

ANTON BRUCKNER DOCUMENTARY BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 3: Bruckner in Linz: Growing Maturity (1856-1868)

3.1. Linz

By the mid-1850s Linz had grown in importance as an industrial centre.¹ Its population, estimated as c.25,000 in 1840, was gradually increasing. As in many other parts of Europe, the influential middle class sought edification and recreation in various cultural activities including theatre-going and music, and the growth of choral societies and expansion of concert life helped to cater for this.² Concerts in Linz were provided by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (later *Musikverein*), a mixture of professional and amateur singers and instrumentalists. According to its statutes, it had to give two oratorio performances and four society concerts every year. While Bruckner was in Linz the musical directors of the *Gesellschaft* were Anton Michael Storch, Engelbert Lanz and Eduard Hauptmann, and the works performed included Haydn's *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, Mendelssohn's *St Paul* and *Elijah*, and orchestral works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schumann.³ The *Gesellschaft* also had its own music academy which provided

1 For further historical information about Upper Austria during the period 1815-1870, see Harry Slapnicka, 'Oberösterreich zwischen Wiener Kongreß und den Anfängen der politischen Parteien (1815-1870)', in *ABDS* 10 (Vienna, 1994), 9-32.

2 For further information about social and political life in Linz during this period, see Georg Heilingsetzer, 'Vom Biedermeier zur Gründerzeit. Politik, Kultur und Gesellschaft in Linz zur Zeit des jungen Bruckners', in Theophil Antonicek, Andreas Lindner and Klaus Petermayr (ed), *Bruckner Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz 2008), 77-87. Also, in the *Bruckner-Tagung 2005* are articles by Lothar Schultes on the development of the fine arts in Upper Austria during this period, including information about the leading painters ('Kunst in Oberösterreich zur Zeit Bruckners', 89-116), by Helga Ebner on literature in Linz between 1855 and 1868 ('Literatur in Linz zur Zeit Bruckners', 117-36) and by Andrea Harrandt on theatrical and musical life in Linz ('Theater- und Musikleben in Linz zur Zeit Bruckners', 137-48).

3 Anton Michael Storch (1813-1877) was a fine choir trainer who during his career was also conductor of the *Wiener Männergesangsverein* and the *Niederösterreichischer Sängerbund* and later

instruction in a limited number of instruments. It later became known as the *Bruckner Konservatorium*.⁴ Choral music was originally the exclusive responsibility of the *Gesellschaft* but, in 1845, several of the members of the society formed themselves into a male-voice choir. In 1849 this became a separate association called *Liedertafel Frohsinn* (later *Linzer Singakademie*). Bruckner was a member of this choral society for some time and became its director for two short periods in 1860-61 and 1868. Other directors during the 1856-68 period included the *Gesellschaft* directors Storch (1855-60), Lanz (1861-65) and Hauptmann (1865-68). Occasionally this male-voice choir combined with the *Frohsinn* ladies' choir (founded 1854). As well as giving its own concerts, which included such significant events as the Linz premieres of Schumann's *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* (April 1860), Wagner's *Liebesmahl der Apostel* (March 1866) and, under Bruckner's baton, the final scene of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* (April 1868), it participated in *Gesellschaft* concerts and solo recitals and performed with success in choral festivals in Germany and Austria.⁵ In 1857 Bruckner's friend, Alois Weinwurm, founded a choir called *Sängerbund* which Bruckner occasionally conducted. There were also several wind and military bands in Linz and they frequently combined with *Frohsinn* to give concerts. Bruckner's final appearance as a choral conductor in Linz was in a concert

became a theatre music director in Vienna; he composed several pieces for male-voice choir. Engelbert Lanz (1820-1904), one of Bruckner's rivals for the cathedral post, was active in Linz as a teacher at the *Präparandie* (Teacher-Training Institute) and as a composer; earlier he had worked first as an assistant then as a principal teacher in Kremsmünster. Eduard Hauptmann was a retired lottery official and keen musical amateur.

4 For further information about the Linz *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* and Bruckner's involvement in its activities, see Harrandt, 'Theater-und Musikleben in Linz zur Zeit Bruckners', 143-44.

5 The *Linzer Singakademie* has several of Bruckner's choral works in its library, including the autograph scores of *Trauungsschor* WAB 49 (1865) and *Inveni David* WAB 19 (1868) and a copy score, with some autograph insertions, of *Herbstlied* WAB 73 (1864). Bruckner's activities as conductor of the choir are recorded in the *Chronik der Liedertafel Frohsinn in Linz umfassend den Zeitraum vom 17. März 1845 bis Ende März 1870* (Linz, 1870), and in Karl Kerschbaum, ed., *Chronik der Liedertafel Frohsinn in Linz über den 50 jährigen Bestand vom 17. März 1845 bis anfangs März 1895* (Linz, 1895).

of the combined forces of the *Frohsinn* and *Sängerbund* choir on 12 September 1868 when he conducted Mendelssohn's *Oedipus auf Kolonos*, Silcher's *Loreley* and his own *Germanenzug*.

