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THE POLITICS OF APPROPRIATION: REVISIONISM IN ANTON BRUCKNER'S SYMPHONY NO. 2 IN C MINOR

A Thesis in

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ABSTRACT

Anton Bruckner's Second Symphony exists in seven total versions and editions: three of his own versions, and four editions by other editors. This multiplicity of versions creates a scholarly debate as to which version or edition most correctly represents Bruckner's wishes regarding the symphony. One edition in particular, that of Robert Haas, an employee of the Nazi party, has come under immense criticism for the lack of logic used in its creation. Haas combined the 1872 and 1877 versions of the symphony in a somewhat haphazard manner in a way that implied personal discretion over scholarly consideration. Therefore, over forty years after his death, Bruckner's work was appropriated as a part of the Nazi propaganda machine. Evidence suggests that Bruckner associated with anti-Semitic individuals during his lifetime. This may have led the Nazis to connect him with Wagner both musically and politically, which was exemplified in Joseph Goebbels's Regensburg Speech in the late 1930s. The purpose of this thesis is to provide evidence against Haas's editorial decisions in Chapter One and to reveal the musical changes made to the second movement of the Second Symphony by Robert Haas in Chapter Two.

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PRELUDE

The year 1872 included two significant events in the life of Anton Bruckner: the completion of his Symphony No. 2 in C Minor and the formation of the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein* (Vienna Academic Wagner Society), a group which Bruckner joined in October 1873.[1] Although seemingly unrelated, these two occurrences may actually have later been connected to Bruckner's appropriation by the Nazis, publicly acknowledged in the late 1930s with Joseph Goebbels's Regensburg Address.[2]

Goebbels's Regensburg Address included several instances of hyperbole regarding Bruckner's biographical information and music. He outlines three main points which draw Bruckner's image closer to the Nazi campaign: his peasant roots, his suffering due to Jewish music criticism, and his adoration of Wagner, which supposedly led him away from church music and religion in general.[3] A combination of these points was used to reinforce Nazi anti-Semitism. By exaggerating most of these issues to make Bruckner's views conform to National Socialism, Goebbels was able to allow the Nazi propaganda machine to appropriate Bruckner's music for its own purposes.

Under government auspices, a new version of the Second Symphony was created by Robert Haas, an Austrian musicologist. Several other versions of this symphony exist,

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[1]Andrea Harrandt, "Bruckner in Vienna." in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, edited by John Williamson, 26-38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 29.
[2] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," Translated by John Michael Cooper, *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 606.
[3] Ibid., 606–07.

including the original manuscript version of 1872[4] and a revised version of 1877,[5] both by Bruckner and available on IMSLP. Significant debate occurs to this day over which of these two versions conveys the composer's true intentions. Considerable arguments exist for both versions, but Haas and many of his colleagues believed that the 1877 version was tainted from the influence of one of Bruckner's friends, Johann Herbeck. Therefore, Haas decided to make a pure version of the symphony. Although he claims to have based his version upon Bruckner's original from 1872, Haas's version contains a considerable amount of material from the 1877 version, as well as his own markings that are not found in either of Bruckner's versions. Goebbels's exaggerations of Bruckner's biography during his Regensburg address may have empowered Haas to create another version of Bruckner's Second Symphony, but its lack of accuracy and theoretical support make it difficult to endorse by contemporary music theorists. Even though Goebbels spoke about these ideas in 1937, it is likely that Bruckner inadvertently helped to set the stage for the appropriation of his music in the 1870s.

According to Manfred Wagner, Bruckner's appropriation began in the 1870s.[6] Thomas Leibnitz brings to light a published quote by Josef Schalk,[7] one of Bruckner's former students and close friends, greatly implying Richard Wagner's God-like status in Bruckner's life:

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[4] Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102*, Autograph Manuscript, (Austrian National Library: Mus.Hs.6034, 1872).
[5] Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102*, Autograph Manuscript, (Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1877).
[6] Manfred Wagner, "Response to Bryan Gilliam Regarding Bruckner and National Socialism," *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 121.
[7] Thomas Leibnitz, "Anton Bruckner and 'German Music': Josef Schalk and the Establishment of Bruckner as a National Composer," in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. by Howie, Crawford, Paul Hackshaw and Timothy Jackson, (London: Ashgate, 2000), 331.

> Simply out of consideration to the artist, nobody could really offer him effective help. Far from recognizing the real reasons for this in his pure and innocent mind, Bruckner – confused, dismayed, even overcome by self-doubt – finally saw only one salvation: the way to Him [Wagner]. Only He, whose greatness had long filled his soul with glowing enthusiasm, could calm him; he wanted to rush to Him and to cast his work before the penetrating eye of the Sublime. … Only the One always remained true to him…[8]

Schalk's assertion that Bruckner venerated, even deified, Wagner, combined with the fact that Bruckner associated with anti-Semitic individuals,[9] could easily be used to support the notion implied in Goebbels's address: that Bruckner subscribed not only to Wagner's aesthetic views, but also to his racial philosophical beliefs. Due to the religious anti-Semitism in the Catholic church and the acceptance of anti-Semitism due to strong nationalism within the liberal movement in Vienna, it would be surprising if Bruckner was not anti-Semitic.[10] Bruckner's true feelings remain uncertain, but the above notions call into question whether or not Anton Bruckner's beliefs were misconstrued in order for him to be appropriated.

This thesis will address these issues in the form of two chapters. The first chapter will address the historical issues presented above, including Bruckner's appropriation by the Nazi regime, the evidence regarding the possibility of his anti-Semitism and connections therewith, and arguments for and against the authentic validity of certain

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[8] Josef Schalk, "Anton Bruckner," *Bayreuther Blätter* (October 1884): 3–5.
[9] Leon Botstein, "Music and Ideology: Thoughts on Bruckner," *The Musical Quarterly* 80:1 (1996): 5.
[10] John Williamson, "Introduction: A Catholic Composer in the Age of Bismarck," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, edited by John Williamson, 1–14, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 7.

versions of his Second Symphony. Contact has been made with the Austrian National Library regarding several primary sources. The second chapter will contain an analysis of the multiple versions of the Second Symphony, including analysis of the different kinds of changes, the reasoning for these changes, and how they affect the form. Two long tables were created to illustrate the differences between each version in the first two movements of the symphony, which will be included in the appendices. The goal of this section is to demonstrate the ways in which Haas altered the symphony, and to determine whether or not these changes were theoretically legitimized by Bruckner's own work on the symphony. Overall, this thesis is designed to examine the historical validity of Bruckner's appropriation by the Nazis coupled with a comparison of several of Bruckner's versions of Symphony No. 2 and Haas's version of the same symphony to determine its legitimacy.

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CHAPTER 1

The historiography of Anton Bruckner's life and works is a complicated story wrought with manipulation and deception. Although he had been deceased for almost thirty years by the time the Third Reich came to power in Germany in 1933, Bruckner's name became emblematic of Nazi music.[1] Since there was so little existing information about his life at the time, it was easy for his story to be manipulated without it becoming public knowledge.[2] Likewise, the fact that Bruckner often took the advice of his colleagues in regards to his music justified the creation of new editions of his work.[3] Therefore, it appears that the Nazi propaganda machine used Bruckner for their own means, altering both his biography and his music to coincide with current Teutonic ideology.[4]

In 1933, the Weimar Republic was replaced by the German Reich under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. As Chancellor of Germany, Hitler led the National Socialist German Workers Party, or Nazi Party, to power. He instigated his installation as *Führer* in 1934, giving him sole executive power above all other governing bodies. Hitler's regime gave rise to a fascist totalitarian state within Germany in which many aspects of

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[1] Benjamin Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 132.
[2] Bryan Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 591.
[3] Deryck Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 1: Sorting Out the Confusion," *The Musical Times* 110:1511 (1969): 20.
[4] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," 140.

life were controlled by the government.[5] Similarly, the Nazi Party's revolutionary rise to power led to dramatic changes in the production of music in the German Reich.[6]

Under the Nazi regime, all areas of German cultural life were regulated by government organizations. The *Reichskulturkammer* (Reichs Chamber of Culture), headed by Joseph Goebbels, was a subsection of the Ministry of Propaganda. Likewise, the *Reichskulturkammer* was divided into seven chambers: the Press Chamber, the Radio Chamber, the Literature Chamber, the Fine Art Chamber, the Theatre Chamber, the Film Chamber, and the Music Chamber.[7] The purpose of each chamber was to provide state control over each cultural area and encourage artists to develop Nazi propaganda within their respective artistic fields.

The Music Chamber, or *Reichsmusikkammer*, was designed to make decisions about the acceptability of both old and new music. Members of the chamber determined if music was "German" enough by a set of eight vague rules, entitled "Commandments for the German Musician" by Goebbels:[8]

> 1. The nature of music lies in melody, not in construction and theory.
> 2. All music is not suited for everyone.
> 3. Music is rooted in the nature of the folk.
> 4. Music is the most sensitive of all the arts and requires more empathy than reason.
> 5. Music is that art which most deeply affects the spirit of man.
> 6. If melody is the basis of all music, it follows that music must always return to melody – the root of its being.
> 7. No German heritage is more glorious than its music, and the folk should be led to partake in it.

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[5] Pamela M. Potter, "What Is 'Nazi Music'?," *The Musical Quarterly* 88 (2005): 429.
[6] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 25.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Joseph Goebbels, "Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens," *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer* 5, no. 11 (1938) facsimile in Dümling and Girth, *Entartete Musik*, 123; portions translated in Ellis, "Music in the Third Reich," 127.

> 8. Musicians of our past are representatives of the majesty of our people and command our respect.[9]

These rules were particularly vague, which allowed officials at the *Reichsmusikkammer* discretion when dealing with different composers and pieces of music. For example, the Nazi government did not take kindly to the music of serial composers, such as Arnold Schoenberg and Anton Webern, because their style did not adhere to rule number one.[10] Subjective rules such as these are one of the tools that fascist dictatorships use to rule effectively with an iron hand.[11]

Anton Bruckner was selected as a representative composer of the Nazi Party by the *Reichsmusikkammer*, both for his music and his biography. Bruckner's Symphony No. 3, I. *Gemäßigt, mehr bewegt, misterioso*[12] initiated every radio broadcast from the Party, which also sponsored numerous Bruckner festivals.[13] The stylistic qualities of his music perfectly fit the Nazi aesthetic: clear and balanced forms, use of chorale and chorale-like passages, and monumental use of brass instruments.[14] On June 6, 1937, a bust of his likeness was inducted into the Valhalla in Regensburg, Germany. The Valhalla is a marble replica of the Parthenon filled with busts and images of German

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[9] Joseph Goebbels, "Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens," *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer* 5:11 (1938), trans. Donald W. Ellis, "Music in the Third Reich," 127.
[10] Erik Levi, "Atonality, 12-Tone Music, and the Third Reich," *Tempo* 178 (September 1991): 17.
[11] James Defronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2011), 11.
[12] Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 3 in D Minor, WAB 102*, Edited by Franz Schalk, Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1889.
[13] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," 132.
[14] Ibid., 132-33.

cultural heroes.[15] This association was created to aid in the assimilation of Austria into Germany, culminating in the *Anschluss* (German invasion of Austria) in March 1938. In fact, Hitler is reported to have said, "How can anyone say that Austria is not German! Is there anything more German than our old pure Austrianness?!"[16] Therefore, Bruckner's induction into the Valhalla was a large step towards his appropriation by the Nazi regime.[17]

Bruckner grew up in a rural area near Linz, Austria during the 1820's.[18] Taking after his father, he became a schoolteacher and church musician in the region. He spent most of his life in similar positions in Austria, although he was granted an honorary university lectureship in 1875.[19] Meanwhile, Bruckner composed for multiple genres, including chamber works, sacred vocal works, Masses, and symphonies. His eight finished symphonies and the unfinished ninth symphony came to be admired by the Nazis, and their editions are the most contested of any of his works.

Bruckner was no longer alive in the 1930s, enabling the Nazi propagandists to easily alter the details of his life that they felt best suited their purposes because he was in no position to deny them.[20] In Bruckner, they saw much potential as the leading

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[15] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 584.
[16] Friedrich Heer, *Der Kampf um die österrichische Identität*, (Vienna: Böhlau, 1981), 420.
[17] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 584.
[18] Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy Jackson, "Bruckner, Anton," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed October 19, 2015.
[19] Ibid., 30.
[20] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 591.

composer of their movement. He was a local man whose music employed the qualities that they desired. As Goebbels put it:

> Art must not only be good, it must also emerge from the Volk, or, better, only an art that draws inspiration from the whole of the Volk itself can, in the final analysis, be deemed good and have meaning for the people for which it was created… Art must be good, but beyond that, it must also have a sense of responsibility, must be professional, must be popular with the Volk, and aggressive.[21]

In order to use Bruckner's music, the propagandists had to make sure that Bruckner's life story aligned with National Socialist values. These values consisted of strong nationalism, anti-Semitism, and the condition of being God-fearing, as long as it did not conflict with ultimate allegiance to the German state. In an address in Regensburg, Goebbels outlined three basic aspects of Bruckner's life that assimilated him into Nazi favor: his peasant roots, his displeasure with Jewish criticism of his music, and the influence of Richard Wagner on his work.[22] Goebbels romanticizes each of these items to the point that they become exaggeration.

Bruckner was portrayed as a peasant to emphasize his Austrian roots by the Nazi propaganda machine. In an excerpt from his address, Goebbels describes Bruckner as follows:

> He comes from a long line of peasants which we can trace back to the year 1400. Throughout his life, even after his position in his profession and in society had finally carried him to a completely different [societal] sphere, he never disavowed his peasant roots. His almost musical affinity with nature; his steadfast and completely genuine love for his native soil and for the great German fatherland; the simple straightforwardness of his character, which was coupled with true

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[21] Joseph Goebbels to Wilhelm Furtwängler, 11 April, 1933, in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. by Anson Rabinbach (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 533.

[22] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," trans. John Michael Cooper, *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 605-09.

Fig. 1 – Hitler at the Valhalla during Bruckner's inauguration ceremony. June 6, 1937.[23]

[23] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 585.

> humility and nevertheless bore a proud awareness of his own accomplishments; the childlike purity of his delight in life, which rested upon a faith in God [Gottglauben] [*sic*] uncomplicated by any intellectual doubt – all this demonstrates how strong and undamaged the heritage of his peasant roots remained in him.[24]

Since Anton Bruckner did come from a rural area, this implication was not difficult for the public to accept. Bruckner also maintained many of his original country mannerisms for his entire life, such as his accent and clothing. This was odd behavior for a musician, as many adopted the customs of the cities they inhabited once they became successful. Using these facts, the propagandists concluded that Bruckner was a simple country bumpkin who became successful from his own humble auspices.[25]

In reality, Bruckner was far from being a peasant. His lineage can be traced back as far as the birth of Jörg Pruckner in about 1400, a peasant in the contemporary feudal system.[26] The last member of his family to be a peasant was his great-great-grandfather. Bruckner's grandfather was a moderately wealthy farmer, and his father, as previously mentioned, was a schoolteacher and church musician just like Bruckner.[27] Therefore, although he grew up in a rural area, it is incorrect to label him as a peasant.

Why would Goebbels find it necessary to lie about this? One of the most important links between Bruckner and the Third Reich was Adolf Hitler himself. Hitler felt a connection with Bruckner as a peasant-turned-artist. Therefore, he endorsed Bruckner's musical work in a way that Hitler's artwork had never been acknowledged. Portraying Bruckner as a peasant also connected him to the people of Austria, which in

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[24] Ibid., trans. John Michael Cooper, 606.
[25] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 592.
[26] Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Bruckner*, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), 7.
[27] Watson, *Bruckner*, 45.

turn, connected Austria to Germany. This gave logical support to the *Anschluss* and made it appear as if this connection was always meant to be.[28] Lastly, the simple peasant persona coincides with the anti-intellectualism movement of the Nazis. Rather than calculating his every move, Bruckner was portrayed as being born with his talents, the emphasis of which relates sharply to the racism implicit in Nazism. Hence, as a German, it was believed that Bruckner was born with superior blood that allowed him to achieve greatness.

Another aspect of Bruckner's life was exaggerated by Goebbels to support Nazi anti-Semitic tendencies: his victimization by Jewish music critics. Goebbels describes Bruckner in his address as follows:

> …there have been and still are various misinterpretations of [Bruckner's] artistic life's work. A hostile, journalistic branch of criticism, with its incessant torments, embittered him to his rich life of work. During a conversation with Bruckner, Eduard Hanslick once even let slip these words which unmask this guild of "critical" mayflies: "I destroy whomever I wish to destroy!"… these intellectual carpetbaggers, 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.[29]

It is true that Bruckner suffered due to some harsh criticism of his work. The main culprit was Eduard Hanslick, a music critic and lawyer in Vienna who was Jewish. Bruckner and Hanslick first met in June 1865 at the premier of Bruckner's *Germanenzug*, a set of occasional pieces set to secular texts, at a choral festival in Linz. Hanslick was very friendly towards Bruckner, and even gave him an autographed photograph of himself.[30]

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[28] Bryan Gilliam, "Bruckner's Annexation Revisited: A Response to Manfred Wagner," *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 129.
[29] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," trans. John Michael Cooper, 606-07.
[30] Schönzeler, *Bruckner*, 46.

In 1868, Hanslick was quoted by the Viennese press as saying, "There are rumors that Bruckner is to join the staff of the Vienna Conservatorium. If these should be correct, we may well congratulate the institution."[31] However, by the 1870's and onward, their relationship cooled down, as Hanslick chastised Bruckner for his association with Wagner.[32] Hanslick was no fan of Bruckner's and made that exceedingly clear in his punitive, often sarcastic, criticism.[33]

In truth, Bruckner received criticism of many kinds, ranging from good to bad to noncommittal. This criticism came from both Jews and Gentiles alike. Asserting that the negative criticism came from Jewish critics alone is an extreme misrepresentation of information. In addition, it is important to note that music criticism was still evolving at the same time that Bruckner reached his musical maturity. Therefore, it was characterized by extreme competition, which fueled harsh denunciations and intolerance.[34] Bruckner was certainly not the only musician to receive the harsh criticism that the Nazis portrayed as victimization.

The main purpose for portraying Bruckner as a victim of Jewish hostility was to further support the anti-Semitism that was characteristic of the Nazi regime. Since the regime was in favor of Bruckner, anyone who disagreed was automatically accused of opposing the National Socialists. This, the Nazi propagandists argued, proved that Jews were worthless, parasitic members of society.[35] In addition, Goebbels used this "abuse of

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[31] Ibid., 48.
[32] Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 213.
[33] Watson, *Bruckner*, 50-51.
[34] Ibid., 50.
[35] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 593.

art criticism" to support his new policy of banning all art criticism.[36] Therefore, Bruckner's experiences were used by the Nazis as a justification for anti-Semitism.

The final aspect of Bruckner's life that was altered by the Nazis was his piety. Goebbels:

> To the extent that this is meant to say that Bruckner's artistic development would be unthinkable without Wagner, no one can object to it. After all, Bruckner's mastery first developed fully… only when he got his first direct impression of the art of the great music-dramatist Richard Wagner. This experience had an almost revolutionary effect on the sonority of his musical language, which only then assumed *that* character that we recognize as the true Bruckner style. From that moment onwards the church musician retreats almost entirely, and out of him emerges the distinctive symphonist.[37]

This statement could not be further from the truth. Bruckner remained a devout Catholic for his entire life, and stylistically, his music appears to have been influenced by his religious beliefs just as much as his studies of Wagner.

