

Fränkel saw from the test results that Mahler was doomed to die. The survival rate in these pre-antibiotic days was almost zero. The patient demanded to be told the truth, then asked to be taken home, to Vienna. Libman suggested he stop-off in Paris to see the Pasteurian bacteriologist, André Chantemesse, who might stall the infection and buy him some extra-time. While the consultation took place, Doctor Fränkel was « making moves » on Alma.

Fränkel was aware of Libman's research into what was then called subacute infective endocarditis, a disease of the lining of the heart and, in particular, the heart valves. Libman had almost single-handedly developed the technique of blood cultures, now a regular feature of medical diagnosis. In this test, blood from the patient is layered on a nutrient gel in petri dishes and incubated. If bacteria are present, the naked eye may detect clumps, but more diagnostic, the microscope will reveal the specific type of bacteria. Doctor Libman first reported his findings in 1906. The year before, he consulted on Mahler ; in 1910, he had refined the technique thoroughly and written extensively on its applications. This was up-to-date medicine and Fränkel wished to leave no stone un-turned. He knew that despite more accurate diagnosis than had ever been possible before, there was as yet no definitive cure for infective endocarditis. Should the microscope confirm the diagnostic impression, Libman would know if palliative treatment existed anywhere. He was a force and a resource in the city and in constant touch with clinicians and investigators throughout the world. Alternatively, if the test was not positive, then perhaps, he could come-up with an alternative diagnosis. Known for his diagnostic acumen, Doctor Libman had the legendary knack for the « Augenblick Diagnose », diagnosis made by simply observing ; frequently, he did so as the patient approached, before even being seated in the consulting-room. Libman was on call for diagnosis in at least 20 hospitals in the metropolitan area.

There was perhaps another reason in the back of Doctor Fränkel's mind for consulting with Libman about Mahler. Doctor Libman had a truly fabulous reputation for his knowledge of outcome in disease, a reputation he enjoyed indulging, particularly the theatrical effect of his expertise. Famously, in 1923, the 51 year old Libman had attended a dinner party at the White House during Warren G. Harding's tenure.

The following day, tongue-in-cheek, he telephoned one of the other guests in Washington, asking :

« Who was that fellow yesterday who is vice-president ? »

« Why, Calvin Coolidge, of course. » came the answer.

It was extremely unusual for Doctor Libman to countenance telling a patient of a fatal diagnosis. It was his rule never to do so, in order not to remove a degree of hope. Revealing a fatal diagnosis also made life more difficult for the clinician. Libman either made an exception for Mahler (as had Freud in consulting with him) or was moved by Mahler's insistence. Libman allowed that a very small percentage of patients improved spontaneously, although this outcome was extremely rare at such an advanced stage.

...

The evidence for endocarditis is presented in non-technical terms in Alma Mahler's biography. The authors are able to give an accurate technical recital of this evidence based on the very detailed recollections of Doctor George Baehr, formerly Chief of Medicine at Mount-Sinai Hospital, who was in 1911 Fellow in Pathology and Bacteriology in Emanuel Libman's laboratory.

Doctor Baehr's vivid account, extracted from his personal communication to us, follows :

« Sometime in February 1911, Doctor Emanuel Libman was called in consultation by Mahler's personal physician, Doctor Joseph Fränkel, to see the famous composer and director. Apparently, Doctor Fränkel had suspected that Mahler's prolonged fever and physical debility might be due to sub-acute bacterial endocarditis and, therefore, called Emanuel Libman, Chief of the first Medical Service and Associate-Director of Laboratories at the Mount-Sinai Hospital, in consultation.

Libman was, at that time, the outstanding authority on the disease. At the time of the consultation, the Mahlers were occupying a suite of rooms at the old " Savoy " Plaza Hotel (or it may have been the " Plaza ") at 5th Avenue and 59th Street, over-looking Central Park. Libman confirmed the diagnosis clinically by finding a loud systolic-presystolic murmur over the " precordium " characteristic of chronic rheumatic mitral disease, a history of prolonged low-grade fever, a palpable spleen, characteristic " petechiæ " on the " conjunctivæ " and skin and slight clubbing of fingers. To confirm the diagnosis bacteriologically, Libman telephoned me to join him at the hotel and bring the paraphernalia and culture media required for a blood culture.