The reasons behind this alteration are twofold: to downplay Bruckner's religious fervor and to emphasize his relationship with Wagner. The relationship between the Third Reich and Christianity was convoluted. The leadership wanted citizens to be religious, but they did not want this to conflict with loyalty to the state. Therefore, they deemphasized devotion to Christianity, and simply referred to the proper faith as *Gottgläubigkeit* (God-fearing), a purposefully vague term.[38] Ultimately, the state religion became the Nazi Party itself.

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[36] Gilliam, "Bruckner's Annexation Revisited: A Response to Manfred Wagner," 129.
[37] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," trans. John Michael Cooper, 607.
[38] Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," 593-94.

In addition, by creating an influence by Wagner, the Nazis tied Bruckner closer to the state. Wagner was one of the most championed musicians of the Nazi regime, and was well known for his anti-Semitism. By drawing a parallel between Bruckner and Wagner, the propagandists made Bruckner appear to be more nationalistic and compliant with the Nazi Party.

Truly, the Nazi appropriation of Bruckner allowed for the creation of a fictional version of his life. There can be no question that these changes were inspired purely by the desire to conjoin Bruckner with the Nazi Party and its ideology. Legitimizing the use of his music by the regime gave purpose to this venture. Unfortunately, the propaganda machine did not stop there, but also condoned the alteration of Bruckner's music itself.

In the next chapter, this paper will focus upon a comparison of three versions of Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, II. Adagio. The piece itself has been amended six times from its creation until 2007, with five of these amendments credited as unique editions of the symphony. The three versions/editions that will be discussed in the following section are the 1872 and 1877 versions, written and edited by Bruckner, and the 1938 edition, edited by Robert Haas.

The problem of the versions is a common theme within the musicological community regarding Bruckner research. Each one of his nine symphonies was reworked into new versions/editions at least once, and all of them were edited yet again by the Nazi propaganda machine. In fact, today there are twenty-five editions of the nine symphonies.[39] Many arguments remain apparent regarding which versions are most true to Bruckner's intentions and which are illegitimate. Unfortunately, it is not as simple as

[39] Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 1: Sorting Out the Confusion," 20.

merely choosing a preferable score at this point. By now, there have been many performances of multiple versions of the Second Symphony, and several of them have already found a place in the concert hall.[40]

There have been numerous hypotheses put forth as to why Bruckner chose to make all of these revisions throughout his lifetime. The most common reasons involve his lack of self-confidence. Bruckner suffered from multiple neuroses, including numeromania, which created in him both a drive for perfectionism and a lack of confidence.[41] These traits naturally led him to change his work quite often, as he felt that it always needed improvement.

Another issue involved in the creation of the multiple symphonic versions was the involvement of Bruckner's close-knit group of friends and students, most notably Josef and Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe, who often gave Bruckner suggestions as to how he should proceed with a work or how to improve it. As time went on, these students became more aggressive in their drive for perfection of Bruckner's work, and went so far as to make changes behind the composer's back before publication.[42] Many scholars find invalid any version in which Bruckner was either convinced to make changes or in which changes were made without his approval.

Some of the versions of Bruckner's symphonies were created after his death, such as the Haas version of Symphony No. 2 from 1938. This version was created under the control of the Nazi regime in order to expunge foreign elements from the score, such as the influence of Bruckner's Jewish friend, Johann Herbeck. Purification was a common

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[40] Paul Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* 21:1 (1997): 97.
[41] Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 1: Sorting Out the Confusion," 20.
[42] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 106-07.

theme within Nazi society and was undoubtedly related to Aryan racism.[43] Later editions, such as the one by Leopold Nowak, were simply created in an attempt to reconcile all of the previously made versions into a "correct" version. Clearly, this edition did not find adequate success due to the continued controversy regarding the subject.

The original autograph manuscript of the 1872 version was written almost entirely during the summer of 1872.[44] Like Symphony No. 1, it is also in C minor. The first performance of the piece was conducted by Bruckner himself over a year later on October 26, 1873 at the *Wiener Weltausstellung*, with minor revisions to the score.[45] This version may be the most advocated for among all of the versions of the Second Symphony.

The most prominent reason for use of the 1872 version is that it was the first version to be written. Since Bruckner wrote it alone, it contains no blemishes from any extrinsic pressure. While other versions rely on the influence of others and were affected by Bruckner's doubt in his own genius, this version remains authentic.

Besides this obvious line of reasoning, the most critical support for the use of the original version as the one correct version of this symphony is found in Bruckner's own will and testament. Bruckner writes:

> I bequeath to the Imperial Library in Vienna and request that its administration assume responsibility for the preservation of the autograph manuscripts of the following compositions: the symphonies, as of now eight in number… the three

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[43] Morten Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," *The Musical Quarterly* 82:2 (1998): 373-74.
[44] William Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," Edited by Howie, Crawford, Paul Hackshaw and Timothy Jackson in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, (London: Ashgate, 2000), 72.
[45] Dermot Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, (London: Ashgate, 2010), 47.

> large Masses; the quintet; the Te Deum; Psalm 150; and the choral piece, *Helgoland*.
> At the same time I stipulate that the firm of Josef Eberle should be prepared to borrow the manuscripts of the works it publishes for a reasonable time from the library, which should be prepared to loan the manuscripts to Eberle and Cie. for an adequate period.[46]

Not only does Bruckner leave the original autograph manuscript in the care of a library, but he asks that it be published. This will was signed on November 10, 1893, only a few years before his death in 1896.[47] It is clear that Bruckner considered his autograph scores to be important. Did he regret agreeing to publish his later versions, and was he using this stipulation in his will as a means of expressing this regret?

In spite of this evidence, some critics disagree. They say that the 1872 manuscript was not actually made for performance, citing as evidence the minor changes made to the score before the premier at the *Wiener Weltausstellung*.[48] Another issue is that the score was not published during his lifetime.[49] From the late-1870's through the mid-1890's, Bruckner's lack of initiative to publish the 1872 version suggests his preference for the 1877 version.

The 1877 version of Symphony No. 2 was created specifically for its second performance on February 20, 1876.[50] The revision of the symphony can be accredited to Johann Herbeck, a friend of Bruckner's who had just left his job at the *Gesellschaft der*

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[46] Rolf Keller, "Die letztwilligen Verfügungen Anton Bruckners," *Bruckner Jahrbuch 1982-83*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz, 1984): 111-15.
[47] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 96.
[48] Benjamin Korstvedt, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited (A Reply)," *19-th Century Music* 21:1 (1997): 109.
[49] Deryck, Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 2: The F Minor, Nos 0, 1 and 2," *The Musical Times* 110:1512 (1969): 143.
[50] Schönzeler, *Bruckner*, 71.

Musikfreunde to help Bruckner with this performance.[51] The Second Symphony was Herbeck's favorite, and his intention was to help Bruckner to strengthen its weaker points. According to Herbeck's son, this took an enormous amount of patience and energy on the part of Herbeck, but after he convinced Bruckner that revision was necessary, both men worked vigorously to change the score.[52] Although the changes themselves were made in 1876, Bruckner published the score in 1877, resulting in a new version.

Supporters of this version cite this very fact in their evidence for its authenticity. Bruckner allowed for the score to be published during his lifetime without any objections.[53] If he had not felt true ownership for the version, he would likely have spoken out against its publication. By allowing the 1877 version to be published, it is implied that Bruckner condoned this version of the symphony as authoritative.

Another relevant issue involves publishing itself. To this day, the process of music publishing usually involves minor corrections made to the score by the publisher before printing. Rather than altering significant portions of the composition, these corrections are meant to rectify writing mistakes that the composer or copyist accidentally made in the part. In order for this process to continue efficiently, the publisher usually does not ask the composer for his or her approval of each small change.[54] Therefore, an argument can be made that some of the corrections to the score, which were done at the publishing house, are nothing out of the ordinary.

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[51] Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, 69.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 97.
[54] Korstvedt, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited (A Reply)," 109.

Of course, the opposing argument contends that the changes to the Second Symphony were significant, and that Bruckner deserved to know about any alterations to his work. In fact, Hawkshaw provides evidence in the form of letters between the Schalk brothers that Bruckner was intentionally kept away from viewing these new editions until they were published, and it was too late for him to change them.[55] This implies that the alterations made to the score were not just the simple, routine alterations typically made to scores at the publishing house.

In a 1937 article in *The Musical Times*, G. E. Arnold contests that the changes made to the 1877 version of the Second Symphony are not characteristic of Bruckner.[56] Herbeck influenced Bruckner to strengthen the orchestration and remove any unnecessary pauses.[57] These alterations, therefore, may be more the work of Herbeck than Bruckner, making the score more of a collaboration of two individuals than a masterpiece by Bruckner. We can only speculate as to whether or not this was Bruckner's intention. Since Bruckner was convinced to make these changes by an adamant Herbeck,[58] we must conclude that he opposed them for some time.[59] It seems that we must make the conclusion that this version is not entirely legitimate if Bruckner only begrudgingly gave his consent.

The final version of Symphony No. 2 was edited by Robert Haas, an employee of the Nazi propaganda machine who worked under the auspices of the International Bruckner Society. The International Bruckner Society was founded in October of 1927 in

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[55] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 103.
[56] G. E. Arnold, "The Different Versions of the Bruckner Symphonies," *The Musical Times* 78:1127 (1937): 17.
[57] Gault, *The New Bruckner*, 70.
[58] Ibid., 69
[59] Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified: Sorting Out the Confusion," 20.

Leipzig. This group pledged to preserve and protect all things related to Bruckner and his music, and, above all, to remain apolitical. Of course, during the reign of the Third Reich, these goals could not be met. In order to support his propaganda campaign, Goebbels slowly took control of the society. Thereafter, the society pledged to "purify Bruckner's works from all blemishes."[60] This led to the creation of new editions of most of Bruckner's symphonies by Robert Haas.

Haas published new editions of the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth symphonies. As a member of the Nazi Party, he had the freedom to change whatever he wished within the music without objection. Haas often tried to validate his alterations by purporting that he was only trying to embody Bruckner's true feelings on the matter. It was common for Bruckner to take the advice of his students in creating new editions of his works.[61] Haas regarded these changes as impure, and claimed that he only used the original manuscripts of Bruckner's symphonies for his editions. However, this statement is not entirely accurate since he often made changes in his editions that did not coincide with the original manuscripts.

Most current musicologists dismiss Haas's work as indefensible, but his contemporaries believed that his work was excellent. In the January 1937 edition of the *The Musical Times*, G. E. Arnold describes Haas's work as "a strictly scientific investigation."[62] Truly, Haas did use both the 1872 and 1877 versions to create what he viewed as the "correct" edition. However, there are places in the music in which the

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[60] Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 363.
[61] Julian Horton, *Bruckner's Symphonies: Analysis, Reception, and Cultural Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 234.
[62] Arnold, "The Different Versions of the Bruckner Symphonies," 17.

reasoning behind Haas's choices is often not explainable, and his own additions to the score are inexcusable.

Haas's version of the Second Symphony can be considered an amalgamation of the 1872 and 1877 versions. In fact, his combination of the two is so convoluted that Deryck Cooke stipulates that the 1938 is based mostly upon the 1872,[63] while Morten Solvik says that the 1938 is based upon the 1877 with additions from the 1872 where Haas saw fit.[64] Clearly, this is not a simple issue. Either way, Haas used an anachronistic combination of manuscripts without any justification for his doing so.

Haas tried to justify his decision-making at the time, although his reasoning did not include any "scientific" evidence. He believed that he had a spiritual connection with Bruckner, and that with this connection, he could readily determine Bruckner's true intentions from analysis of both the 1872 and 1877 scores. Of course, the only person who could vouch for the legitimacy of this connection was Haas himself, making it almost surely a spurious claim. Although this claim may sound purely foolish to contemporary readers, it actually had more support in the 1930s.[65]

At the turn-of-the-century, a new attitude had developed concerning German nationalism. The primary belief throughout the country was that the citizen, first and foremost, owed his allegiance to the state above all else. Encompassed within this

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[63] Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified," 143.
[64] Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 370-71.
[65] Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 80-81.

ideology was the concept of the *Volksgeist* hypothesis, or "the spirit of the people."[66] According to this principle, it was not Bruckner himself who demanded the musical expression in his pieces, but the German people. In other words, the accomplishments of a citizen of Germany (or an ethnically German person) were more so the accomplishments of the state than the individual. Haas's claim that he had a spiritual connection to Bruckner is more understandable in this context, which helps to explain why his editorial process was not questioned at the time.

However explainable Haas's actions may be, they are not excusable. No connection has been found between Bruckner's music and the Viennese politics of his day,[67] and to politicize his music for the benefit of the Nazi Party is indefensible. Haas, in trying to figure out Bruckner's intentions concerning Symphony No. 2, actually assumed control over Bruckner's intellectual property. According to this assumption, especially during the passages in which Haas substitutes his own music to take the place of Bruckner's, it appears that he thinks he knows better than Bruckner, which is very poor scholarship.

And so, the story of Bruckner's appropriation by the Nazis was born: Bruckner was a humble, well-meaning composer whose legacy, around thirty years after his death, was tainted by the unseemly influence of the Nazis. They used his music for their own purposes, and revised his biography for their political gain -- or so it may seem. A closer look may reveal, at the least, that the Nazis were not concocting this story all on their own, and at the most, that they may have been right about some of it. Goebbels spoke

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[66] Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, 81.
[67] Margaret Notley, "Bruckner Problems, In Perpetuity." *19-Century Music* 30:1 (2006): 87.

about three main aspects of Bruckner's life at the Regensburg ceremony: his peasant roots, the suffering inflicted upon him by Jewish critics, and the profound influence of Wagner that led him away from church music.[68] Several of these issues will be addressed in the following remarks.

As has been previously stated, Bruckner felt tortured at the hands of Eduard Hanslick's criticism, a prominent Jewish music critic in Vienna. The obvious purpose of Goebbels's speech about the conflict between these two men was to demonize Jews with an insinuation of the possibility of Bruckner's own anti-Semitism. Of course, it is understandable that he would not enjoy this criticism, whether it was given by a Jew or a Gentile. However, Bruckner's own actions may have led Goebbels to his discriminatory conclusion.

In 1872, the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein* was founded in order to perform the works of Richard Wagner, Hugo Wolf, and Anton Bruckner.[69] Although the original intent of the society was merely to honor the works of these composers, it soon became a breeding ground for men who shared Wagner's anti-Semitic beliefs. Unlike our glorified version of Bruckner, who would have left the society for moral reasons, the real Bruckner actually remained a part of it. He intentionally associated with anti-Semites in this organization and elsewhere.[70] Why? Botstein postulates that Bruckner needed all the support he could get, and at the time, it just happened to come in the form of men with

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[68] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," 606-07.
[69] Andrea Harrandt, "Students and Friends as 'Prophets' and 'Promoters': The Reception of Bruckner's Works in the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein*," *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. by Howie, Crawford, Paul Hackshaw and Timothy Jackson (London: Ashgate, 2000), 317.
[70] Leon Botstein, "Music and Ideology: Thoughts on Bruckner," *The Musical Quarterly* 80:1 (1996): 5.

prejudice against Jews.[71] Likewise, Manfred Wagner refers to Bruckner as "strategically careerist," using whatever opportunities he could to find success for his compositions.[72] According to John Williamson, due to the religious anti-Semitism in the Catholic Church and the acceptance of anti-Semitism due to strong nationalism within the liberal movement in Vienna, it would be surprising if Bruckner was not anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism allowed Austrians to gain notoriety with the questionably Protestant German regime. [73] Still, we do not know with certainty whether or not Bruckner was truly anti-Semitic.

When Goebbels labeled Bruckner as a Wagnerian, he was partially accurate. Bruckner's symphonic writing carries a lot of Wagnerian influence, particularly the tone color and some of his themes.[74] However, Goebbels insinuated that Bruckner chose symphonic composition over church composition in addition to imitating Wagner's symphonic style in order to downplay his religious fanaticism. While this may appear to be quite a tall tale from Goebbels, some evidence exists that lends credence to Goebbels's claims.

Josef Schalk, one of Bruckner's previously mentioned ardent students, published a laudatory account of Bruckner in the *Bayreuther Blätter* in October 1884.

> Simply out of consideration to the artist, nobody could really offer him effective help. Far from recognizing the real reasons for this in his pure and innocent mind, Bruckner – confused, dismayed, even overcome by self-doubt – finally saw only

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[71] Ibid., 5.
[72] Manfred Wagner, "Response to Bryan Gilliam Regarding Bruckner and National Socialism," *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 121.
[73] John Williamson, "Introduction: A Catholic Composer in the Age of Bismarck," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, edited by John Williamson, 1–14, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 7–8.
[74] Wagner, "Response to Bryan Gilliam Regarding Bruckner and National Socialism," 121.

> one salvation: the way to Him [Wagner]. Only He, whose greatness had long filled his soul with glowing enthusiasm, could calm him; he wanted to rush to Him and to cast his work before the penetrating eye of the Sublime. … Only the One always remained true to him…[75]

This writing, taken out of context, could appear to be Biblical. Every time Wagner is mentioned, his pronouns are capitalized. Schalk's word choice, such as the discussion of "salvation" and Bruckner's "soul," implies a religious in nature. To a person who was looking for evidence to distance Bruckner from Catholicism and strengthen his connection with Wagner, this article is perfect. Thomas Leibnitz believes that Schalk's statements as quoted above are simply wishful thinking,[76] but the ultimate truth of Bruckner's beliefs on the subject has not yet been proven.

Since Wagner was openly anti-Semitic, Goebbels's linkage of Bruckner to the regime in his address portrayed Bruckner to be more than just a Catholic-converted-Wagnerian. It emphasized a point already implied in the speech concerning Bruckner's own possible anti-Semitism. Given the evidence just discussed, this point was based on more than just Goebbels's wishful thinking. There is some evidence that could lead a reader to believe in some of the points suggested by Goebbels in his speech. Of course, this evidence cannot be considered fact. There is much work left to be done on the subject in order to find out the truth. Right now, all we know is that Bruckner did associate with anti-Semitic people and was publicly portrayed as religiously obsessed with Wagner by one of his closest friends.

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[75] Josef Schalk, "Anton Bruckner," *Bayreuther Blätter* (October 1884): 3-5.
[76] Thomas Leibnitz, "Anton Bruckner and 'German Music': Josef Schalk and the Establishment of Bruckner as a National Composer," in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. by Howie, Crawford, Paul Hackshaw and Timothy Jackson, (London: Ashgate, 2000), 331.

Regardless of the implications of this evidence, it cannot be forgotten that the Nazis did appropriate Bruckner's life and works. They could not ask for his permission, so their choice to alter some of his biography for the sake of propaganda is inexcusable. Likewise, the substandard quality of Haas's revisions to Bruckner's Second Symphony is indefensible. This anachronistic amalgamation of scores cannot possibly reflect the composer's true intentions by the haphazard way in which decisions were made. Truly, the annexation of Anton Bruckner by the Third Reich was a travesty to both his person and his legacy.

CHAPTER 2

Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 in C Minor has undergone many changes since its original composition in 1872. Some of these revisions were completed by Bruckner himself; others required the influence of his friends and colleagues; and still others were created long after his death by people who may have represented very different interests than his own.[77] The goal of this chapter is to focus upon Robert Haas's editorial methods and prove that he did not use a credible approach in his edition of Bruckner's Symphony No. 2.

The Second Symphony had a total of two versions and two variants in its early composition, including versions from 1872 and 1877, and variants from 1873 and 1876.[78] The 1873 and 1876 variants are not considered true "versions" because they only had very minor changes made to them. According to our definition, a true version differs significantly from other adaptations of the same piece. Therefore, the 1872 and 1877 manuscripts are considered different versions due to the significant alterations made to the 1877 manuscript by the composer with collaborative help from his friend and colleague, Johann Herbeck.[79] The divergent opinions within the scholarly community regarding the validity of Herbeck's contributions to the symphony are discussed in the previous chapter.

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[77] Deryck Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 1: Sorting Out the Confusion," *The Musical Times* 110:1511 (1969): 20.
[78] William Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, edited by Crawford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy Jackson, 69-91, (London: Ashgate, 2000), 70.
[79] Dermot Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, (Ashgate, 2010), 47.

Unlike the early adaptations of many of his other symphonies, none of the early versions or variants of the Second Symphony (from 1872 to 1877) were published until 2005 with his edition of the 1872 version by William Carragan.[80] For this reason, I have used the manuscripts in my score study. These versions certainly have been performed, however, including the premier of the original version on October 26, 1873 at the *Wiener Weltausstellung*.[81] Herbeck's contributions to the 1877 version include a general thickening of the texture as well as alterations of movement lengths. He convinced Bruckner to make cuts within the first, second, and fourth movements, resulting in altered lengths of bar periods.[82]

As for the changes made to the 1877 score, it is difficult to determine which were made by Bruckner or Herbeck. Rather, we can only postulate using prior knowledge of what stylistic mannerisms are characteristic of Bruckner. Timothy Jackson hypothesizes that the reasoning behind some of the cuts to the symphony had to do with Bruckner's psychosis.[83] According to several accounts, it appears that Bruckner had some form of Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD). Specifically, Bruckner felt compelled to count things, such as leaves on a tree and cathedral gables, which was known at the time as "numeromania".[84] A friend, Franz Gräflinger, gave a personal account of his witness to Bruckner's tragic disability:

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[80] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 69.
[81] Dermot Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, (London: Ashgate, 2010), 47.
[82] Deryck Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 2: The F Minor, Nos 0, 1 and 2," *The Musical Times* 110:1512 (1969): 143.
[83] Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers," *19-th Century Music* 14:2 (1990): 102.
[84] Julian Horton, "Recent Developments in Bruckner Scholarship," *Music & Letters* 85:1 (2004): 91.

> Bruckner suffered a great deal from mental disturbances, depressions, fixations etc. For instance, during a walk he would stand next to a tree in order to count its leaves. On one occasion he came into my house without knocking at the door or introducing himself, sat down at the piano, and played for a while. When I asked him what he was playing, he said 'the Kyrie of my new [F minor] Mass.' Most people were amused by his behavior, but I took the unfortunate man under my wing and provided him with as much company as I could. When I wished to leave him late at night, he begged me to stay with him because, left on his own, he would be troubled by his fixations.[85]

Jackson's theory concerning Bruckner's revision process is that Bruckner's numeromania contributed to the way in which he grouped measures and phrases. Bruckner's original composition was organized into irregular, asymmetrical groupings.[86] In order to correct this, for example, he would determine where a downbeat should occur, then organize the music in a way in which the downbeat would be in the right place. Even though Bruckner makes use of some irregular groupings after his revision, such as seven-measure phrases, he always refers to these as "*unregelmässig*" (irregular).[87]

Whether or not Bruckner's cuts and revisions to his Second Symphony were influenced by his numeromania is not entirely certain. However, what remains clear is that the large cuts can be attributed to Herbeck, while the smaller revisions can be traced back to Bruckner himself.[88] Although we can speculate about the origins of each revision, ultimately the editorial process of the 1877 version of Symphony No. 2 remains convoluted regarding true authorship of individual alterations.

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[85] Franz Gräflinger, *Anton Bruckner: Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte* (Munich, 1911), 115-16, in "Recent Developments in Bruckner Scholarship," by Julian Horton, *Music & Letters* 85:1 (2004): 92.
[86] Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers," 105.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 114.

Whether or not Herbeck's influence was ruinous or beneficial to the symphony, it is clear he had Bruckner's best interests at heart. Herbeck was a good friend to Bruckner, and his main goal in the revision process was to make the symphony better and the piece more accessible to the audience.[89] The same cannot be said of the revisions made by Robert Haas in 1938. This version of the Second Symphony was appropriated for the purposes of the Nazi propaganda machine (for more details, see Chapter 1), and made with questionable editorial techniques at best.[90]

The International Bruckner Society hired Haas, along with Alfred Orel, to account for all of Bruckner's work. Haas began by simply publishing those works that Bruckner left unpublished by the time of his death.[91] Once this task was complete, he moved on to a more challenging objective: determining the truly authentic versions of Bruckner's works. Although Haas and Orel were both assigned to this project, Haas ultimately edited the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies, while Orel worked strictly with the Third.[92]

The goal that resulted in the creation of these new editions was the purification of Bruckner's music.[93] The International Bruckner Society was well aware of the many versions of Bruckner's works, particularly the symphonies, which were circulating throughout the musical community. Since several of the different versions were

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[89] Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, 69.
[90] Margaret Notley, "Bruckner Problems, In Perpetuity," *19-Century Music* 30:1 (2006): 90.
[91] Benjamin Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 141.
[92] Morten Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," *The Musical Quarterly* 82:2 (1998): 367.
[93] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," 141.

performed, it was not always clear to the public which of the versions was truly authentic. Therefore, Haas and Orel were determined to uncover the genuine version of each work.

Why the obsession with purification? Most likely, this concept tied heavily into the current political issues concerning race in Nazi Germany.[94] Purification of society in terms of race and ethnicity pervaded the contemporary culture and soon translated into other areas of life, including music. This issue was of the utmost importance involving Bruckner's music since his work was used to embody the heart of National Socialism. It simply would not do for his music to be impure.

Anti-Semitism was ever present within the editorial process itself. When confronted about his methods, Haas went into a long diatribe aimed at Jews in the following excerpt:

> The spirit of this critical edition as I have planned it is so different from the hitherto liberalistic habits of musical philology that it, of course, had to set off the strongest Jewish objections and resistance. In twelve long years of battle I have found it necessary to defend my views against the Jewish music publisher, against the Jewish press, and unfortunately also against certain Aryan cohorts to this faction. Today I can proudly point to the fact that I have not only succeeded through the deepest personal involvement in preserving this work from repression, destruction, and mutilation, but that on the contrary I have proven its worth to the whole world, especially the world of German music.[95]

Although Haas would like the reader to believe that Jewish musicians were to blame for what he considered to be unfounded criticism, perhaps the source of the problem stemmed from his editorial process and not from within the sub-community of Jewish publishers and critics.

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[94] Ibid., 144-45

[95] Robert Haas, "Bericht zur Gesamtausgabe der Werke Anton Bruckners," *Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag* 10:2 (1938) in Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 369.

Haas believed that a version became invalid when it had no existing autograph score and was influenced by extraneous persons.[96] Therefore, he only considered the 1872 and 1877 versions in the making of his edition. The influence of Herbeck on the 1877 version was a problem, of course, so Haas had to mediate between both versions. Rather than choosing one version over the other and designating it as the authoritative work, he chose to combine the two versions into the ultimate correct Second Symphony.[97] Haas assumed in this methodology that he could somehow figure out which parts were characteristic of Bruckner.[98]

At first, the musical community did not accept the less-than-scientific methods that Haas utilized in his new editions.[99] In particular, Orel condemned Haas's methods, leaving a bitter rivalry between the two. While Orel relied upon a strict analysis of Bruckner's scores to complete his research, Haas relied on a spiritual connection with the dead composer.[100] Haas's answer to criticism such as this follows:

> … one cannot speak of double versions; it is purely a matter of distinguishing between authorized and unauthorized versions of the texts. Authentication is provided by writing in Bruckner's own hand; not authentic are those texts and passages (readings) that stem *from a foreign hand*.
> The situation is also quite similar for the first four symphonies…. Here it must also be noted that the textual criticism was and is committed to the reconstruction

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[96] Paul Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* 21:1 (1997): 100.
[97] Ibid., 104.
[98] Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 372-73.
[99] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," 143.
[100] Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 367.

> of the *mutilated works* as well as to expunging foreign emendations (readings) in a *foreign hand* that were uncovered and exposed.[101]

Yet even in this response, Haas did not really address the methodology of combining two different versions.

Although Haas experienced some critical reception during the early stages of his project, by 1937 his editions were generally accepted by the German public.[102] As with the *Reichskulturkammer*, they preferred to be presented with one "true" version than accept multiple versions as legitimate, no matter the cost of poor scholarship.[103]

One example of Haas's inconsistent editorial methods in the Second Symphony is found in the first movement, *Ziemlich Schnell*, at the K section (please see Appendix A). What follows is a comparison among the 1872, 1877, and 1938 versions of the symphony at this section.

The melody consists of a two-bar figure that moves downward, then upward, by step or half-step. The final two statements are followed by a third measure, in which the chromatic movement upwards is repeated, beginning on the final note of the initial statement during the first statement and a half-step higher during the second. Ultimately, the melody of the section moves upwards to culminate on G, the dominant (see Fig. 1).

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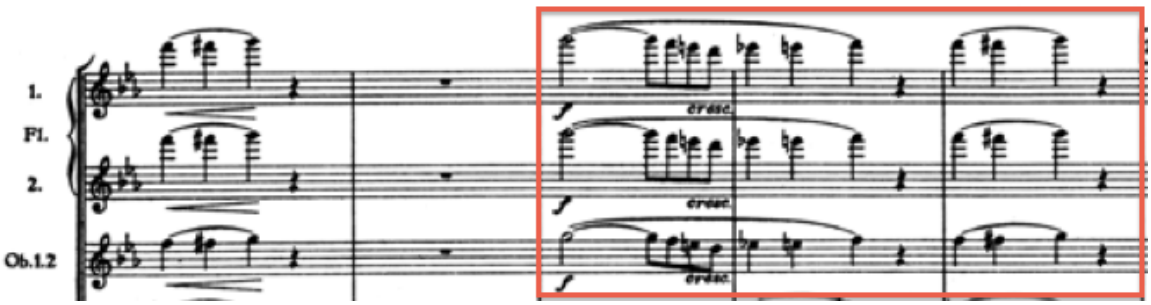
[101] Haas to Borries in a letter dated 24 Oct. 1944: 1/1, Borries, in Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," 374.
[102] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," 143.
[103] Ibid.

Fig. 1 – Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102*, ed. by Robert Haas. Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1938, measures 267–69



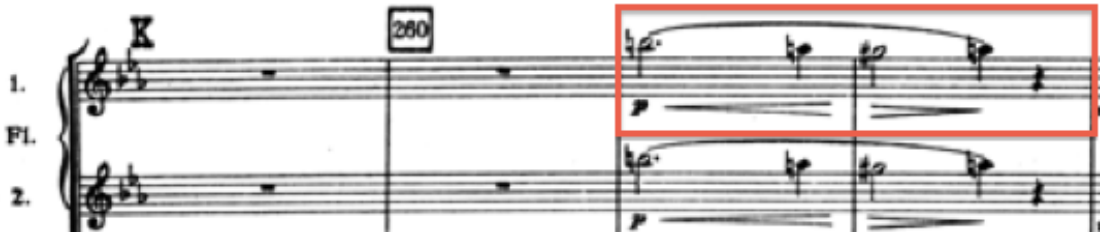
The harmony supports the G-centered melody as well, but the passage is ambiguous in terms of key. It moves from what appears to be harmony centered around A to G minor, the minor dominant of C minor, the key of the piece. Further evidence of this key shift is found in the melody, in an upward progression towards G. The final five measures of the section are a transition into the next section, and are centered around a B diminished chord.

In comparison, the voicings in each part are very similar with a few exceptions. The melody can be found in the upper woodwinds: flutes and oboes. A supporting line of running eighth notes occurs throughout the section in both violin parts. The violas provide additional support with a slower moving line, and the cellos and basses provide a static bass line of leaping octaves for the most part. The first statement of the melody contains several alterations between versions. In both the 1872 version and the Haas edition, the oboe doubles the flutes in this first statement (measures 268–69 and 273–74 in the Bruckner score, and measures 261–63 in the Haas score). The oboe part is left out of the 1877 version until the second statement of the melody, in which it is present in all of the parts. Throughout this section, both the 1877 version and the Haas edition have

two flute parts, while the original version only has one. Partway through the first statement of the melody (measures 261–64) there is a discrepancy between these two flute parts. In the 1877 version, flute 2 begins the melody on the fifth line F, creating octaves between the flute parts. Haas, on the other hand, simply doubles flute 1 with flute 2. In other words, Haas's second flute part is one octave higher than Bruckner's 1877 flute 2.

In terms of dynamics and expression marks, these versions have similarities and differences. Each time the melodic figure is articulated, a crescendo appears in the first measure, followed by a decrescendo in the second (see Fig. 2). When the melodic figure in the second measure repeats itself, this upward motion is characterized by a crescendo. The first statement is at piano; the second, at mezzo-forte; and the third, at forte.

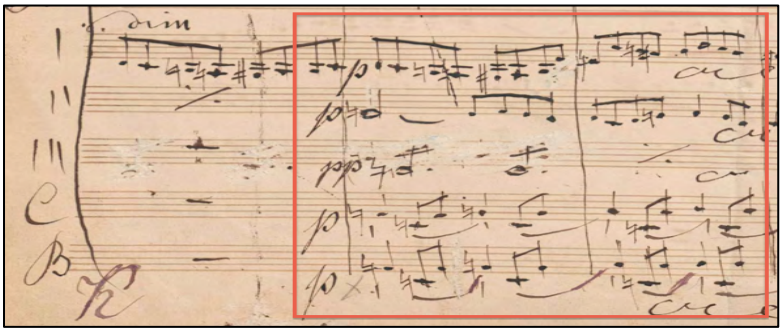
Fig. 2 – Haas edition, measures 261–62



A difference between versions in dynamic markings can be found at the beginning of the section. The 1872 version marks all strings at *piano* except for the viola, which is marked as *pianissimo*. In 1877, Bruckner changed these markings so that only the cellos and basses are playing at *piano*, and the higher strings are playing at *pianissimo* (for comparison, see Fig. 3). The 1872 version has a *crescendo* to begin in the strings during the second measure of the first statement of the melody, while the 1877 version does not

have a *crescendo* until the beginning of the second statement of the melody. The original version also has a *crescendo* marking at this point, but, analysis of the cuts to the score tells us that these two *crescendos* are four measures apart in Bruckner's score, rather than directly next to one another in 1877. In addition, Bruckner writes in specific dynamic markings as they change according to the *crescendo* in 1872, while he simply relies on the *poco a poco crescendo* that is found in both scores during the repetition of the second measure of the melody during the second statement of the melody in 1877. In general, Bruckner relies more on terraced dynamics in the 1872 version. For example, one can find a *piano* marking in the violins, cellos, and basses, and a *pianississimo* marking in the violas at measure 12 of the 1872 version, and *mezzo-forte* in the strings at measure 15 of the same version. In terms of dynamics, Haas relies on the 1877 version completely.

Fig. 3 – (a) Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102*, Autograph Manuscript, Austrian National Library: Mus.Hs.19474, 1872, measures 261–62.



[104]

[104] The 1872 and 1877 autograph manuscripts do not include the key signature on each page, which is why they are not included in the figures. Therefore, a transcription will be provided at the bottom of each figure to inform the reader of the key signature for each relevant instrument.

Fig. 3 – (b) Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102*, Autograph Manuscript, Austrian National Library: Mus.Hs.6034, 1877, measure 259.

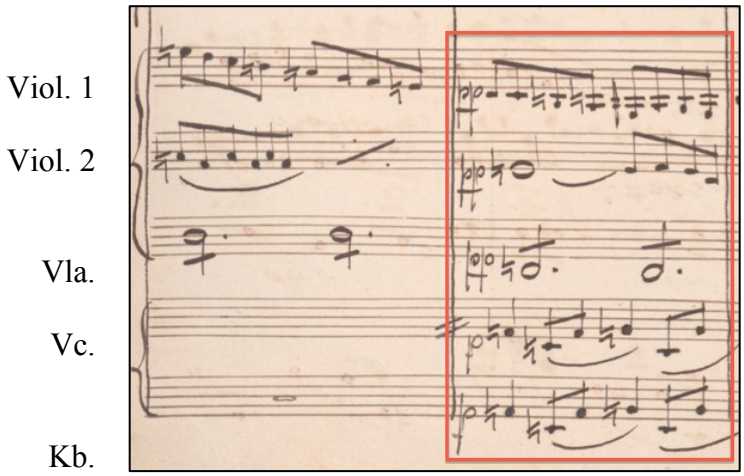
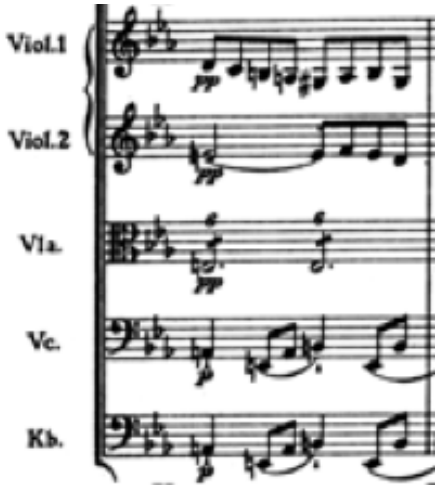


Fig. 3 – (c) Haas edition, measure 259



One of the most significant changes made to this section in the 1877 version is related to the number of deletions made to the original score. From the 1872 score, Bruckner removes measures 2 through 7 and 11 through 13. The first deletion consists of an entirely different melody found in the bassoon parts (see Fig. 4). The string parts retain the running eighth notes that characterize the remainder of the section. The second

deletion is taken from the three measures separating the first two iterations of the melody, measures 11–13 in the 1872 score (see Fig. 5). The bassoons play a falling stepwise line, while the clarinets sustain a whole note tied to a quarter note. Bruckner cuts these measures out so that the first instance of the melody is immediately followed by the second instance. Again, Haas strictly adheres to the revisions made to the 1877 version.

Fig. 4 – 1872 version, measures 261–66

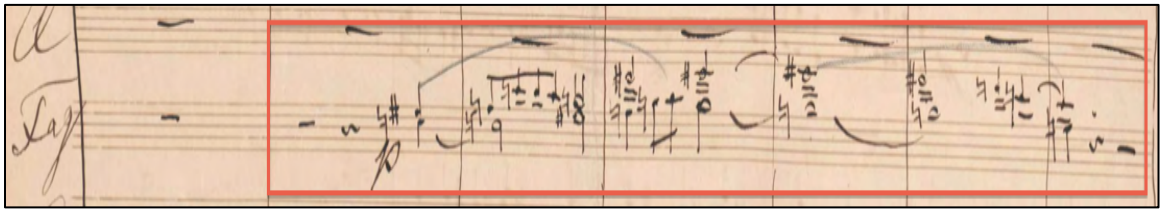
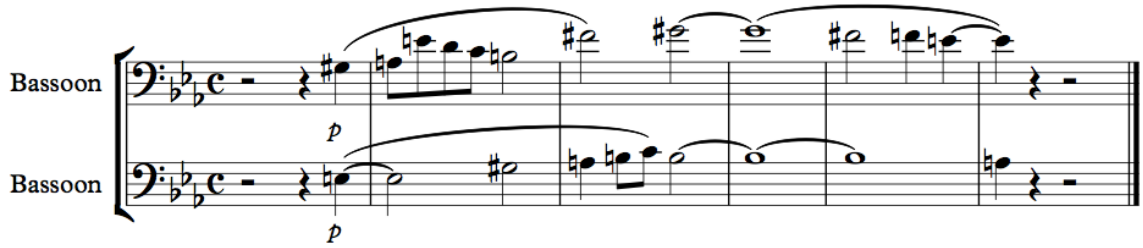


Fig. 4 transcribed:



Clearly, Haas did not adhere entirely to either the 1872 or 1877 version, but selected parts of each for his own version. He continued to make similar sporadic decisions throughout the entire symphony. Bruckner made another large cut towards the end of the first movement in the 1877 version with his omission of the R section. Although Haas chose to include the omission in the K section of the 1877 version, he remained true to the 1872 version in this situation and did not cut this section.