On arrival, I withdrew 20 c. cm. of blood from an arm-vein with syringe and needle, squirted part of it into several bouillon flasks and mixed the remainder with melted agar media which I then poured into sterile Petri dishes. After 4 or 5 days of incubation in the hospital laboratory, the Petri dishes revealed numerous bacterial colonies and all the bouillon flasks were found to show a pure culture of the same organism which was subsequently identified as " streptococcus viridans ".



As this was long before the days of antibiotics, the bacterial findings sealed Mahler's doom. (...) The diagnosis and prognosis were re-confirmed (in Paris) . »

When psychoanalyst and medical educator Doctor George Engel reviewed the life's work of his uncle, Emanuel Libman, he noted something extraordinary : case histories prior to 1899 often began with references to life settings associated with illness and were presumably believed to be connected with its development. Such observations, usually psychological in nature, yielded to the fascination with new scientific methods around the turn of the Century. By the same token, in the absence of medical technology, clinicians depended on the observational data from all 5 senses in determining diagnosis. Above all, they were willing to use their ears to listen not only to the heart sounds but to the story of the patient's illness. Many years later, Libman's assistant, George Baehr, now distinguished professor « emeritus » , recalled vividly his visit to Mahler's bedside. In reciting the case history, true to his traditional medical heritage, he began with the relevant antecedent life events and psychological state of his patient.

« As I understood the history from Doctor Libman, Mahler had lost a daughter from scarlet fever, 3 streptococcus infection of the more acute type. As I understood the history of the case I got from Libman, he became very depressed and rightly or wrongly, that made me believe that his depressive states were due to the memory of this daughter. I also learned that he had been told by his doctor long ago he'd had a heart lesion and that he must not tax it and get rest. So that I didn't know to what degree his depressive states were involved. »

Paradoxically, despite his pursuit of privacy, Libman was well-known as a « raconteur » . He was a great music-lover, mainly Symphonic music, and had his record collection (78 rpm at the time, of course) in his bedroom, as well as the most up-to-date recording equipment. He himself played the piano but would do so only in the living-room, when no one else was occupying it. However, it is doubtful whether he was a devoted concert-goer, hence, any knowledge he may have had about Gustav Mahler probably came from conversation or gossip, and the newspapers.

### Doctor George Baehr

The physician Doctor George Baehr was born on April 1887 in New York and died in 1978 in New York.

Baehr graduated from Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons at the age of 21. He began a rotating internship at The Mount-Sinai Hospital in 1908, studied pathology and experimental pharmacology in Europe, and then, returned to Mount-Sinai. He maintained an affiliation with the Hospital until his death. In his early years, he had an appointment as Associate Pathologist in charge of General Pathology, as well as clinician on the ward staff. He eventually headed the First Medical Service of the Hospital, all while maintaining a busy private practice.

Doctor Baehr made significant research contributions in the areas of collagen disease, hematology, and the adrenal complications of heart-disease. He also was a pioneer in public health, organizing the first group health plan in New York, and, in 1947, he established the Health Insurance Plan (HIP) of New York at the request of his friend and patient, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. Baehr served on many government boards and committees at the local, State, and Federal levels, including the New York City Board of Hospitals for 25 years and the State Public Health Council for

more than 35 years. In 1945, the Surgeon General appointed him to the first Health Insurance Plan Scientific Advisory Board.

Baehr served in both World Wars. In World War I, at the age of 30, he was the Commander of Base Hospital Number 3, the Mount-Sinai based hospital unit that was established in France. During their few months of active service abroad, the unit admitted over 9,000 patients, including over 1,000 a day at times. During World War II, Baehr was Chief Medical Officer of the U.S. Office of Civil Defense.

Baehr retired from active service at Mount-Sinai in 1951. After this, he was on Consultant status, and remained actively involved with the Hospital, helping Mount-Sinai to establish a medical school in the 1960's and 1970's. George Baehr received many honours and awards during his lifetime. He died aged 91.

...

Chief of Medicine at Mount-Sinai Hospital and Fellow in Pathology and Bacteriology in Doctor Emanuel Libman's laboratory, New York.

In his 70 year career as a medical educator, clinician, and group health pre-payment plan founder and administrator, bridged the fields of medical care and clinical medicine.

Baehr completed the required 1 year of under-graduate work at Columbia College in 1904 and entered the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, where he received his doctorate in medicine in 1908. After completing an internship and residency in surgery at Mount-Sinai Hospital, he studied pathology, physiology, and bio-chemistry at the Universities of Freiburg and Vienna from 1911 to 1913.