Fig. 5 – (a) 1872 version, measures 268–73

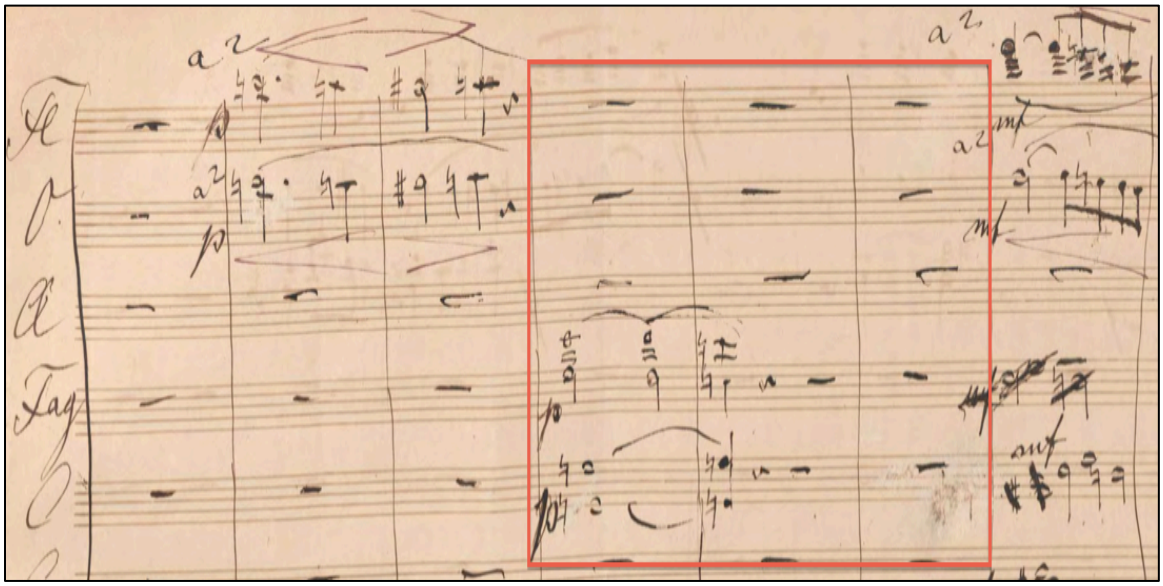
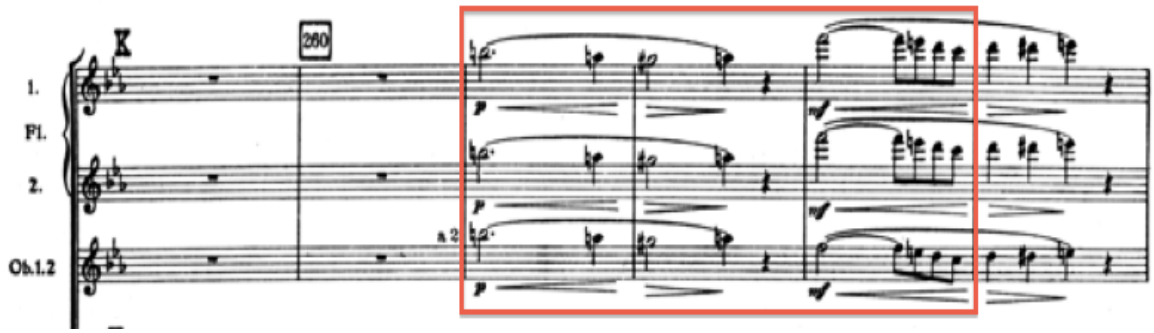


Fig. 5 – (b) Haas version, measures 261–63, equivalent to measures 268–69 and 273 of Fig. 5 (a)



One of Haas's most radical editorial decisions within the symphony occurred in the fourth movement. He kept the codetta of the 1872 version, but used the 1877 music to precede it. Since this music was originally intended to be followed by a pizzicato march, it did not sound right placed directly before the codetta. Therefore, Haas actually composed the first violin part (measures 541 and 543, Haas edition) to create a transition

between the two chunks of music.[105] Haas's use of his own musical ideas within Bruckner's symphony demonstrates a disregard for the composer's true intentions within this symphony.

Although Haas's editorial work was received well by the German musicological community during the late 1930's and the 1940's, current scholars view it as an unscientific debacle. Many musicians, such as the conductor Leon Botstein, believe we should distance ourselves from its Nazi origins and give preference to the earlier versions.[106] Leopold Nowak takes this opinion one step further, postulating that each variant should be considered an original version.[107] Rather than squabbling over which version is correct, he believes that we should view each one as a unique contribution to music literature by Bruckner.

Perhaps Paul Hawkshaw puts it best with his opinion that there simply can be multiple justified versions.[108] We may never know which exact parts of the symphony were influenced by Herbeck in the revision process, which makes the quest for the "perfect score" insurmountable. No matter which version of the score is more true to Bruckner's desires, we can make no claim that Haas's score should be considered as a contender. His failed attempt to decide what Bruckner would have wanted from each score thirty years after his death is a warning to any who may wish to attempt a reworking of the piece with their own aspirations in mind. The following section will

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[105] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 87.
[106] Leon Botstein, "Music and Ideology: Thoughts on Bruckner," *The Musical Quarterly* 80:1 (1996): 9.
[107] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 88.
[108] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 104.

consist of a detailed comparison and analysis of the changes made to the score by both Bruckner and Haas, illustrating the lack of authenticity within Haas's work.

Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, II. Adagio

The second movement of Bruckner's Second Symphony is a beautiful work of art, no matter which version is being performed. Margaret Notley correctly stipulates that it uses the same principles of intensification and breakthrough as the other movements of the symphony, regardless of it being a slow movement.[109] The aspects of this movement that make it stand out will be noted throughout this section, along with the various alterations made to the work and how they affect each facet of the piece.

In some of the wind parts, Bruckner's original conception of this movement of the symphony had an unexpected title: Symphony No. 3 in C Minor. Of course, its final title is Symphony No. 2. The answer as to what gave Bruckner the idea to call it his Third Symphony is that before 1872, Bruckner wrote two other symphonies, in D minor and C minor, respectively. Today, the D minor symphony is labeled "Symphony No. 0," and the C minor symphony is labeled "Symphony No. 1." Since Bruckner originally named the Second Symphony "No. 3," it implies that he had intended to include the D minor symphony in his numbering system.[110] However, he ultimately changed his mind, and the symphony continues to be called "Symphony No. 2 in C Minor."

The symphony consists of four movements, the second of which is titled "Adagio," or "Adagio" and "Andante," depending on which version is being considered. Carragan suggests that the reason for this name change may be found in the original

[109] Notley, "Bruckner Problems, In Perpetuity," 89.
[110] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 73.

ordering of the movements. When Bruckner first wrote the piece, he placed the Scherzo immediately following the first movement. After the Scherzo came the Adagio. Evidence for this switch is found at the beginnings and endings of each movement. When placed in the original order, Allegro – Scherzo – Adagio, the last note of each movement is the first note of the next.[111]

Further, Carragan says during the late summer or early fall of 1872, Bruckner reversed the middle two movements so that the Scherzo followed the Adagio (Allegro – Adagio – Scherzo). Although the title of the movement remains "Adagio" in the 1872 version, it has been changed in the 1877 version to "Adagio 2. Satz Andante." Bruckner's reasoning for this change to a slightly faster tempo could have to do with the order of the movements. Perhaps he believed an Adagio was too slow to follow an Allegro, so he changed the tempo marking to better suit the new ordering.[112]

In this particular instance, Haas chose to base his edition on the original version. Due to Bruckner's rationale for the change in titles, Haas's choice makes little logical sense. Just because "Andante" was not in the original title does not mean that it was Bruckner's preference to ultimately leave it out. Since Haas kept the movements in the revised order, with the Adagio/Andante as the second movement, he should have remained consistent and kept Bruckner's 1877 title of "Adagio 2. Satz Andante".

Dynamics

After a comparison of the 1872, 1877, and 1938 versions, it is clear that Haas adheres mostly to the dynamics of the 1872 version throughout the second movement.[113]

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[111] Ibid., 74.
[112] Ibid., 86.
[113] For a full comparison of the movements, see Appendix.

Only differences among versions/editions are cataloged in the chart in the appendices; therefore, cases in which all three versions/editions use the same dynamic markings are not recorded on the chart. Out of a total of 54 inconsistencies between the movements, Haas chose to use the original markings from 1872 in 19 cases. Although this may not appear to be a large percentage of the total inconsistencies, a further reading demonstrates its legitimacy. Haas chose to use the 1877 dynamic alterations instead of the original score 11 times in this movement, meaning that he chose the 1872 version about 63% of the time when deciding between the two versions. He created his own dynamics 24 times, but put 17 of these markings in parentheses, showing the reader that they were created by the editor, not the composer. However, Haas's contribution of approximately 44% of additional dynamics to those written by the composer, whether or not they are marked as his own work, illustrates his disregard for maintaining the integrity of Bruckner's work.

The reasoning for Haas's choices may be, in part, due to some of his formal decisions. Although the details concerning this issue will be discussed in a later section of this chapter, it suffices to say that, throughout the movement, there are several sections in which Bruckner made vast alterations to the formal structure. Some of them appear in the form of cuts to the music, while others contain completely different material from the original version. Whichever version Haas decided to use in his edition directly affected his choice of dynamics as well.

During the first half of the piece, great formal alterations are made between the 1872 and 1877 versions, specifically from letters B to F. Haas chose to use the 1872 version for his own writing in this section, which is reflected in the dynamics as well. In 9 out of 11 total instances from the beginning to G, Haas chose the markings of the 1872

version over the 1877 version. This represents almost half of the total instances of dynamics in the 1872 version in Haas's entire second movement, all found within the first 106 measures.

At letter K, Haas has a change of heart regarding which version he used. When the material is completely different between Bruckner's two versions, Haas chooses the material from the 1877 version. In the section from K to the end, 8 of the 11 total dynamic selections from the 1877 version are found. Haas's formal reasoning aside, this choice makes perfect sense dynamically since he utilizes the music of the 1877 version. Haas simply chose to match his dynamics with his overall musical choices.

What cannot be explained, however, are Haas's original additions to the music. There are seventeen instances in which he simply adds his own dynamic markings in parentheses. At least Haas makes it clear to the reader that these dynamic markings are his own, not to be confused with Bruckner's composition. In several instances, these dynamics appear as mere suggestions, such as during the horn solos at letter G measure 108 and, and letter H measure 122 (Haas edition). At other times, they are placed in certain instrumental parts in order to make them consistent with the dynamics in other parts. For example, at letter E measure 75 (Haas edition), all string parts have a *cresc.* marking. Haas adds a *(cresc.)* marking to the clarinet and bassoon parts in the same measure in order to give all of the moving lines in the measure a crescendo (See Fig. 6). He puts many of his own markings in parentheses that are not found in either of the 1872 or 1877 scores.

Although seventeen additional dynamics are a lot to add to one movement of a symphony, at least these dynamics had parentheses around them. Furthermore, Haas adds

seven more markings, outside of those previously mentioned, that are not surrounded by parentheses. Since Haas clearly differentiates most of his original markings from those of Bruckner, it is evident that he wants to pass off these extra dynamics as Bruckner's own original markings. Figure 7 shows letter N measures 177 (Haas edition) and 179 (Bruckner 1872 version), in which Haas adds a *dim.* to the clarinet, bassoon, and horn parts without parentheses.

Fig. 6 – Haas version, measure 75

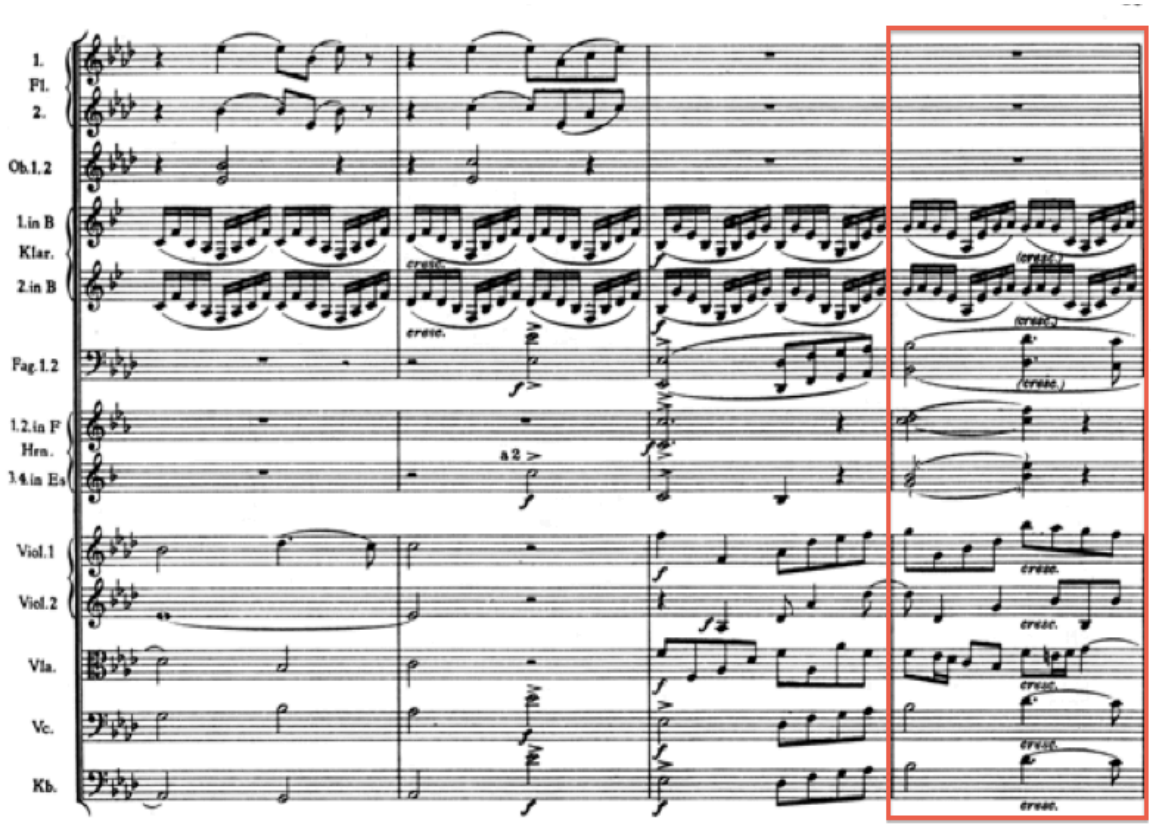


Fig. 7 – (a) 1872 version, measure 179

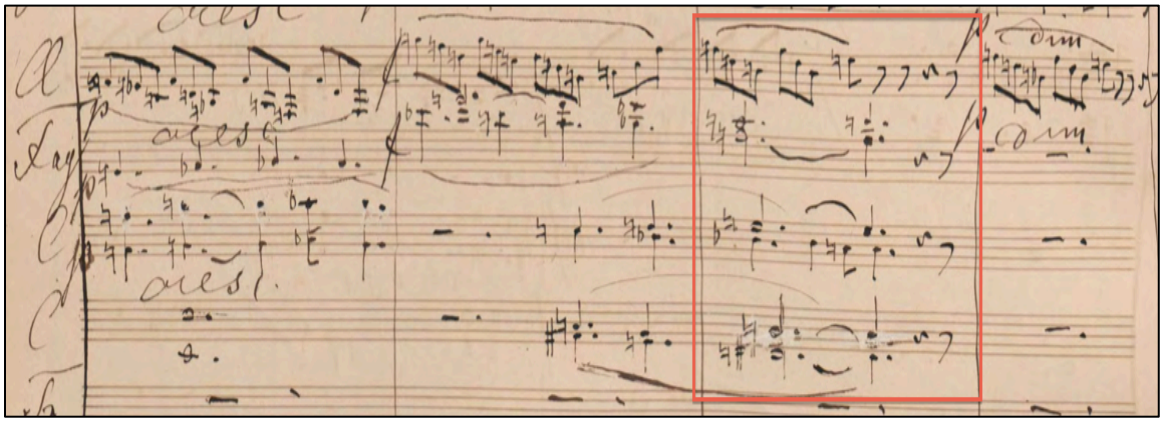
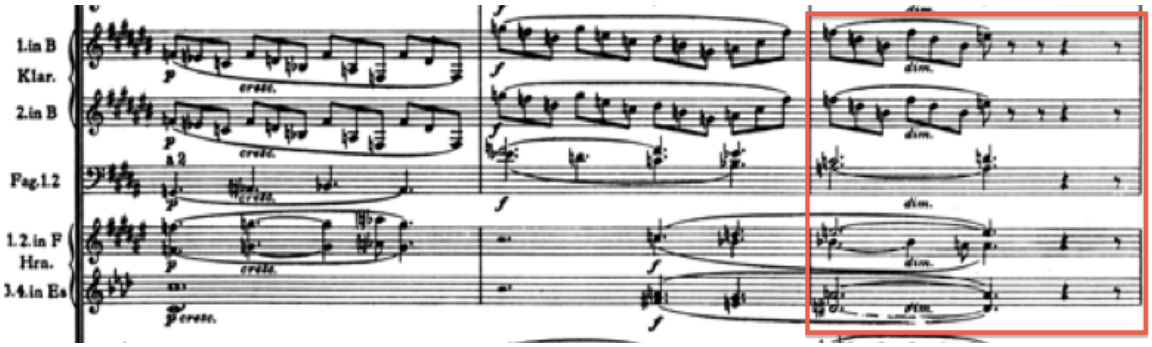


Fig. 7 – (b) Haas edition, measure 177



There is also a point during the movement in which both Bruckner scores reflect the same dynamic marking but Haas elects to omit this marking. At letter B measure 44 (Haas edition), Haas has no dynamic marking in the violin 1 part. The same cannot be said of either of Bruckner's versions, both of which have a *cresc.* in that part during this measure. Haas's reasoning for leaving out the *cresc.* remains unclear.

When faced with the choice between the dynamics of the 1872 and 1877 versions, Haas clearly preferred those of the 1872 version. However, he added a staggering amount of his own dynamics, some of which were not marked as editor's notes. Although some

logical reasoning was used in Haas's choices between the two existing scores, his additions to the piece, particularly those without parentheses, remain inexcusable.

Pitch

Anton Bruckner and Robert Haas both made alterations to pitch in several sections within the second movement of the symphony. Although there are instances in which all pitches within a part are different due to entirely different material, this section is purely dedicated to places in which the overall musical matter is the same, and only one note has been altered in one version or another.

There are seven total instances within this movement in which such note alterations occur. Similar to the dynamic alterations, Haas's pitch choices occur in accordance to the overall formal organization of his edition of the symphony. For the entire first half of the piece, from the beginning until letter I, Haas never chooses the 1877 version. This section finds all three instances of the 1872 version showing up in Haas's edition. There are two total instances in which he chooses the 1877 version, and both occur in the second half of the movement, after letter I. Although the ratio of uses of the 1872 version to the 1877 version is very close (3:2), at least these choices coincide with the overall formal choices of Haas's edition.

At measure 130 (Haas edition), during letter I, Haas is faced with quite a dilemma in the oboe part. In the original version, Bruckner wrote the note in this measure as a B-natural, then changed it to a Cb throughout the entire measure. The evidence presented for this conclusion is found in the utensils used for writing the notes. Bruckner's original markings are all in ink, while some of his corrections are written in pencil. The B-

naturals are all written in ink, and the amended Cbs are in pencil. Figure 8 shows the corrections made to the oboe part in this measure.

Fig. 8 – 1872 version, measure 131, oboe

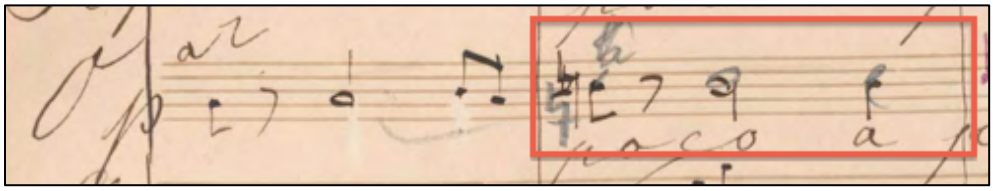


Fig. 8 – original markings transcribed

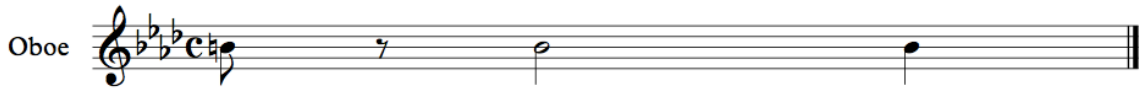
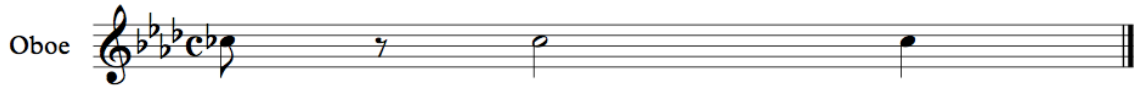


Fig. 8 – editorial markings transcribed



In the 1877 version, Bruckner rescinds his Cb alteration, and uses the original B-natural. Haas, however, chooses to adhere to Bruckner's final decision in the earliest version, using the Cb. Perhaps he felt that this notation reflected Bruckner's true intention for the note, and the B-natural was maintained in the 1877 version due to Herbeck's influence.

Some of Haas's choices hold less legitimacy than this one. There are two instances in the movement in which he writes a note differently than either of Bruckner's two versions. One such example occurs at measure 161 (Haas edition), letter L. This section of music is completely omitted in the 1872 version, but Haas decides to include it in his edition. For the first two beats of this measure, horns 3 and 4 play in unison. Since

there is only one part for Haas to choose from, it would only make sense if he wrote the same note as Bruckner had in the 1877 version: Db. However, Haas raises this note a whole step, to be an Eb. (See Figure 9). This alters the chord function from a secondary dominant to a German augmented sixth chord.

Fig. 9 – (a) 1877 version, measure 139

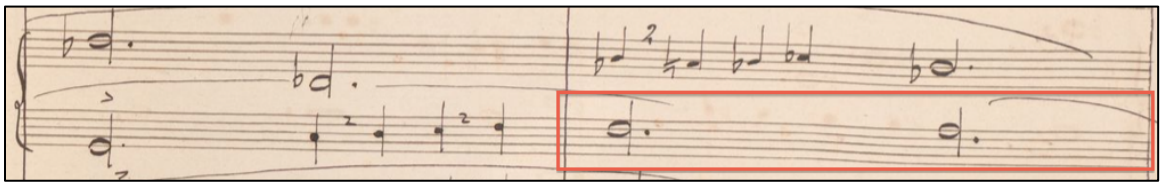
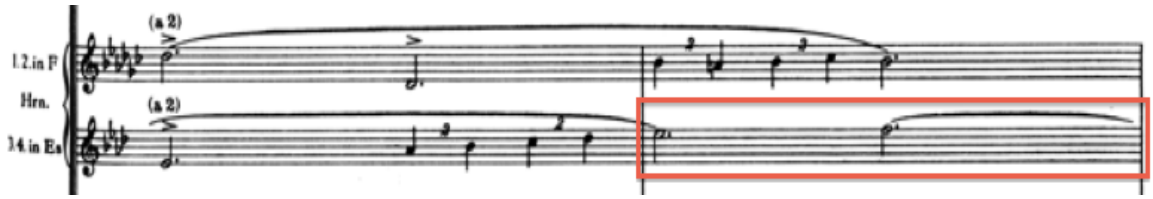


Fig. 9 – (b) Haas edition, measure 161



One final noteworthy example of Haas's editorial choices occurs at letter A measure 28 (Haas edition) in the flute parts. In the original version, Bruckner has only one flute part, and during this measure, it has a quarter note A_4. By 1877, Bruckner added a flute 2 part. Even so, in this version, the second flute has a whole rest during this measure, and the flute 1 plays a quarter note A_5. Rather than choosing the 1872 version, as was somewhat typical in the first half of Haas's edition, he combined the two versions, giving flute 1 an A_5 and flute 2 an A_4. Bruckner's decision to only use one flute part, even in the later version, signifies his desire to have a relatively light texture during this

measure. Although it may appear that Haas is honoring both of Bruckner's versions by putting them in his edition, closer reflection reveals that this did not truly show respect for Bruckner's wishes.

Articulation

Whereas Haas's dynamic choices seem to stem mostly from his overall musical and formal choices between the two versions, his choices of articulations are more difficult to explain. When Haas uses an articulation from either the 1872 or 1877 version, he chooses the 1872 articulation 9 times throughout the movement, and the 1877 articulation 12 times throughout the movement. The difference between the two versions is much less than it was dynamically. When he used an existing articulation, Haas chose the 1872 articulations about 43% of the time, and the 1877 articulations about 57% of the time. Roughly, he used each score about half of the time, without showing a clear preference to either version.

Haas's articulation choices do not follow his formal choices. The opening section, from the beginning until letter F, does not primarily reflect the 1872 version in articulation as it does in dynamics. In fact, six of the articulations are from the 1872 version and six are from the 1877 version. The ending section, from K to the end, has the same ratio in articulation choices as it does in dynamics. Eight dynamics are from the 1877 version and six are from the 1872 version, as compared to four articulations from the 1877 version and three from the 1872 version. Even though these create the same ratio, there is only one more articulation from 1877 than from 1872, which is a very small

difference. Overall, it appears that, for matters of articulation, Haas gives no preference to either of Bruckner's earlier versions.

Compared to Haas's choices to use the articulations from Bruckner's earlier versions, he creates his own articulations a total of twenty-four times, with only two articulations in parentheses. Hence, there are a total of twenty-two articulations in this movement that Haas added by himself without explicitly marking them as his own. This falsely leads the reader to believe that these markings are there according to Bruckner's intentions, which is clearly not the case.

Most of the articulations that Haas adds to his score are either accents or slurs. There is one case in which the variation occurs with a pizzicato and another in which it deals with an *arco* marking. During the first measure of letter B, the 1872 version and the Haas edition have a *sempre pizz.* marking, while in the 1877 version, it is only marked *pizz*. At letter G measure 115 (Haas edition), an *arco* marking is found in both the 1872 and 1938 versions, but not in the 1877 version. Haas also adds a tie in the horn 2 part from beat one to two at letter N measure 177 (Haas edition) that does not exist in either of the other scores.

The two markings that he puts in parentheses are both slurs. During letter I at measure 132 (Haas edition), Haas does something unusual in the horn part. Horn I plays two quarter notes on beats two and three in this measure, which Haas marks with accents in parentheses. This is strange because Bruckner added these accents in the 1877 version. This is the only instance within the entire movement in which Haas puts a marking from one of Bruckner's versions in parentheses. It also gives the impression that the accents

are Haas's editorial marking, even though this is clearly incorrect. Figure 10 shows all three versions/editions at this measure.

Fig. 10 – (a) 1872 version, measure 133

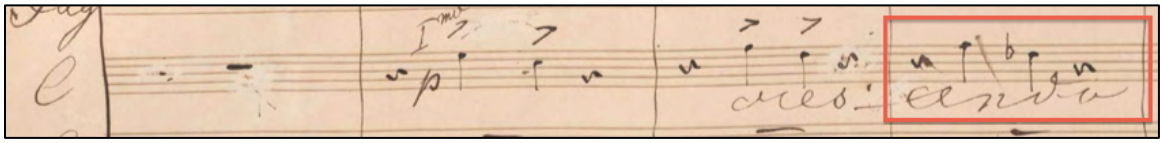


Fig. 10 – (b) 1877 version, measure 110

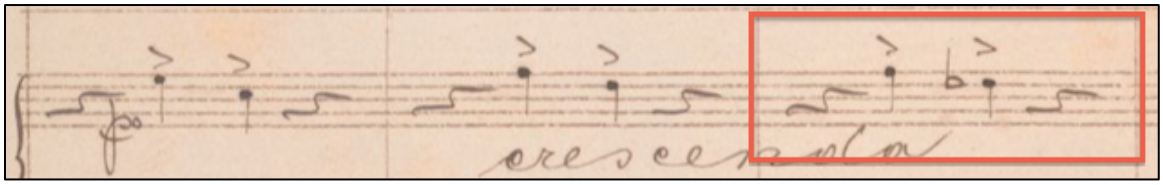
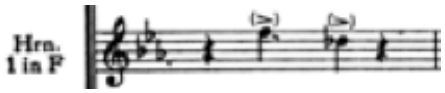


Fig. 10 – (c) Haas edition, measure 132



Haas's sporadic articulation choices support the conclusion that he did not base his edition of the symphony on strictly one of Bruckner's earlier versions.

Instrumentation

For the most part, the instrumentation between the two versions and one edition of the Second Symphony is exactly the same. A few discrepancies can be found, most of which involve the omission of a particular instrument within a brief section of music,

while one encompasses differing instrumentation between the versions of a solo towards the end of the movement. The 1872 version contains all of the parts that were later taken out in the 1877 version; only one of these parts was retained in the 1938 edition.

There are two instances within the movement in which a bassoon part appears in the 1872 version, but that was removed from the 1877 version. The first instance is at letter H measure 126 (1872 version), and the second is at letter K measures 152–53 (1872 version). The latter bassoon part consists of two voices, both of which are independent from the other instrumental parts during these two measures. However, Bruckner must have chosen (or been convinced) to remove the part, because it does not occur in the 1877 version. Likewise, Haas does not bring it back in his edition, so it remains forever confined to the original autograph score.

Haas does include the bassoon part from letter H measure 126 (1872 version) in his edition. The reasoning for this inclusion is valid upon analysis of the 1877 score. In this version, the bassoon part is absent during this measure; Bruckner simply notated a whole rest. However, the rest of the bassoon part, from letter H measures 127–29 (1872 version) is included in the 1877 score (letter H measures 100–02, 1877 version). There is a slur between letter H measures 126 to 127 in the original and 1938 scores. In Bruckner's 1877 score, letter H measure 99 (which coincides with measure 126 in the 1872 version) is the last measure on one page, and measure 100 is the first measure on the next page. The Ab that begins measure 100 has a slur marking attached to it, implying that the Ab is slurred to the previous measure (see Fig. 11). Therefore, is it reasonable to conclude that Bruckner simply made a transcription error in his second version by not including measure 126 (1872 version). It seems likely that this was just a simple mistake.

Fig. 11 – 1877 version, measures 100–02

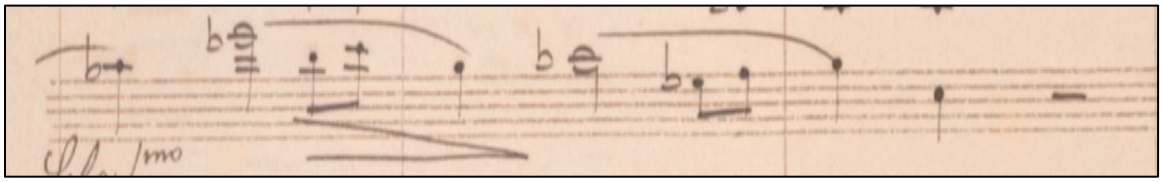
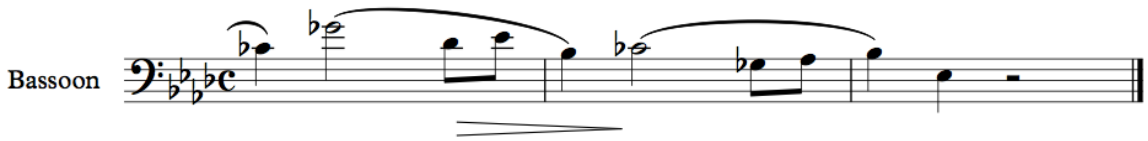


Fig. 11 transcribed



There is one more instance in which the bassoon part plays a role in the development of the piece, although it may bear less significance than the other previously mentioned occurrences. Bruckner originally wrote a bassoon part at letter M measure 167 (1872 version), but crossed it out. Although Haas will utilize a crossed out section of music from one of the autograph scores later in the piece, in this case, he does not use this measure in his edition. Bruckner also does not rewrite it in the 1877 version, and it remains deleted from the score forever.

From letter K to partway through letter M, a violin solo is present only in Bruckner's 1872 version (specifically, measures 150 to 169). Herbeck actually instigated the composition of the solo, which is why it appears as an afterthought, since it is written in the timpani line, at times moving to the trombone line. It is notated over the whole rests that originally appeared in these parts. The first half of the solo is written in ink, but from measures 161 to 169 it is written in pencil, signifying that Bruckner may not have composed the entire solo all at once. Figure 12 provides the beginning of the violin solo in the autograph score. The solo was removed in the 1877 version.

Fig. 12 – 1872 version, measures 150–52, violin solo

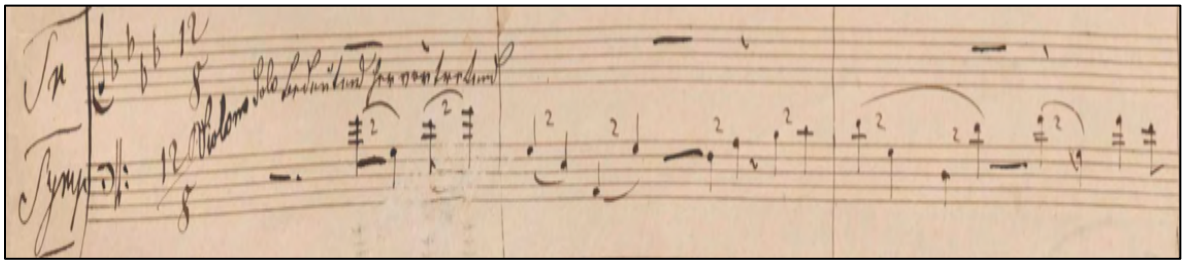
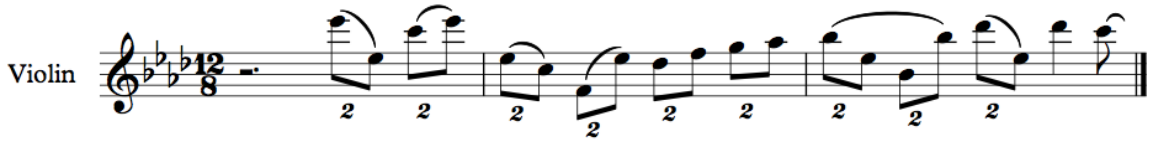


Fig. 12 transcribed



The final alteration within the instrumentation between versions of the second movement occurs at the very end, in the final solo of the piece. Specifically, it can be found from letter O measures 203 to 209 in the original 1872 version. Bruckner initially wrote this as a horn solo, but was forced to make a drastic change when the principal horn player in the Vienna Philharmonic could not perform the solo well.[114] It features several leaps from the horn's G_4 down to B_5 and back again, making this quite a challenging solo in terms of range. Since the horn player could not perform the part, Bruckner crossed the solo out in the score and rewrote it as a clarinet solo doubled by the violas.

When the symphony was copied and edited in 1877, Bruckner kept the clarinet solo. We cannot be certain of his reasoning for this decision or whether or not it was influenced by Herbeck. Either way, in Haas's amalgamated edition, he chose to honor Bruckner's original intentions, and brought back the horn solo. Proponents of Haas's

[114] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 81.

decision argue that, had it not been for the incompetent horn player at the premier performance, Bruckner would have never changed the part. Haas was simply channeling Bruckner's original wishes in his edition. This alteration of instrumentation is supported by some logical reasoning, although the composer could have certainly given the solo back to the horn in the 1877 version if that was his true desire.

Fig. 13 – 1872 version, measures 203–04, horn solo crossed out, clarinet solo added

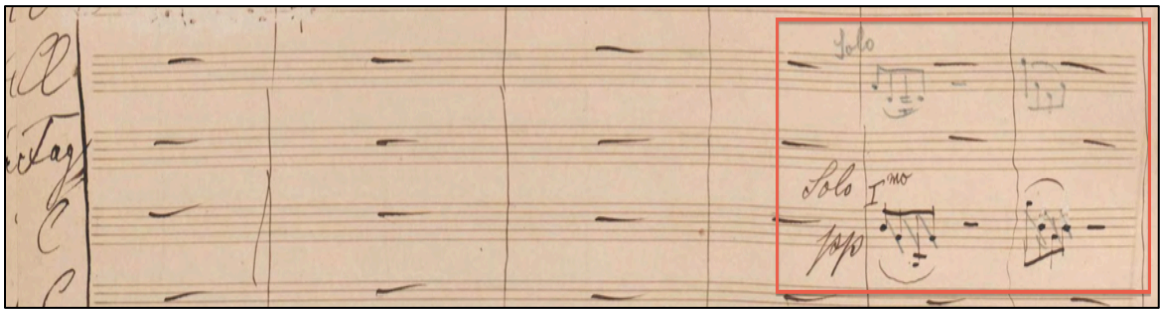
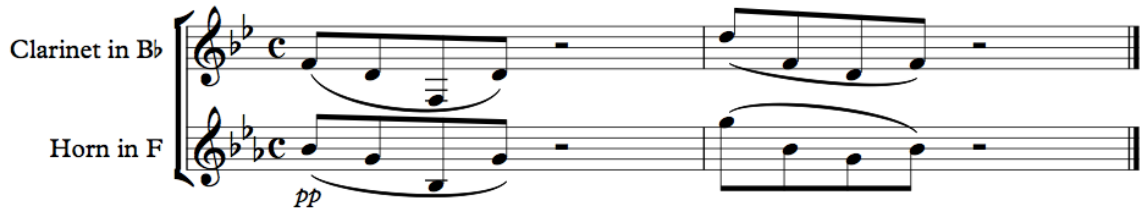


Fig. 13 transcribed



All of the significant instrumentational changes consist of parts either being added to the music or taken out of it. Although only a few instruments were affected (bassoon, violin, horn, clarinet, and viola), the addition or subtraction of a part to a piece of music can have a huge impact on the piece itself. The historical premise behind some of the alterations were fundamental in Haas's preparation of his edition, although whether or not he used this information correctly is still a source of debate.