Baehr returned to Mount-Sinai in 1913, where he held a succession of appointments and served as attending physician, director of medicine, and director of clinical research from 1927 to 1950. While at Mount-Sinai, his research contributions covered a wide area and included work in collagen diseases, renal complications of heart-disease, and hematology. He was also a pioneer in the field of continuing medical education.

Baehr became involved in public health during World War I, as a member of the American Red Cross Typhus Fever Commission to the Balkans and the Ukraine in 1915-1916. After America's entry in the War, he served as commander of an army base hospital in France from 1918 to 1919.

In 1931, Baehr established an early experiment in pre-paid medical care at Mount-Sinai, establishing the Consultation Service for People of Moderate Means which provided medical services for a flat fee. Following the election of his long-time friend, Fiorello LaGuardia, as reform mayor of New York in 1933, Baehr acted as mayoral advisor on health and social planning and served on a number of boards. In 1939, LaGuardia and Baehr established an innovative health-care program for residents of the Vladeck Houses, the first low-income City-State housing. By opting to add 1 dollar to their monthly rent, residents could receive physician care for their families in their homes.

On LaGuardia's recommendation, Baehr was appointed Chief Medical Officer for National Civilian Defense in 1941, and on his travels throughout the country, Baehr was able to study existing group practice and pre-payment plans. Baehr brought this knowledge, in 1943, to LaGuardia's Mayor's Committee on Medical Care, which had been created to develop a health services program for the city. When the committee was unable to reach a consensus among 3 proposed health delivery systems : compulsory health insurance, pre-paid group practice, or a fee-for-service indemnity plan with limited benefit coverage, LaGuardia opted for the pre-paid group practice which Baehr espoused. Baehr was then appointed chairman of the Sub-Committee on Plan and Scope.

This sub-committee outlined a group practice pre-payment plan which, 4 years later, provided the basis for the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, Inc. (HIP) . In 1945, as physicians were released from military service, Baehr and Doctor Dean Clark began recruiting them for medical group practices in the city, and, with support from several foundations, Baehr and others succeeded in establishing in 1947 the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, Inc.

Baehr served as president and medical director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York from 1950 to 1957, during which time the plan struggled successfully, against opposition from organized medicine, to expand its program and to become one of the largest and most effective pre-payment group practice plans in the country. Following his retirement in 1957, Baehr continued to serve the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York as a special medical consultant.

In addition to his professional appointments and service as an advisor to Mayor LaGuardia, Baehr participated in a variety of State and national medical and public health societies, was a member of the New York State Public Health Council from 1933 to 1975 (chairman 1955-1969) , and was recognized nationally as an influential spokesman for reform of health-care delivery systems.

...

**Friday, 3 March 1911** : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Mahler was suffering from intermittent fevers but did not give-up hope. He talked of resuming the concert season, and took a keen interest when one of Alma's compositions was sung at a public recital by soprano Frances Alda.

**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.

**Saturday, 11 March 1911** : Alma Mahler writes for the first time (from New York to Walter Gropius) about the serious nature of Mahler's condition the last 3 weeks.

**Sunday, 19 March 1911** : Still not better. High-temperature. It is decided to stay in America.

**Saturday, 25 March 1911** : Alma finally writes the name of the fatal illness.

**Wednesday, 29 March 1911** : In connection with the weak state of Mahler, Alma writes to Walter Gropius that her return to Europe (on the S.S. George Washington) had to be postponed for a second time.

**Thursday, 30 March 1911** : Alma looks forward to meet Walter Gropius again, « I want you ... »

**Thursday, 30 March 1911** : Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen (1857-1938) comes from Europe with the S.S. Mauretania to help her daughter Alma with the patient Mahler.

**Saturday, 8 April 1911** : 6 days after the last planned concert, Mahler left New York and sailed for Europe (Eastbound) on the S.S. Amerika. Ferruccio Busoni was also aboard.

**Saturday, 8 to Sunday, 16 April 1911** : During the whole trip, Busoni takes care of Gustav Mahler.

**Monday, 10 April 1911** : Last picture taken of Gustav Mahler.

**Monday, 10 April 1911** : During the crossing, Mahler's condition will gradually go further backwards.

**Sunday, 16 April 1911** (Palm Sunday) : Arrival in Cherbourg, France. While they go from board, Stefan Zweig takes care of the little Anna (« Gucki ») . The Viennese newspaper journalists urge to see something of Mahler. In the evening, the family go by steam-train from Cherbourg to Paris.

**Monday, 17 April 1911** : The Mahlers arrive in Paris at 5:00 and stay at the « Hôtel Élysée » Palace. 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.