Form

A large portion of Bruckner's contemporaries felt that his early music, including Symphony No. 2, was disjunct and formless.[115] Truly, Bruckner's music is often characterized by many silences and pauses, leaving the works with a feeling of disconnection. According to Margaret Notley, this disjunction is just part of the drama, not the form of the pieces.[116] Throughout the second movement of the Second Symphony, Bruckner utilizes silences such as these. They appear between each thematic section as an indicator for musical change.

The overall form of the Adagio movement is debatable. Notley suggests that all of Bruckner's Adagios are strophic sonata form,[117] while William Carragan believes it is five-part rondo.[118] Although an argument can be made for both formal structures, I am more convinced that the Adagio is a five-part rondo, as shown in the following figure.

Fig. 14 – Symphony No. 2, II. Andante formal chart

Letter names

Beg.	B	D/E	G	K	
A	B	A	B	A	

Formal sections

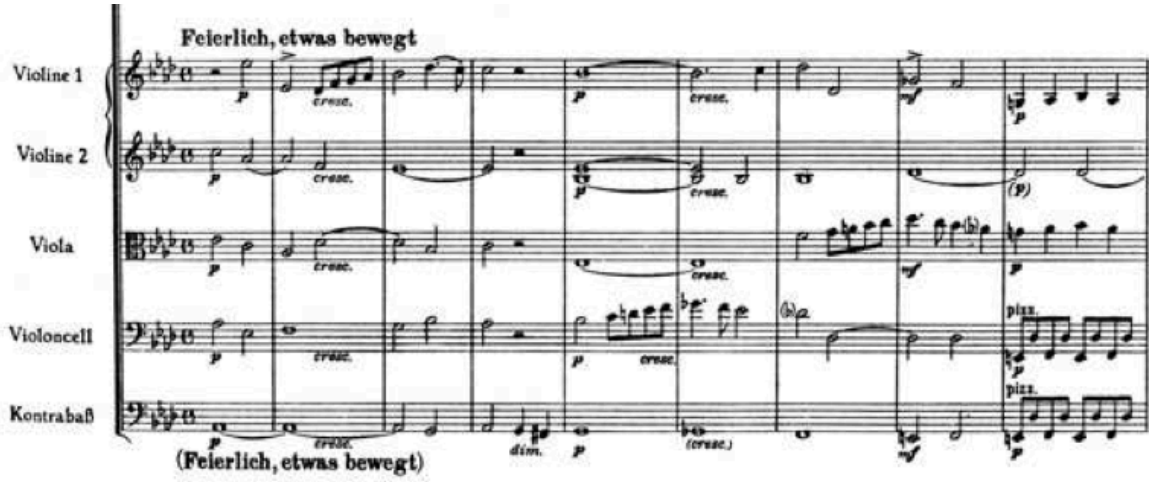
The formal chart in Figure 14 demonstrates that the rondo conforms to an ABABA form. The theme groups are clearly defined by motive, particularly at the

[115] Benjamin Korstvedt, "Between Formlessness and Formality: Aspects of Bruckner's Approach to Symphonic Form," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, edited by John Williamson, 170-89, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 170.
[116] Notley, "Bruckner Problems, In Perpetuity," 85.
[117] Ibid., 89.
[118] Carragan, "The Early Version of the Second Symphony," 69.

beginning of each section. As each group, and the movement in general, progresses forward, each theme group is developed further.[119] For example, the final statement of the A theme at letter K is in compound meter (12/8), while the rest of the piece is in simple meter (common time). Throughout each section, motives from the themes remain ever present, but the rest of the music evolves.

A half note followed by eighth notes characterizes the A theme. It often begins in the violin 1 part, and moves throughout other string and woodwind parts during each of its appearances. An example can be found at the beginning of this movement since it does not have an introduction (see Fig. 15).

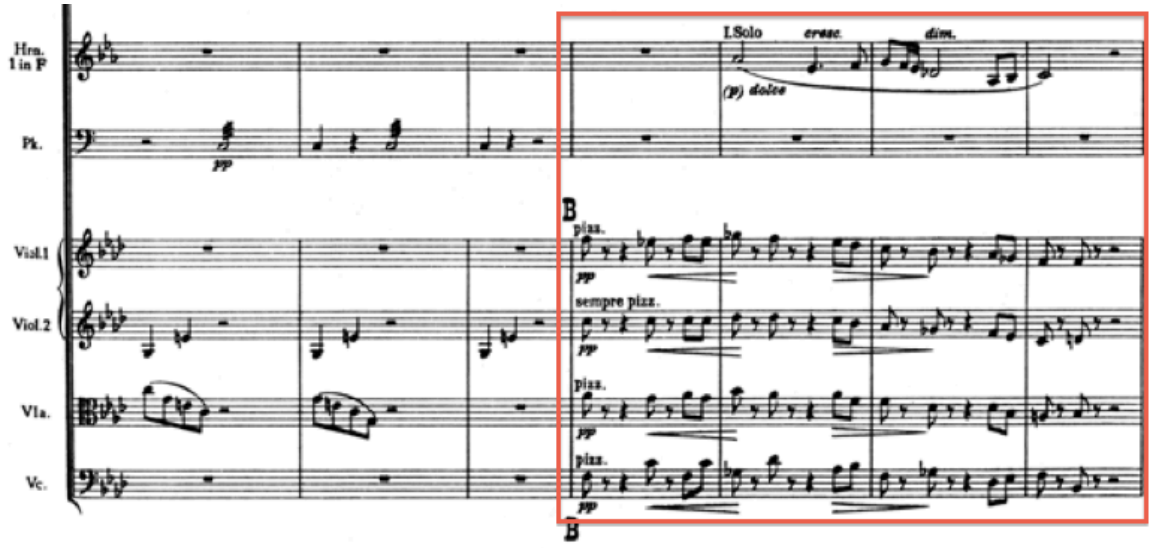
Fig. 15 – Haas edition, measures 1–9



In contrast, the B theme always has a horn solo accompanied by pizzicato strings. Upon development, the texture is thickened with more instrumentation. An example of the B theme follows in Figure 16.

[119] Korstvedt, "Between Formlessness and Formality: Aspects of Bruckner's Approach to Symphonic Form," 187.

Fig. 16 – Haas edition, measures 34–37



The formal chart in Figure 14 indicates that the second iteration of the A theme occurs during letter "D/E". This is because, depending on the version, this material occurs during different sections. In the 1872 version and the Haas edition, the material occurs at letter E, but in the 1877 version the same material is at D. The C and D sections found in the original version were cut out of the 1877 version. They contain further development upon the B theme. Haas chose to include these sections in his edition, but marked them as "(vi-)" "(-de)" to indicate that they could be cut out of a performance. The lack of consistency between the versions continues until letter F, in which all three are once again aligned in the same place with the same musical material.

There are a few other places in which music from the 1872 version is omitted from the 1877 version (and vice versa), although each is only one measure in length. One instance can be found during letter A, and three more during letter O. (See Appendix B for details.) The single measure omissions from the 1872 version regularize the

periodicity of the phrases.[120] The measure omitted from the 1872 version during letter A is just a continuation of the chord in the previous measure. Haas chooses to utilize the 1877 version for this first omission, but his alterations coincide with the 1872 version for the other three measure omissions.

Another significant alteration lies within the musical material itself. Within sections K, L, M, and N, there exist large sections of music in which the 1877 version has completely different material from the 1872 version in certain instrumental parts. These revisions do not alter the overall formal structure because the thematic and motivic material is still present, or at least developed, throughout these sections. Haas always uses the rewritten 1877 material during this section. During section O, there is one more instance in which the material has been rewritten, this time for violin I and viola. In this case, Haas chooses the original material. He also uses the 1872 rhythm in the viola I part during measures 195–96 (Haas edition), which differs from the rhythm in the revised version. This decision making process does not match the one previous mentioned in the "Dynamics" section, in which Haas made most of his decisions according to the 1872 version in the first half of the movement, and most of his decisions for the second half according to the 1877 version. Again, Haas illustrates a lack of scientific process in his editorial process.

See Figure 17 for an example of the musical changes. The flute, bassoon, horn, and viola parts are all completely different for these four measures. The Haas edition is the same as the 1877 version.

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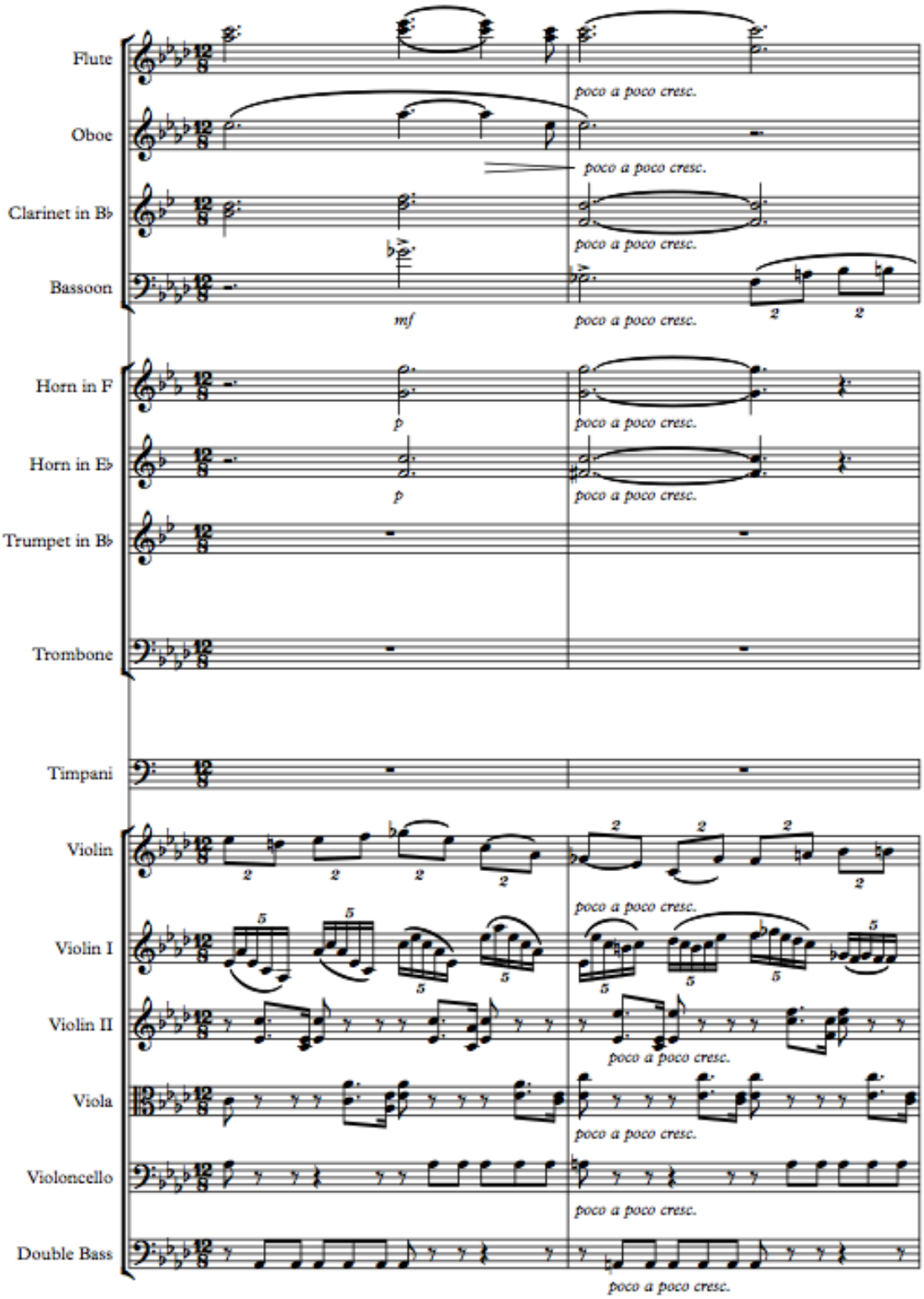
[120] Gault, *The New Bruckner: Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision*, 65.

Fig. 17 – (a) 1872 version, measures 154–57



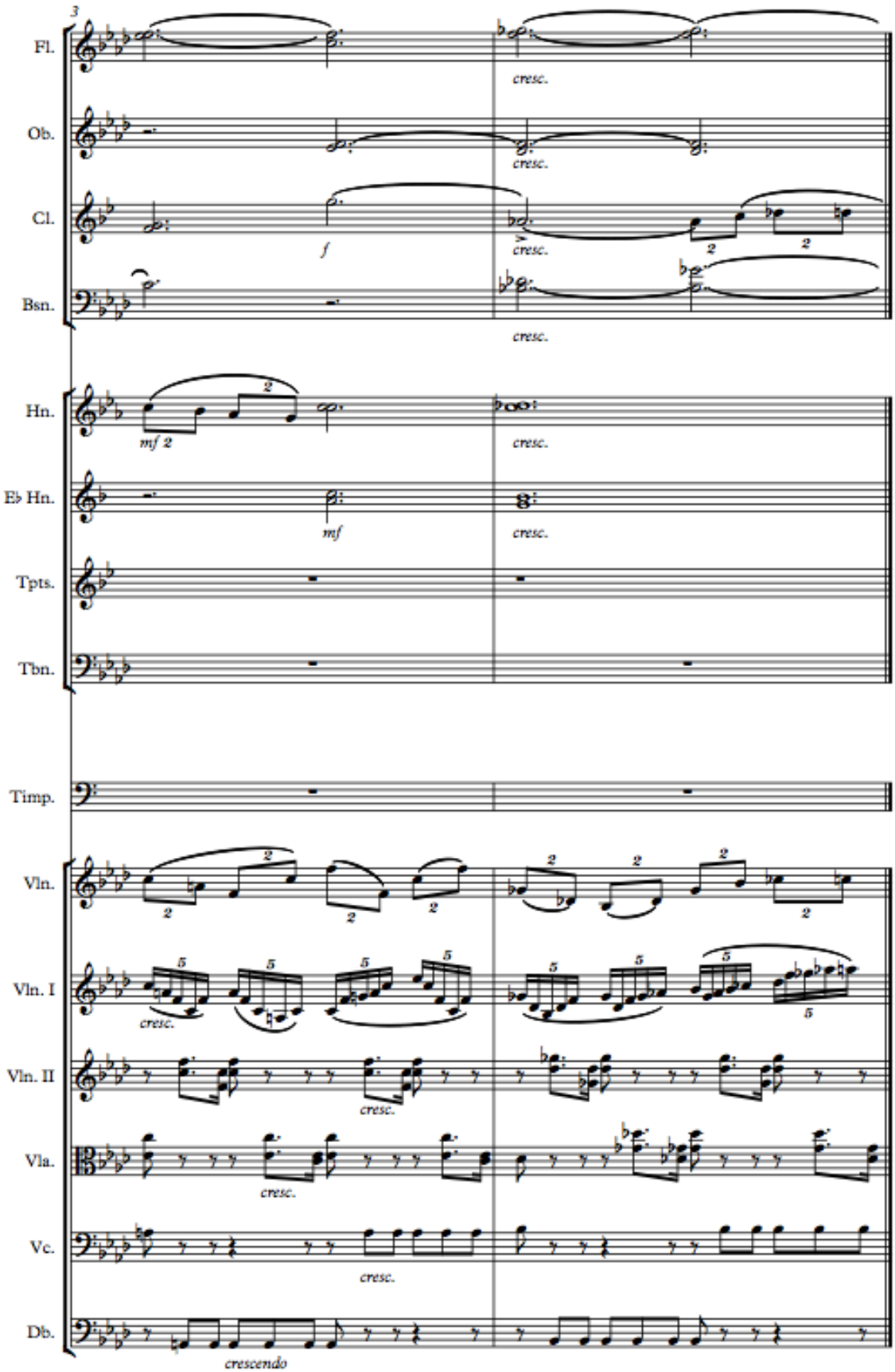
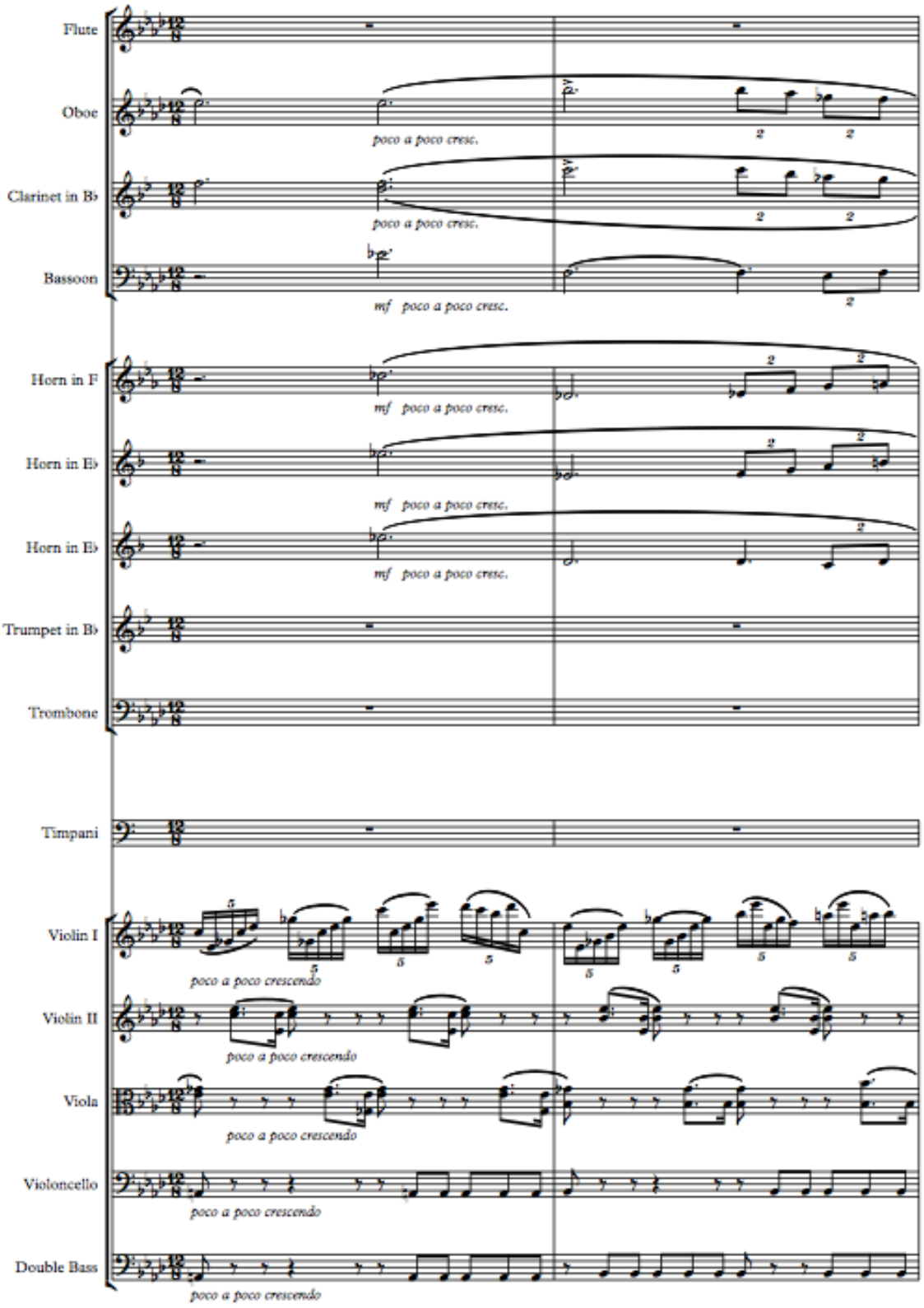
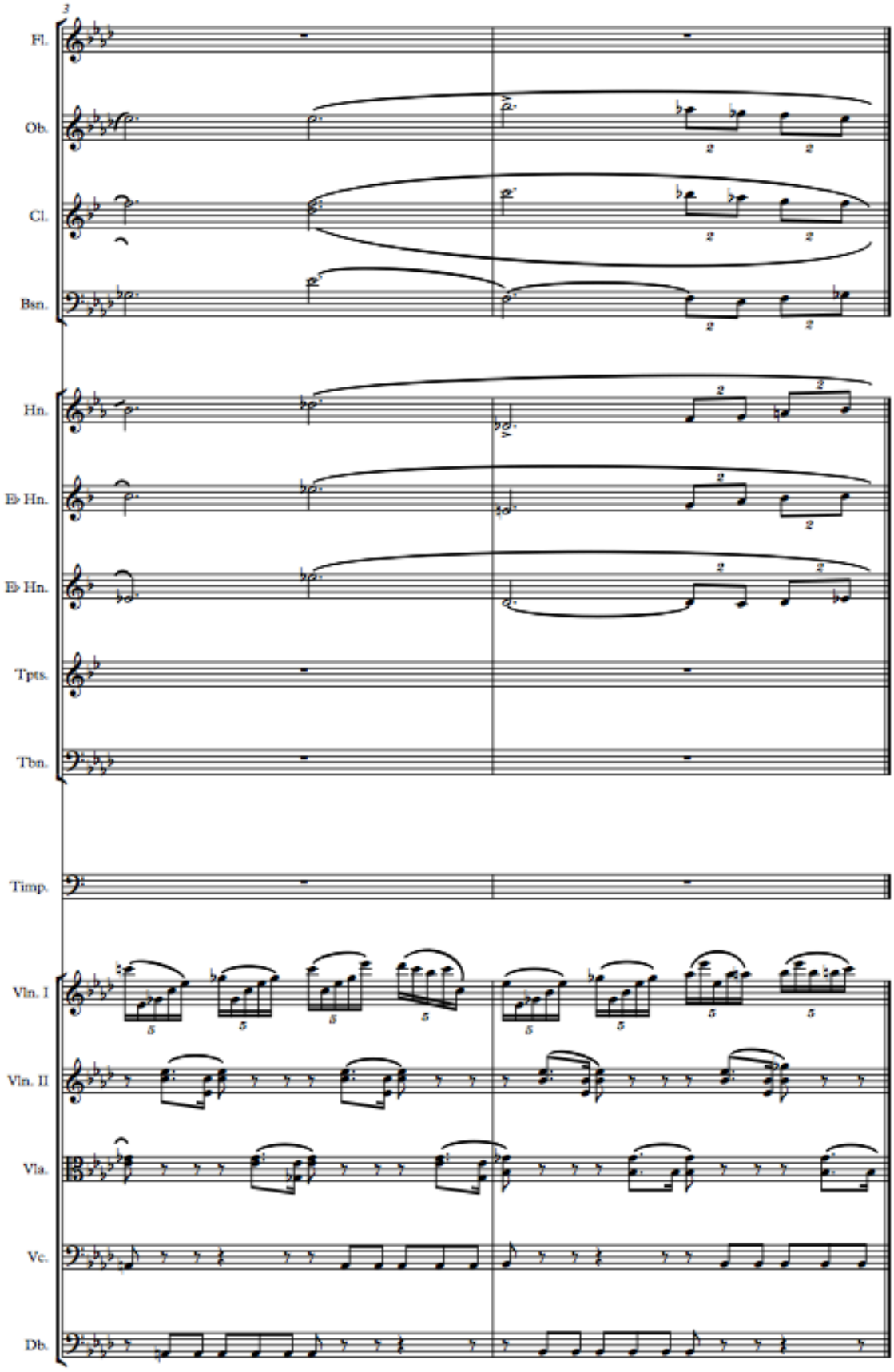