**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 Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen : He wants to be buried in Vienna next to his daughter Maria at the Grinzing Cemetery. No fuss and just « Mahler » on the tombstone.

« Any who come to look for me will know who I was and the rest do not need to know. »

**Thursday, 20 April 1911** : Examination of Mahler at the « Hôtel Élysée » Palace by Doctor André Chantemesse. Reconfirmation of endocarditis : streptococcal bacteremia, intermittent fevers, pallor (anemia) , weakness, arthritis and uremia. Prescription of a serum treatment.

### Doctor André Chantemesse

The French Pasteurian bacteriologist André Chantemesse was born on 23 October 1851 in Le Puy-en-Velay, in Haute-Loire, France. From 1880 to 1885, he served as « interne des hôpitaux » in Paris, earning his doctorate in 1884 with

a dissertation on adult tuberculous meningitis titled « Étude sur la méningite tuberculeuse de l'adulte les formes anormales en particulier » . In 1885, he traveled to Berlin to study bacteriology at the laboratory of Robert Koch (1843-1910) .

After his return to Paris, he became associated with the work of Louis Pasteur. In 1886, he began extensive research of typhoid fever. In collaboration with Georges-Fernand Widal (1862-1929) , he studied the ætiology of the disease, and, in 1888, developed an experimental anti-typhoid inoculation. Also with Widal, he isolated the bacillus that was the cause of dysentery, however, the 2 scientists were unable to establish the ætiological link to the disease.

From 1897 to 1903, he was a professor of comparative and experimental pathology in Paris, becoming a member of the « Académie de Médecine » in 1901. In 1904, he became a member of the editorial board of the « Annales de l'Institut Pasteur » . His likeness, together with the rest of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, was included in a 1904 painting by Adrien Barrère. The image was intended to be satirical and the assembled professors give the impression of family butchers.

Chantemesse died of Spanish flu, aged 67, on 25 February 1919 in Paris.

...

**Sunday, 16 April 1911** : Gustav and Alma Mahler arrive in Paris (from New York) . They will stay at the « Hôtel Élysée Palace » on « les Champs-Élysées » .

**Friday, 21 April 1911** : Mahler is taken by car to Docteur Jean-Joseph Defaut's sanatorium for a serum treatment by injection. He stays there for 21 days.

The sanatorium is about an hour walk from the « Hôtel Élysée Palace » .

**Thursday evening, 11 May 1911** : The couple leaves Paris for Vienna on the night-train.

**Paris : « Hôtel Élysée Palace »**

The « Hôtel Élysée Palace » was built in 1898 by architect Georges Chedanne (1861-1940) for the « Compagnie des wagons-lits » (sleeping-cars's Company) . It was the first of the great tourist hotels built on « les Champs-Élysées » . Designed in early-1897, it is one of the first manifestations of the « Art Nouveau » movement in Parisian architecture. The request for a construction permit was made on March 8, 1897, in anticipation of the Universal Exhibition of 1900. The « Élysée Palace » was inaugurated on May 10, 1899, in the presence of the world's « élite » . The hotel is furnished by Sir John Blundell Maple who renews the concept of the Grand Hotel where social life is centered around a huge luxurious lobby. Many services are offered to the « clientèle » : photo-studio, theatre agency, luxury shops, art-gallery (paintings) .

It was in a room of the « Élysée Palace » that Mata-Hari was arrested in 1917 after a police search.

### Docteur Jean-Joseph Defaut

Docteur Jean-Joseph Defaut was born on 7 April 1852 in Confolens, France ; and died in 1929. His private sanatorium was located at Number 50 « avenue du Roule » in Neuilly-sur-Seine, on the outskirts of Paris at the time. From the window, one could see the daffodils in the « Bois de Boulogne » .

...

**Monday, 24 April 1911** : New « communiqué » about the first serum injection.

**Tuesday, 25 April 1911** : Alma writes Walter Gropius to ask him to come to Paris. The situation is still very serious. Alma feels guilt. A letter from Hermann Bahr and friends in Vienna with 26 signatures.

**Wednesday, 26 April 1911** : Justine Mahler arrived from Vienna to take care of her brother. Alma is furious. Justine was on the same train as Bruno Walter. Justine was recovering from a painful operation herself. She spent 2 nights beside Mahler's bed.

**Thursday, 27 April 1911** : The situation appeared to improve since the first injection. Doctor André Chantemesse gave a second serum injection. Less powerful.