3
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Bsn.
Hn.
E♭ Hn.
Tpts.
Tbn.
Timp.
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Db.
cresc.
f
mf 2
mf
crescendo

Fig. 17 – (b) 1877 version, measures 131–34




3
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Bsn.
Hn.
E♭ Hn.
E♭ Hn.
Tpts.
Tbn.
Timp.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Db.

Quotation from Bruckner's F Minor Mass

There are only a few sections within the movement that do not reflect the thematic material presented in either the A theme or B theme. Margaret Notley correctly suggests that these sections in Figure 18 consist of quotations from a portion of Bruckner's F Minor Mass, WAB 28. Sacred topoi can be found in all of Bruckner's symphonies except No. 1, perhaps because he was not writing other sacred music anymore at this point.[121] In fact, some scholars suggest that the symphonies are simply "masses in disguise," rather than the total abandonment of the genre that Nazi musicologists would have us believe.[122] The quotations are kept in all three versions, with the exception that the pickup note in letter O measure 180 (Haas edition) is left out in the 1877 version.

Fig. 18 – (a) Bruckner's F Minor Mass, "Benedictus," measures 97–99

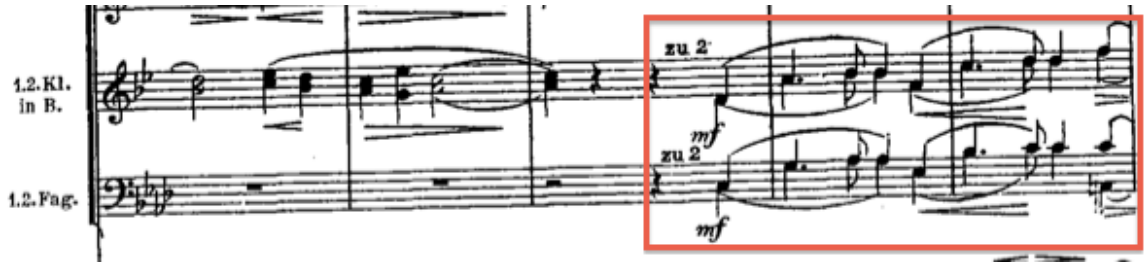
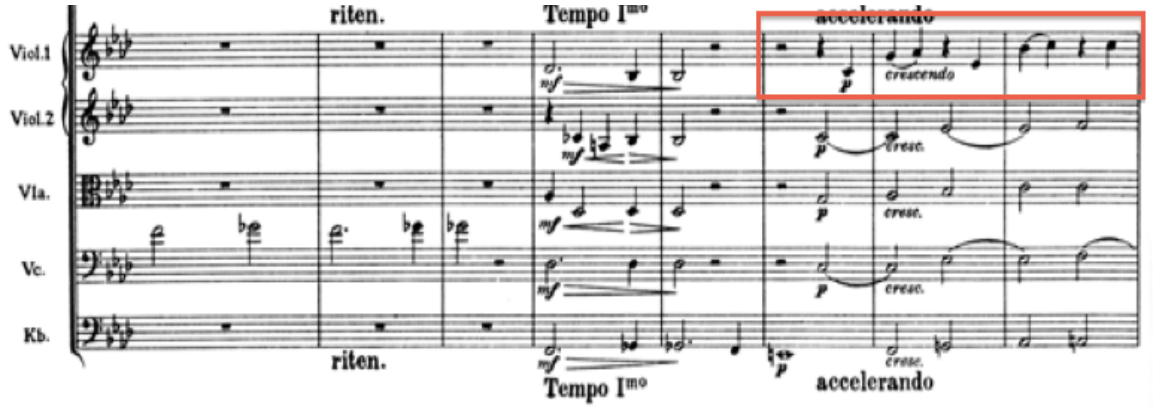
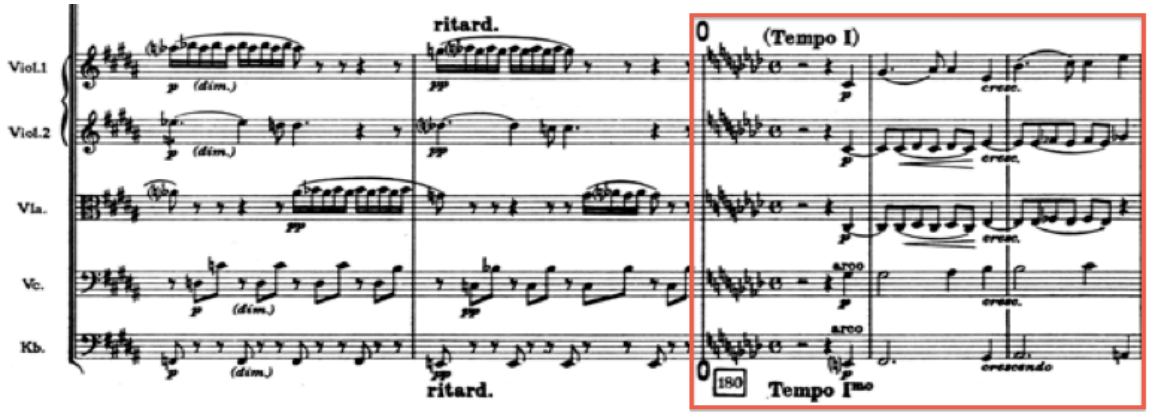


Fig. 18 – (b) Haas edition, measures 137–39



[121] Notley, "Bruckner Problems, In Perpetuity," 83.
[122] Ibid., 82-83.

Fig. 18 – (c) Haas edition, measures 180–82



Other Editions

Although this paper focuses upon three versions of Bruckner's Second Symphony (the 1872 version, 1877 version, and 1938 version) there exist four other versions that deserve mention. Bruckner created one more edition himself in 1892, often referred to as the first edition. In the 1890's, his publishers involved him less frequently than ever, and some of his students, such as the Schalk brothers and Ferdinand Löwe, revised his music without his knowledge.[123] Due to this meddling, Haas did not consider this version in his work with his own edition, which is why it was not previously mentioned in this paper.

The 1892 edition is the only edition to be based primarily upon the 1877 version. This edition has the same formal structure as the 1877, including the same letter names in the same places from B to E as the 1877 version, and omits the material at letters C and D in the 1872 version. Otherwise, the 1892 version contains several markings not found in either of the first two versions, particularly in dynamics and articulation. No significant

[123] Hawkshaw, "The Bruckner Problem Revisited," 98.

additions or omissions to the score can be found in the 1892 version when compared with the earlier versions, unlike the later editions.

Leopold Nowak replaced Robert Haas as the editor of Bruckner's music for the International Bruckner Society in 1965. Unlike Haas, Nowak attempted a more scientific approach to the problem of the multiple versions of Bruckner's symphonies. Whereas Haas combined the 1872 and 1877 versions, Nowak's solution to this problem was to provide both scores for the conclusion of the piece at letter O. Placing both versions in the score allows the conductor to choose which version he prefers and legitimizes both versions. Nowak's solution is not perfect, but it is more authentic than the combination proffered by Haas.

Unfortunately, Nowak only used this method at the very end of the piece. The rest of his markings are nearly the same as Haas's, giving his edition little credibility over that of his predecessor. There are several instances in which all three versions are different than Haas's, such as at letter I measure 140 (Haas edition). On beat three, Haas writes a D just like in the 1872 version, but all of the other versions follow the 1877 version with a Bb. At this point in the piece, most of the musical material in Haas's edition (as well as the others) follows that of the 1877 version, so use of a note from 1872 is inconsistent. The other versions correct this inconsistency, including Nowak.

William Carragan created the two most recent editions of the symphony. Published in 2005 and 2007, these editions are considered the seminal work of all of the versions of Symphony No. 2.[124] Carragan constructed two separate scores of the symphony: one based on the 1872 version, and the other based on the 1877 version. The

[124] Horton, "Recent Developments in Bruckner Scholarship," 85.

1872 edition is a first-concept version, based primarily upon the parts found at St. Florian, with the original 1872 score as a guide. The parts contain the revisions for the 1873 performance, including reordered movements and the addition of a violin solo towards the end of the Adagio movement. Likewise, Carragan's 1877 version is also based on parts found at St. Florian, along with the 1877 score. It corrects certain errors found in the Haas and Nowak editions due to sloppy copying. Both editions represent the individual versions at the time of performance, perhaps embodying most clearly Bruckner's ultimate intentions for them since they were created so close to actual performance. Carragan's insights and use of both autograph scores and parts explains why his editions are considered seminal work in the field of Bruckner revisionism.

Conclusion

As a result of the evidence presented during this chapter, it is clear that Haas's editorial process was riddled with error. Although some of his choices can be justified, others are totally unacceptable, especially the addition of his own ideas into Bruckner's music. The differences between the 1872 version and the 1877 version are such that, to make a single conglomerate edition combining the two, one would have to make some drastic decisions. Nowak tried to solve this issue by presenting the final thirty-two measures of each version at the end of his score, thus allowing the conductor to choose one ending over the other. Carragan solves the problem by keeping the two versions separate and maintaining the integrity of each version. By comparison with Carragan's editorial methods, Haas's approach remains inferior, as illustrated by the analysis of Symphony No. 2, Movement II. *Adagio 2. Satz Andante.*

POSTLUDE

The reception of Anton Bruckner's Second Symphony continues to be problematic for both political and musical reasons. Following Joseph Goebbels's speech in Regensburg in the late 1930's, Bruckner's name became synonymous with Nazi symbolism.[125] Goebbels's portrayal of Bruckner as a man with peasant-like origins, a martyr under Jewish music criticism, and a man who exchanged his Catholic piety for devotion to Richard Wagner and all that he stood for made him the ideal candidate to be a composer representative of the Nazi party.[126] During his life, Bruckner was involved with the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein* (Vienna Academic Wagner Society), a group notorious for its anti-Semitism.[127] This, along with a statement by Josef Schalk exaggerating Bruckner's adoration of Wagner, make it possible that he unintentionally set the stage for his appropriation almost thirty years after his death.

Manipulation of Bruckner's biographical information was no daunting task due to the lack of existing information at the time, as well as the fact that he was no longer alive and able to refute any incorrect claims.[128] These circumstances also made it easier for Robert Haas to edit Bruckner's symphonies without any protestation. Haas's editorial method, as exemplified in Chapter 2, was anything but scientific. His combination of the

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[125] "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg," Translated by John Michael Cooper, *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 606.
[126] Ibid., 606–07.
[127] Andrea Harrandt, "Bruckner in Vienna." in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, edited by John Williamson, 26-38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 29.
[128] Bryan Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," *The Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 591.

1872 and 1877 versions in what can only be called a haphazard way discredits his edition of the symphony. Although the influence of Bruckner's colleague, Johann Herbeck, on the 1877 version complicates issues of authenticity between versions, the appropriation of Bruckner's biography and subsequent altering of his symphonies is inexcusable.

Following this Postlude is an Appendix divided into two sections, each of which contains all alterations and differences between the 1872 version, the 1877 version, and the Haas edition of the first two movements of the Second Symphony. Each difference is written into a corresponding portion of the chart. Blank spaces represent the absence of a marking.[129] This Appendix is meant to be a tool for scholars, be it for analysis or a deciding factor for which version or edition to use in performance.

The work done on the Second Symphony can be replicated in the rest of the movements of this symphony; in fact, it can be replicated on all of Bruckner's symphonies. Bruckner's revisionist tendencies are present in all of his symphonies, excluding the Sixth and the Seventh. In addition, all nine symphonies are available in multiple editions. Haas made his own edition for every symphony but the Third, which was revised by Alfred Orel.[130] A comparative analysis between versions and editions is imperative in order to find discrepancies and proclaim validation.

The practical use of this information can result in informed readings of these symphonies, as well as to facilitate the creation of newer, more authentic editions. For example, if one consults my chart in the Appendix and discovers that the Haas edition is

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[129] For example, in measures two to three in the viola part in the second movement, the 1872 version and the Haas version both have a *cresc.* marking, while the 1877 version has no marking.

[130] Morten Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," *The Musical Quarterly* 82:2 (1998): 367.

the only edition or version in which the horn 4 part has an accent on beat two in measure twelve, he or she can apply that knowledge during the performance, and preferably leave the accent out. William Carragan's work on the Second Symphony proves the importance of the utilization of all possible scores and parts in order to create the most comprehensive, historically accurate scores. Analysis of differences between versions and editions such as mine can be put to use to help solve the "Bruckner problem" of score authenticity.[131] Although we may never discover the ultimately true versions of Bruckner's symphonies, we are called upon as scholars to differentiate correct from incorrect editorial markings and cuts, both for future performances and for the memory of the composer himself, Anton Bruckner.

[131] Deryck Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified. 1: Sorting Out the Confusion," *The Musical Times* 110:1511 (1969): 20.