**Friday, 28 April 1911** : The situation even more improved, both physical and mentally. Third serum injection given. Temperature rose again, but then, it suddenly dropped. Pulse remained normal.

**Saturday, 29 April 1911** : Mahler regained some appetite.

**Sunday, 30 April 1911** : Blood culture taken by Doctor André Chantemesse. Mahler's condition is very serious.

**Friday, 5 May 1911** : Particularly bad day. Deterioration of the situation. Chantemesse was obliged to reduce the doses of vaccine because of the violence of Mahler's reaction.

**Saturday, 6 May 1911** : Particularly bad day.

**Sunday, 7 May 1911** : Particularly bad day. After a relatively quiet night, Mahler came in the morning in a critical condition. Alma wrote Walter Gropius.

**Monday, 8 May 1911** : In the night, Mahler is given a first injection of morphine.

**Tuesday, 9 May 1911** : First attack of suffocation. Symptoms of Angina. Pain in the heart region and complained of

breathlessness. Streptococcal infection was affecting various parts of the body. Alma cabled Carl Moll in Vienna to ask for a first rate bacteriologist in Vienna. Moll contacted Doctor Franz Chvostek junior (who was in Trieste) . Chvostek went to Paris. Mahler was cheered by the news and the prospect of finally being able to talk to a member of the medical profession in his own language.

### Doctor Franz Chvostek junior

The Austrian internist Franz Chvostek junior was born on 3 October 1864 in Vienna. Son of František Chvostek senior (1835-1884) who was an internist at the Vienna Military Academy in the « Josephinum » . Student Chvostek junior became a member of the Olympia Boy's Academy of Vienna in 1882, and was recognized as an « avid confidant to pro-military students » . As a follower of Georg von Schönenerer, he came into conflict with politically opposed fellow-students. His impending relegation from the University could still be prevented. Chvostek received his doctorate in medicine in 1888. He became assistant to Doctor Heinrich von Bamberger (1822-1888) , Doctor Otto Kahler (1849-1893) , Doctor Edmund von Neusser (1852-1912) , and at Doctor Theodor Meynert's Psychiatric Clinic.

Chvostek received his doctorate in internal medicine in 1894. He was accepted as associate-professor (« extraordinarius ») at the University of Vienna in 1909 - becoming full-professor (« ordinarius ») in 1911.

Professor Chvostek was a determined opponent of women's studies in Austria, and he also violently enforced this in his lectures.

In May 1911, Chvostek was frequently mentioned in daily reports because, at the request of Alma Mahler who was already in Paris, he was drawn to the treatment of her famous husband.

That same year (1911) , Chvostek founded and directed the 4th surgical clinic of Vienna. After Edmund von Neusser's death in 1913, he also inherited the 3rd surgical clinic succeeding to Doctor Norbert Ortner (1865-1935) who then moved to the second surgical clinic.

After World War I, Chvostek joined General Erich Ludendorff's movement within the nationalist and anti-Semitic movement. In the 1920's, his 3rd surgical clinic was already called « Hakenkreuzlerklinik » (Swastika's Clinic) , but no membership of Chvostek is known to the NSDAP.

At the beginning of the Winter Semester of 1931, Chvostek was put on sick leave because of his heart condition. Doctor Hermann Kahler (1891-1951) replaced him at the clinic and at the University.

As early as 1931, Chvostek had retired to his Castle in Groppenstein, Obervellach (Carinthia) .

In March 1932, the Vienna Medical Association criticized Chvostek's political views, which gave rise to sharp commentaries in the papers.

In May 1933, the Ministry of Finance stopped to subsidize Chvostek and, consequently, the 3rd surgical clinic was dissolved.

During the Nazi era, Chvostek was nominated in 1943 for the G ethe Medal for Art and Science, referring to his « always national » attitude.

He died on 17 April 1944 in his Castle in Groppenstein, a few months before being awarded that same G ethe Medal on his 80th birthday.

Doctor Franz Chvostek was an excellent observer. At the same time, he was opposed to over-using laboratory methods. He was generally against the mechanization of medicine.

His most valuable contributions consist in the close links between neurology and internal medicine. He founded modern biology of heredity and the study of genetically inheritable diseases. « Chvostek an emia » (Chvostek's symptom, a type of an emia that accompanies a dysfunction of the pancreas) was named after him.

In 1955, Donaustadt's « Feldgasse » (22nd District) was renamed « Chvostekgasse » in his honour.

In 1974, the Olympia Boy's Academy of Vienna tried to erect a bust in honour of their eminent member, Doctor Chvostek, in the « Arkadenhof » of the University of Vienna. The request was rejected by the Senate of the University considering his lack of importance in the field of medicine.

...

1974 versuchte die Burschenschaft Olympia f ur Chvostek eine B uste im Arkadenhof der Universit t Wien zu errichten. Die Ablehnung des Antrags wurde vom Senat der Universit t mit der mangelnden Bedeutung Chvosteks in seinem Fachgebiet begr ndet.

...

**Wednesday, 10 May 1911** : Second attack of suffocation. Mahler is given oxygen. Doctor Chvostek is leaving Vienna for Paris.

**Thursday, 11 May 1911** : Arrival of Doctor Chvostek at the expected time. Carl Moll is present. 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 - Stra burg -



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. Doctor Armin Czinner is present. Doctor Franz Chvostek gave morphine and left the clinic for the night. The room is situated on the ground-floor, over-looking a large garden. Mahler's room, Alma's room and the corridors are filled with flowers. There are also flowers from the Vienna Philharmonic.

### Doctor Armin Czinner

The chief-physician at the Lœw Sanatorium Armin Czinner was born on 12 January 1853 in Sátoraljaújhely (Ujhely) , Hungary ; and died on 1918, aged 65. He was buried at the Old Jewish Cemetery which is part of the « Wiener Zentralfriedhof » (Grave : Section 6 ; Row 4 ; Number 43) .

In 21 April 1884, Czinner married Laura Unger (born on 22 March 1864) in Vienna. They had 3 children : Irene Sophia (1885) ; Anton (1887) ; Marie Jos Nanette (1892) .

...

**Saturday, 13 May 1911** : Mahler felt better in a far more comfortable clinic (Lœw Sanatorium) than the one in France (Docteur Jean-Joseph Defaut's sanatorium at Neuilly-sur-Seine) . Journalists call every 2 hours to the sanatorium for more information. Alma reads a letter from Richard Strauß to Gustav (Strauß promising to conduct the 3rd Symphony in Berlin) . According to Alma, this letter gave Mahler one of his last moments of happiness. The infection is now in the lungs and a knee is swollen. During the afternoon, he felt a little better. At 18:50, Anna (« Gucki ») and Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen arrived.

« Be my good girl, my child. » , Mahler tells his « Gucki » while he strokes her head.

Powerful doses of digitalis and caffeine were given to stimulate the heart. Mahler spoke little, but listened carefully. Each evening a few spoonfuls of caviar.

**Sunday, 14 May 1911** : New infection found. Pneumonia. In the afternoon, Mahler is in his bed on the veranda, surrounded by the baskets of flowers.

**Monday, 15 May 1911** : Last sketch book (today ?) . Dozing of for much of the time. Increasing morphine. Bad night.

**Tuesday, 16 May 1911** : Arnold Berliner arrived from Berlin. Only a short reaction. Alma heard Mahler say « My Almschi » a hundred times in a tone of voice that she had never heard before.

When « Gucki » came to his bedside, he put his arm around her :

« Be good, my child. »

During the hours of day-light, Mahler was moved to the second room where the sun shone-in and illuminated the baskets of flowers. His heart-rate was causing extreme concern. There, survives a heart-rending document from the final stage of Mahler's illness. It was probably the last thing he ever wrote and appears on the back of a note in Alma's hand, itself a sheet of paper folded into 4. This note was part of Alma's private collection, but its present whereabouts are unknown. Fortunately, a photograph survived.

At the top of the paper, Alma has written :

« Puls sehr gut. » (Pulse very good.)

To which Mahler has added a reply, in a shaking but still characteristic hand :

« Mir was nur kalt. » (I was just cold.)

« Riesig ! » (Tremendously !)

« Immer Mehr ! » (More and more !)

Beneath this brief dialogue is a drawing traced in a somewhat uncertain hand : From a small circle (a head ?) , a line emerges and passes through another circle identified as « Herz » (heart) . The line then spirals upon itself. Adjacent, the words « die lieben Thierchen » (the dear little beasts - which was Mahler's nickname for the microbes that were slowly killing him) are written under « Herz » . From the centre of the spiral, the line seems to emerge, once again, in a series of directional arrows that follow the line all the way to the bottom of the page, where a small recipient is represented by means of a simple rectangle. Written diagonally beside it, in Alma's firm hand, is the question :

« Was bedeutet diese Sphynx-schnecke ? » (What is the meaning of this sphinx-snail ?)