Appendix A

Symphony No. 2, I. Ziemlich Schnell

Measure Numbers	**Instrument**	**1872 (A)**	**1877 (B)**	**1938 (C)**
Title		*Ziemlich Schnell*	I. *Satz*	I. *Satz*
Tempo Marking		*Ziemlich Schnell*	*Moderato*	*Ziemlich Schnell*
8	cello	*decresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* hairpin
10	cello	accent beat 2	no accent	accent beat 2
12	flute	a2		
12–13	violins viola cello	*poco a poco* begins mm. 13	*poco a poco* begins mm. 12 beat 3	*poco a poco* cresc. begins mm. 12 beat 3
12–13	clarinet cornet		*legato*	
A				
1	violin 2 viola	*p*		*p*
2	bass		*mf*	*mf*
2	cello		*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* hairpin
2	viola	*cresc.* hairpin		
4	cello	eighth notes beat 3	dotted eighth-sixteenth beat 3	eighth notes beat 3
7	clarinet 1	second eighth note: F5 on beat 4	second eighth note: D4 on beat 4	second eighth note F5 on beat 4
8–9	clarinet bassoon	*pp* crossed out - both	*pp* only clarinet	*pp* mm 8 - both
9	violins viola cello bass	*cresc.* violin 2, viola,cello, bass	*crescendo* violin 1	*cresc.* all
11	flute oboe clarinet, bassoon horn			*cresc.*
15–18	trumpet	same material	same material	different material
25–26	oboe	tie beats 4–1	no tie	tie beats 4–1

28–29	horn 1	tie beats 1–1	slur mm 28 beat 1 to mm 29 beat 4	tie beats 1–1
B				
2	violin 2	slur beats 1–4	staccato beat 1 slur beats 2–4	staccato beat 1, slur beats 2–4
8	viola	D# beat 3	D-natural beat 3	D-natural beat 3
9–10	cello			*(decresc.)*
11	cello			*(mf)*
12	viola			*(p)*
14	violin 1			*(rubato)*
19	bass			*(p)*
21	cello			*(p)*
21–22	oboe	slur beat 2–1	slur mm 21 beat 2–4	slur beats 3–1
22	viola	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
22	cello bass			*(cresc.)*
28	violin 1			*(p)*
28	viola bass			*cresc.*
28–29	violin 1&2	violin 1: *cresc.* Mm 29 violin 2: *cresc.* Mm 28	*cresc.* mm 29	*cresc.* mm 28
30	bass	quarter note C-flat	half note C-flat	quarter note C-flat
31–32	violins viola bass			*(f)*
C				
10	oboe viola bass	*cresc.* oboe and viola		*cresc.*
12	flute oboe clarinet horn			*f*
12	violins viola cello bass			*(f)*
20	horn 3&4	*p*	*pp*	*p*

21	flutes	tie beats 2–3		tie beats 2–3
21–22	clarinets			tie beats 3–1
22	bassoon			slur beats 1–3
23	flutes		slur beat 2–4	(slur beats 2–4)
23–25	bassoon			(slur beats 1–3)
25	cello bass	B-natural second half of beat 4	B-flat second half of beat 4	B-natural second half of beat 4
26–39	bassoon			(slur beat 2-3, 4-1; accent beats 1 and 3)
D				
8–10	viola			(slur beats 2–3, accent on beat 3)
15	bass	*dim.*		*dim.*
E				
2	violin 2			accent beat 3
4	oboe		accent beat 4	
4–6	horns	slur mm 4–6	slur mm 4–6	slur mm 4–6
5	horn cello			*(cresc.)*
5–7	viola	*cresc.* mm 5–6	*crescendo* mm 5	*(cresc.)* mm 7
6	horns	"g"		
6	horns viola cello bass			*(mf)*
7	viola			*(cresc.)*
8	horns viola cello bass			*(f)*
F				
1–5	flute oboe clarinet bassoon			*p*
9	bass			*(pp)*
9	oboe			*cresc.*
13	violins viola cello			*(p)*

14	viola bass	*dim.*		*dim.*
22	horn solo			*(f)*
23	horn solo		accent beat 1	
23	clarinets	*dim.*		*dim.*
23–24	flute 1	*dim.* mm 23	*dim.* mm 24	*dim.* mm 23
G				
3	bass		*pp*	*pp*
8	clarinet	F4 crossed out		
8	flute 2			tie beats 1–3
8–9	viola	*pp* mm 8	*pp* mm 9	*pp* mm 9
10–11	bassoons	N/A	N/A	part exists
13–14	flute 2			*cresc. decresc.* hairpins
	oboe	*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc. decresc.* hairpins	*cresc. decresc.* hairpins
	clarinet		*cresc.*	*cresc. decresc.* hairpins
	trumpet	no solo	no solo	solo exists
17	oboe	accent beat 1		accent beat 1
23	oboe viola			*(p)*
	cello			*p*
	bass	*p*		*p*
29	clarinet 2			*(p)*
	horns	*mf*		*mf*
H				
20–21	horns	tie beats 4–1	tie beats 1–1	tie beats 1–1
21	oboe			*p*
23	oboe	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
23–24	oboe		tie beats 1–1	tie beats 1–1
25	flutes clarinets			*(mf)*
	oboes clarinets bassoon			*cresc.*
26–27	oboe clarinet	tie beats 1–1		tie beats 1–1
I				
4	oboe			(slur beats 1–2)
4–5	flute 2			(slur beats 3–1)

7 (A)			OMITTED	OMITTED
K				
A: 1–7			OMITTED	OMITTED
A: 2 B&C: 1	violin viola	violin 1 & 2: *p* viola: *pp*	all: *pp*	all: *pp*
A: 9–10, 14–15 B&C: 3–6	oboe	doubles flutes		doubles flutes
A: 10 B&C: 4	violins cello bass	*cresc.*		
A: 11–13			OMITTED	OMITTED
A: 11–13			OMITTED	OMITTED
A: 14–15 B&C: 5–6	flute 2	N/A	F5	F6
A: 14–19 B&C: 7–10	strings	*poco a poco cresc.* mm 16–20	*poco a poco cresc.*	mm 5: *cresc. sempre* mm 7: *cresc.*
A: 16 B&C: 7	clarinets	*cresc.* hairpin		*mf cresc.* hairpin
A: 17–18		same flute & oboe, different strings, trumpet, & horn	same flute & oboe, different strings, trumpet, & horn	same flute & oboe, different strings, trumpet, & horn
A: 18–19 B&C: 9–10	flutes oboe	*cresc.* mm 18-19	*cresc.* mm 10	*cresc.* mm 9
L				
1–2	horn solo	tie beats 3–1		tie beats 3–1
2–3	flutes clarinets	I.		I.
9–10	horn solo	*cresc.* mm 9	*cresc.* mm 10	*(mf) cresc.* mm 9
10–11	flutes clarinets	I. clarinet		I.
16	horn bass			(pp)
	clarinets	*pp*	*p*	*pp*
43	all parts		whole rests	(fermata)
A: 44–45		whole rests	OMITTED	OMITTED
M				
1	all parts		*Tempo I*	

7–8	violins viola cello	*cresc.* violins only		*cresc.* hairpin
10–11	cello			accent beat 2
14–15	oboes	tie beat 1–1		tie beats 1–1
16	flutes oboes clarinets horns cello	only oboe *f*		*(f)*
27–28	cello bass		*p* cello only	*p cresc. decresc.* hairpin
28	violin 1			*p*
29–30	cello bass			*cresc. decresc.* hairpins
32	trumpets	*f*	*f*	
	horns	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
42	flute 2	A-flat beat 1	first note: D-flat	first note: A-flat
N				
8	cello			*arco*
9	horn solo			*(p)*
16	cello			*(mf)*
17	horn			*(mf)*
18	horn			(slur beats 1–4)
20-21	horn	slur beats 4–1		slur beats 2–1
22-23	horn			slur beats 1–3
24	violins viola bass			*p*
	cello			*(mf)*
25	violins viola cello bass			*(cresc.)*
35	oboes			*(mf)*
	horns			*cresc.*
37	clarinets			*mf (cresc.)*
O				
10	horns			I. *p*
21	bassoon	*poco a poco cresc.*		*poco a poco cresc.*

	horns trumpet			*cresc.*
22	clarinet		slur beats 2–4	slur beats 2–4
22–23	oboe		slur beats 2–1	slur beats 2–4
23	oboe clarinet		slur beats 2–4	slur beats 2–4
24	oboe clarinet			slur beat 1–2
	horn 2	G#	G-natural	G-natural
	violin 1	A beat 3	B-flat beat 3	B-flat beat 3
24–25	flutes bassoon	slur beat 1–1 bassoon only	slur beats 1–1 flutes only	slur beat 1–1
25–39	bassoon			accent beats 1 and 3
26–38	violin 1			staccato beats 1 and 3, first and second halves of the beat
29	trumpets	B-flat beat 4	B-flat beat 4	B-natural beat 4
32	trumpet	accents beats 1 and 3		accents beat 1 and 3
33–36	trumpet	accents beats 1 and 3		
37–39	timpani			whole note Cs (last measure quarter note) at *ff*
P				
6–7	viola		slurred and staccato beats 2–3	slurred and staccato beats 2–3
13	viola cello bass	*"g"*		
15	flute 2	N/A	first note octave below flute 1	first note octave below flute 1
16–17	flute oboe clarinet		slur mm 16 beat 1 to mm 17 beat 2	slur beats 1–2
Q				
1	horn 3&4	*ppp*	*pp*	*ppp*
9	oboe 2		*f*	*(f)*

10	clarinet 1	I.		
10–11	clarinet 2	*f* mm 10		*f* mm 11
12–13	flute oboe clarinet horn	*decresc.*hairpin starts mm. 12	*decresc.* hairpin starts mm. 13	*decresc.* hairpin starts mm. 12
13	horn 3&4	*decresc.*		*decresc.*
19	woodwinds	*ritard*	*ritard*	
21	strings	*ritard, divisi*	*ritard*	*divisi*
22	horn 1	*ritard*	*ritard*	
R			OMITTED	*(vi-)*
6–7	oboe			*(cresc. decresc.)* hairpins
7	violin viola	repeat of mm 6		repeat of mm 3
22	oboe			*(p)*
24	flute			*(p)*
24	all parts			*(-de)*
S		***S***	***R***	***S***
1	timpani	*pp* C3 whole note		*pp* C2 whole note
	cello bass	tie beat 1–3	slurred mm 1 beat 1 to mm 2 beat 1	tie beats 1–3
1–5	violin	8va below 1938	8va below 1938	8va above 1872 & 1877
2–3	oboe horn			*cresc. decresc.* hairpin
3	horn 3&4	*p* (in pencil)		*p*
3–4	cello bass	*poco a poco cresc.*		*poco a poco cresc.*
6–7	oboe			*cresc. decresc.* hairpins
7	cello bass		tied beat 1–3	tie beats 1–3
8	violins	8va above 1877	octave As beat 1 8vb G beat 3	8va above 1877
9	horn	*f*		*f*
9–10	horn	slur beat 3–3	slur mm 9 beat 3 to mm 10 beat 2	slur beats 3–3
10	clarinet	*f*	*ff*	*f*

10	cello bass	slur	slur beat 1–3	
11	cello bass		slur beat 1–4	slur beats 1–3
12–13	flute 2 oboe	slur	slur mm 12 beat 3 to mm 13 beat 1	
	clarinet			(slur beats 3–1)
13	horn 3&4	accent beat 1		accent beat 1
25(–26)	all parts	2 measures of rest	1 measure of whole rest (another crossed out)	1 measure of rest with (fermata)
T			***S***	
1–2	flute		tie mm 1 beat 1 to mm 2 beat 1	tie beats 1–1
1–5	clarinet	OMITTED	OMITTED	
3	oboe	*pp*		*pp*
4	flute oboe		*legato*	
4–5	flute oboe			slur beats 1–3
4–5	cello	accent beat 2	accent beat 2 mm 5 only	beat 2 accent
8	clarinet	*p*		*p cresc.*
10	flute			*p (cresc.)*
10	bassoon			slur beats 2–4
U			***T***	
1	all parts	*Tempo I*	*Sehr schnell*	*Tempo I*
1–4	clarinet 1	all D4	D4 and A5 alternation	D4 and A5 alternation
3–8	viola		slur beat 1-3 every mm	(slur beats 1–3)
B: 14			extra measure of whole note rest all parts except timpani whole note C	

Appendix B

Symphony No. 2, II. Adagio

Measure Number	**Instrument**	**1872 (A)**	**1877 (B)**	**1938 (C)**
Title		Adagio 2. Satz	Adagio 2. Satz Andante	2. Satz Adagio
2–3	viola	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
5	viola		*p*	
5–7	viola	*cresc.* mm 6–7		*cresc.* mm 6–7
6	bass			*(cresc.)*
9	violin 2			*(p)*
12	horn 4			accent beat 2
A				
3	viola	*decresc.* hairpin		*decresc.* hairpin
3–4	viola	slur beats 3–4	slur beats 3–4	
4	violin 1		slur beats 3–4	slur beats 3-4
9	oboe			*(poco a poco dimin.)*
10–11	flute clarinet 2			slur between mm
13 (A)			OMITTED	OMITTED
14 (A) 13 (B&C)	flute	A 4	A 5	A 5 flute 1 A 4 flute 2
B				
1	violin 2	*sempre pizz.*	*pizz.* c*resc.* hairpin	*sempre pizz.* c*resc.* hairpin
2	horn solo			*(p)*
2–3	cello	*decresc.* hairpin		*decresc.*
B/C		***B (mm 6)***	***C***	***B (mm 6)***
A&C: 9–10 B: 4–5	horn solo			*(accelerando)*
A&C: 11 B: 6	violin 1	*cresc.*	*cresc.*	
	cello	*cresc.*		
A&C: 12 B: 7	violin viola	*dim.*		*dim.*
	cello	*dim.*		*dim.*

A&C: 13 B: 8	cello	*pp*		*pp*
A&C: 14 B: 9	horn trombone	*pp*	*p*	*pp*
C (A&B)		***C***	***OMITTED***	***C (vi-)***
1–2	clarinet	slur beats 3-1		slur beats 1-1
2	horn solo			*(p)*
2–3	clarinet 2			slur beats 4-1
D (A&B)		***D***	***OMITTED***	***D***
D/E		***E***	***D***	***E (-de)***
2	oboe			*(cresc.)*
	clarinet	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
6	horn 3&4			slur
	clarinet bassoon			*(cresc.)*
7	cello bass		accent beat 3	(accent) beat 3
9	bassoon		accent beat 1	
	horn 3&4			(slur) beat 3-4
	cello bass			slur beat 3-4
10	oboe			accent beat 3
11	oboe			accent beat 1
	horn 1&2		accent beat 3	
12	horn 1&2		accent beat 3	accent beat 3
E		***E (mm 14)***	***E***	***E (mm 14)***
A&C: 14 B: 1	oboe		accent beat 3	accent beat 3
	horn 3&4	accent beat 3		
A&C: 15 B: 2	oboe		accent beat 1	accent beat 1
	clarinet			accent beat 3
A&C: 16 B: 3	clarinet			accent beat 1
A&C: 17-18 B: 4-5	flute	I.		
F				
1	bass	*pp*	*p*	*pp*
4	horn	accent beat 1		accent beat 1
5	cello bass	*p*		*p*

G				
2	horn solo			*(p)*
4	cello bass	E2 E3	unsion E3	E2 E3
5–6	cello bass		*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* hairpin
6–7	cello bass	*dim. decresc.* hairpin		*dim. decresc.* hairpin
6–8	horn solo			slur
9	violin 2	*arco*		*arco*
9–12	cello	*poco a poco cresc et accel, riten.*	*accelerando, cresc.*	*accelerando, cresc.*
12–13	violin viola cello			*(dim pp)*
H				
1	flute oboe clarinet bassoon		*Solo espressivo*	
1	viola	*divisi*		*divisi*
2	horn solo			*(p)*
5	bassoon		OMITTED	
5	flute oboe clarinet	*cresc.* hairpin		*cresc.* hairpin
6–7	bassoon	*decresc.* hairpin		*decresc.* hairpin
6–7	violin viola cello			*(decresc.)*
I				
1–4	tutti	*poco a poco accelerando* mm 1–4	*poco a poco accelerando* mm 2	*poco a poco accelerando* mm 1-2
2	clarinet 1			*(p)*
2	oboe	originally B-natural changed to Cb in pencil	B-natural	Cb
4	horn		accents beats 2 and 3	(accents beats 2 and 3)

12	bass	beat 3: D	beat 3: Bb	beat 3: D
K				
1	oboe clarinet	*p*	*mf*	*mf*
1	flute oboe clarinet violin 1	*dolce*		
1	strings	*p*	*pp*	*pp*
1–2	oboe	different material	same material	same material
1–2	violin 2	different material	same material	same material
1–3	oboe	different material	same material	same material
1–4	flute	slur 1-2,3-4	slur 1-2, 3-4	slur 1-4
1–15	violin solo	exists	OMITTED	OMITTED
1–8	violin 1	different material	same material	same material
1–8	cello	octave below B&C	octave above A	octave above A
2	oboe		*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* accent beat 1
2–3	viola	different material	same material	same material
3	clarinet		*mf*	*mf*
3	flute	slur beat 3-4 *decresc.* hairpin		slur beat 3-4 *decresc.* hairpin
3–4	bassoon		OMITTED	OMITTED
4–8	clarinet	different material	same material	same material
5–6	cello bass	*poco a poco cresc.* Mm 6	*poco a poco* *cresc.* mm 5–6	*poco a poco* *cresc.* mm 5
5–8	flute	different material	same material	same material
5–8	bassoon	different material	same material	same material
5–8	horn	different material	same material	same material
5–8	viola	different material	same material	same material
6	bass	A-natural 2	Bb 2	Bb 2
L				
1–2	key change clarinet horn 1&2	mm 2 7 sharps 6 sharps	mm 1 5 flats 4 flats	mm 1 5 flats 6 flats
1–7	all	different material	same material	same material
1	trombone	different material	no accent	accent beat 3
2	oboe	accent beat 1		accent beat 1
4	flute horn 1&2	different material		accent beat 1

5	horn 3&4	different material	Db 4	Eb 4
6	clarinet horn 1&2	different material		accent beat 1
7	violin 2 viola	different material	no slur	(slur) first phrase
M				
1	flute	I. *dolce*		
1–5	violin solo	exists	OMITTED	OMITTED
A: 1–7 B&C: 1–6	clarinet viola	different material	same material	same material
A: 1–7 B&C: 1–6	violin	similar material to B&C	same material	same material
1–5	oboe	different material	I. same material	same material
2	flute		tie beat 1-3	tie beat 1-3
3	bassoon	part crossed out		
A: 6–7 B&C: 5–6	oboe	*solo espressivo* slur across measures	*espressivo* mm 5	*espressivo* mm 5
A: 6–7 B&C: 5–6	violin 1		*cresc.* hairpin	
A: 6–7 B&C: 5–6	viola			*cresc.* hairpin
A: 7 B&C: 6	cello	G3 to C4	C3 to G3	C3 to G3
N				
1	violin	*pp*	*p*	*p* *lang gezogen*
1	bass	*pp*	*pp*	*p*
1	flute	*solo espressivo*		
1–2	oboe clarinet bassoon horn violin 2 viola cello	different material	same material	same material
3	clarinet		key change to 7 sharps	key change to 7 sharps

3	flute oboe clarinet	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
3	violin viola cello	*cresc.*		*cresc.*
3	bass			*(cresc.)*
3–4	violin 2		slur each measure	slur each measure
3–4	viola	slur beat 3-1		slur beat 3-1
4	bassoon horn	*cresc.*	*cresc.* bassoon only	*cresc.*
5	flute 1 oboe 2 violin 2			slur
5	flute 1	I.		I.
6	violin 1 cello bass			*(p)*
6	violin 2			*(pp)*
6	cello bass	*cresc.*	*cresc.*	*(cresc.)*
6	violin 2		slur beat 1–4 tie beat 2–3	slur beat 1–4 tie beat 2–3
8	clarinet bassoon horn			*dim.*
8	horn 2			tie beat 1-2
9	bass		*p*	*p*
9	violin cello bass			*(dim.)*
O				
A&C: 1		pick up notes measure	OMITTED	pick up notes measure
A&C: 2 B:1	violin 2 viola	*cresc.* hairpin		*cresc.* hairpin
A&C: 5 B: 4	violin 1 viola	same material	different material	same material
A&C: 6			OMITTED	
A&C: 8–11		Indecipherable writing		

B: 6–9				
A&C: 9 B: 7	violin 1		slur beat 3-4	slur beat 3-4
A&C: 10 B: 8	bass			tie
A&C: 11 B: 9	viola	*decresc.* hairpin		*decresc.* hairpin
A&C: 11 B: 9	cello	*decresc. cresc.* hairpins	*cresc.* hairpin	*cresc.* hairpin
A&C: 12 B: 10	viola			accent beat 1
A&C: 13 B: 11	flute solo	I.		I.
A&C: 16–17 B: 14–15	viola 1	same rhythm	different rhythm	same rhythm
A&C: 17 B: 15	violin 1		slur beat 3-4	
A&C: 17 B: 15	bass	whole note	whole note	dotted half note, quarter rest
A&C: 18 B: 16	violin 1	no slur	slur beat 1-2, 3-4	slur beat 1-4
B: 19		OMITTED		OMITTED
A&C: 21 B: 20		*zusammen*	I. *Alla zusammen*	*zusammen*
A&C: 21 B: 20	violin 1	*ppp*	*pp*	*ppp*
A&C: 21–28 B: 20–27	viola	scratched out whole notes revised to moving line	moving line	whole notes
A&C: 22–28 B: 21–28	solo	scratched out horn revised to clarinet	clarinet	horn
B: 27		OMITTED		OMITTED

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