Mahler's reply, beneath it, is :

« Der Nachttopf. » (The chamber pot.)

« Did he know ? Or not ? » , Alma wondered.

The little animals might also refer to the ants which he kept near his bed. Mahler had been fond of watching their behaviour as a way of passing the time.

**Wednesday, 17 May 1911** : Mahler was 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 » , published a sketch of Mahler on his death-bed.

Writer Hermann Bahr and composer Alban Berg were keeping watch outside the sanatorium, but there was little news from inside. May 18th would prove to be a long vigil ...

### Death of Mahler

**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 Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen and Bruno Walter are with him (Room 82) during his last hours.

Alma collapse 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 could only with difficulty be persuaded to take a spoonful of milk or tea. His mind was troubled, and he did not answer questions. He only reacted to loud noises. He could not move independently. At 16:00, pulse : 140. By 18:00, pulse could not be counted anymore. Lœw's resident physicist Doctor Michalik (Mihalic, Mihalik, Mihalicks, Michailitsch) administered a further injection of caffeine and morphine, to no avail. In the course of the evening, Mahler gradually became completely unconscious from 18:30. The breathing became erratic. The lungs did not work, in spite of the extra oxygen. He had no longer the strength to swallow to clear his wind-pipe. His pulse was very high. Attempts to give him still some liquid food, came to nothing because he kept his jaws firmly together. Medical practice was limited to injections of caffeine and the oxygen supply. Later, he was given injections of ether and camphor for the affected and cripple lungs. As last attempt, a camphor injection was given at 19:30 and continued oxygen. Despite his unconsciousness, it was still possible to give him a spoonful of soup and some caviar.

At 20:00, Doctor Franz Chvostek came to the bedside. He said there was 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 in the Opera, the Orchestra is led by concertmaster Arnold Rosé (brother-in-law of Gustav Mahler) while it thunders. When it is dark, it became 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 Moll and Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen, Bruno Walter accompanied by his wife.

Also present : Doctor Franz Chvostek junior and Doctor Michalik.

Mahler died at 23:07, aged only 50. Heart-stitch was performed. This was common in 1911 as a result of the fear of being buried alive.

Alma was taken to the house of Carl Moll (« Hohe Warte ») located at Number 10 on « Wollergasse » , in the 2nd District. Only Moll stayed at the sanatorium.

...

Article in the « Wiener Morgenblatt » :

« The night had passed quietly. Mahler was given warm milk and a low dose to aid his sleep. In the morning, he drank coffee and his temperature slowly began to drop. But the end was near and Mahler's lack of response to questions and to the drugs was indication of the advanced stages of kidney, lung and heart failure. Mahler lay with dazed eyes ; one finger was conducting on the quilt.

There was a smile on his lips and twice he said :

“ Mozart ! ”

His eyes were very big. I begged Chvostek to give him a large dose of morphia so that he might feel nothing more. He replied in a loud voice.

I seized his hand :

“ Talk softly, he might hear you. ”

“ He hears nothing now. ” »

Alma's recollections have her customary theatricality, but Bruno Walter was equally dramatic in his description of the « horrible struggle with death » during the composer's final hours.

**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. Later, the body, dressed in black, is placed in a heavy glass and metal box in the presence of Moll, Bruno Walter and Wilhelm Legler. 4 men take the coffin on their shoulders and walk through the dark corridor of the clinic, while a 5th lit the corridor with a candle. The hearse was waiting at the side-entrance of the clinic to take the coffin to the small chapel of the Grinzing Cemetery (located in the suburbs of Vienna) where it was placed on a stage flanked by candles.

Alma tells her daughter Anna (« Gucki ») , aged 6, that her father had died. Her sister Maria-Anna (« Putzi ») died 4 year before.

**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.

### Mahler's funeral

**Monday, 22 May 1911** : At 17:00, the coffin is taken from the Grinzing chapel by 6 bearers of the undertaker to the hearse outside the gates of Grinzing Cemetery, which is pulled by 4 horses. There are many wreaths on the cemetery. On the chest are 2 wreaths : from Alma Mahler and from the family. A priest leads the procession. On both sides of the hearse walk employees of the funeral home with candles.

Alma is not present, as advised by her doctor. « Gucki » stays with her mother.

Brother Alois (Louis) Mahler is not present. In America, no contact.

Behind the hears follows the family :

Sister and brother-in-law : Emma Mahler and Eduard Rosé.

Sister and brother-in-law : Justine Mahler and Arnold Rosé.

Parents-in-law : Carl Moll and Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen.

Half-sister of his wife and her husband : Margarethe (« Grete ») Julie Legler-Schindler and Wilhelm Legler.

Alphons Diepenbrock.

Emil Freund.

When the vehicle starts to move, there is for a very short moment some sunshine. The parade runs along the narrow path next to the « An den Langen Lussen » and meanders over the fields, surrounded by high-hedges of greenery and roses on the left, and a potato field on the right. When it seriously starts to rain, it goes over the « Grinzinger Allee » and « Himmelstraße » until the Grinzing parish church is reached. Grinzing parish church is a low Gothic building, which lies between the trees behind a small terrace. Inside, it is small and bare. The Mahler coffin is covered with a cloth and placed before the altar. Hundreds of interested people were already waiting at the church. It was dead quiet. Outside, one could hear the words of the priest. The priest holds a service with blessing. Back from Grinzing parish church to Grinzing cemetery. Leader of the ceremony is chorus-master Peter Fourier Hellband. He will again lead the procession. It starts to rain even harder.

### At Mahler's grave

Behind the hears now are also :

Alfred Roller, Anna Bahr-von Mildenburg, Arnold Schœnberg, Bertha Forster-Lauterer, Bruno Walter, Emil Hertzka, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Erik Schmedes, Franz Schalk, Friedrich Fritz Lohr, Friedrich Weidemann, Fritz Redlich, Guido Adler, Gustav Klimt, Hendrik (Han Henri) de Booy, Hermann Bahr, Hermine Kittel, Julius Epstein, Laura Hilgermann, Leo Slezak, Paul Hammerschlag, Paul Stefan, Richard Mayr, Richard Specht, Rosa Papier, Georg Maickl, Gerhard von Keußler, Hans Breuer, Hans Gregor, Heinrich Teweles, Karl Luze, Otto von Wiener, Wilhelm Boppen and many journalists.

When the procession came down from the church to again climb later, only the sound of the bell tower was there. Everyone was dressed in black. Despite Mahler's request for sobriety, there were a lot of flowers in the church-yard, some 400 wreaths. The trees moved by the wind. The procession arrived at the open grave and it came to a stop. The silence became even more intense when the coffin was placed in the grave. Immediately afterwards came the dull thud of the earth Carl Moll and Arnold Rosé dropped on the metal box. At that moment there came a sunbeam through the broken clouds.

(Photo) Grinzing Cemetery : funeral « cortège » of Gustav Mahler.

(1) Arnold Rosé, (2) Carl Moll, (3) Alfred Roller, (4) Alphons Diepenbrock, (5) Leo Slezak.

### Doctor Joseph Fränkel : Obituary

At the time of Doctor Fränkel's death, the Journal made an effort to gather some facts concerning this brilliant neurologist, but without success. It was bruited about that it was against his desires to have any obituary notices, but we have felt that some record of this man's work should be made. We, therefore, reprint a letter of Doctor Charles L.

Dana's which appeared some time after Doctor Fränkel's tragic death - tragic not so much in its external features but as indicative of a soul tragedy which modern analytic methods are uncovering, let us hope for the betterment of the human race.

When, with Claude Bernard, we can all hope that « some day, the physiologist, the philosopher, and the poet can speak the same language and understand one another » - when that day arrives, a true medicine will be born, a medicine which Hawthorne in his Scarlet Letter forecast when he said :

« A physical disease, which we think of as a thing apart and separate, may after all be but a symptom of an illness in the spiritual part of our nature. »

It will take many years for the physiologist to see what the poet sings about, and the crowd (that collection which gets together at the lowest of levels of self-interest) to know what part the « milieu », the personal environment, plays in causing spiritual illness and physical death.

#### To the Editor of the Medical Record

Sir :

The character and career of the late Doctor Joseph Fränkel deserve more than ordinary comment and appraisal. They have received little or none. Yet, not long ago and for a good many years, he had a commanding practice among the most intelligent and wealthy members of this New York community. His success in diagnosis and treatment, his quiet efficiency in securing results, his acuteness of observation and his complete confidence in his methods, impressed his patients and they held him in an almost God-like reverence.

For a good many years, Doctor Fränkel was an associate of mine in dispensary, hospital, and teaching work, and I held him as one of my choicest friends. His social qualities were compelling and unique. He was full of enthusiasms which he clothed with ...