One of the most active figures in Linz musical life at the time was Karl Zappe who held posts as orchestral director at the *Landständische Theater* (for 33 years from 1834) and violin teacher in the *Musikverein*, as well as being Bruckner's immediate superior as musical director of the cathedral and Linz parish church.⁶ He was also the leader of a string quartet which gave regular concerts of the standard chamber music repertoire in Linz. It included another professional musician, Otto Kitzler, as cellist, but two amateurs, Josef Schmierer, an engraver by profession, as second violinist, and Franz Gamon, a draughtsman, as viola player. In 1842 Zappe was confirmed as successor to Johann Baptist Schiedermayr as musical director of the two largest churches in town.⁷ When he began his duties, the personnel for whom he was directly responsible included the organist, two sopranos, one alto, one tenor and one bass. He was also expected to engage other musicians and his duties were specifically to 'ensure a well-maintained vocal and instrumental music for the cathedral and parish church as well as the regular stringing of instruments, not only for the normal services but also for the extra unscheduled services which could be held in the churches.'⁸ There was no pension attached either to his post or to that of the cathedral and parish church organist, but he was allowed free lodgings in one of the parish houses, the *Stadtpfarrmesnerhaus*, until 1868.⁹ Zappe supplemented

6 Karl Zappe (1812-1871) was born in Prague where he received his early education. He settled in Linz in 1834 after spells as a theatre musician in Graz and Vienna. For further information about his life, see Hermann Zappe, 'Anton Bruckner, die Familie Zappe und die Musik. Die Musikgeschichte des Landes Oberösterreich 1812-1963 bzw. 1982', in *BJ 1982-83* (Linz, 1984), 129-61; also Elisabeth Maier, *ABDS* 15 (2009), 45-7.

7 Johann Baptist Schiedermayr sen. (1779-1840) had earlier been active as cathedral and parish church organist, theatre conductor and composer.

8 From the *Dienstvertrag der geistlichen und weltlichen Vogtei der Dom- und Stadtpfarrkirche*, a type of job description (Linz, 14 April 1843).

9 Zappe, Bruckner and Wenzel Lambel, a cathedral singer, lived in this house which was nicknamed

the church choir with enthusiastic musical amateurs and drew mainly on the members of the theatre orchestra for his instrumentalists. The records of the old cathedral show that the Masses with orchestral accompaniment performed in the 1850s and 1860s included works by Cherubini, Danzi, Diabelli, Eberlin, Führer, Gänsbacher, Habert, Joseph and Michael Haydn, Labler, Mozart, Preindl, Schiedermayr, Seyfried, Stadler, Süßmayr, Tuzcek and Vitásek.¹⁰ Zappe was a member of the panel which listened to and assessed the competitors for the provisional post of cathedral and parish church organist in December 1855, but was not directly involved in the competition for the permanent appointment. Under his overall direction Bruckner occupied the position of organist at both churches from 1856 to 1868. The relationship between music director and organist seems to have been cordial and respectful.

The sacred and secular musical diet in Linz was fairly conservative but, during Eduard Kriebig's and Carl Pichler-Bodog's periods of artistic directorship (1860-65 and 1865-68 respectively) at the Linz Theatre, the predominance of Italian opera was mitigated by the production of three Wagner operas, *Tannhäuser* (February 1863), *Der fliegende Holländer* (October 1865) and *Lohengrin* (February 1866).¹¹ The conductor was the forward-looking Otto Kitzler, a colleague of Zappe's and Bruckner's erstwhile teacher and friend.

the *Musikantenstöckl* or *Mesnerhäusl* and was situated near the parish church (Pfarrplatz 5 today). Bruckner occupied two rooms and a kitchen on the second floor. Elisabeth Maier provides further information about this house in *ABDS* 15 (2009), 65-7, as well as the transcript of a document relating to its occupants, 324.

10 The records of the old cathedral are preserved in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz.

11 See Franz Zamazal, 'Das Linzer Landestheater zur Zeit Bruckners', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 52 (June 1999), 7-13, for some details of the organization of the theatre, including vocal and orchestral forces. Of particular interest is the reproduction of an article which first appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 12 November 1862. See also Andrea Harrantdt, 'Theater- und Musikleben in Linz zur Zeit Bruckners', 139-42.

3.2 Bruckner and Linz

During his twelve years in Linz Bruckner laid the foundations of his career as a symphonist and respected teacher in Vienna. They were arduous years, the first half being spent completing a prolonged ‘distance-learning’ harmony and counterpoint course with Sechter and with very little to show in the way of original composition, the second half beginning with lessons in analysis and orchestration from Kitzler and leading to a veritable explosion of original works. But all this took its toll and Bruckner had a nervous breakdown in 1867 which required sanatorium treatment and a period of recuperation. On his recovery Bruckner was faced with a major decision, and much of the earlier part of 1868 was spent weighing up the pros and cons of a possible move to Vienna. It is easy to forget that Bruckner’s main occupation during these years was that of church organist.¹² As his reputation grew, his advice was sought concerning the construction of organs in a number of Austrian churches. In 1871, reconstruction work was begun on the St. Florian abbey organ, largely at Bruckner’s instigation. The organ with which he was particularly identified and in the reconstruction of which he played an important role was the organ in the so-called old cathedral in Linz. When he was appointed early in 1856, the organ at his disposal was a three-manual Chrismann. In October 1856 he provided, at Bishop Rudigier’s request, information about the condition of the organ with a view to its eventual repair.¹³ By the beginning of 1857, however, a decision had been made to rebuild the organ. Bruckner referred to this in a letter to the bishop’s office and stressed the need for the provision of two or three more eight-foot and sixteen-foot stops as well as an immediate tuning of the instrument.¹⁴ It

12 For a background to Bruckner’s activities as a church musician in the Linz years, the impact of the reform movement, the leading personalities and a discussion of the role of music in the main churches (Linz Cathedral, the parish churches of Steyr and Enns) and monasteries (St Florian, Kremsmünster, Reichersberg and Wilhering), see Karl Mitterschiffthaler, ‘Die Kirchenmusik in Oberösterreich bis 1868. Voraussetzungen – Entwicklungen – Ausprägungen’, in *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz, 2008), 201-34.

13 See Hans Winterberger, ‘Die Hauptorgel der Ignatiuskirche (A”Alter Dom”) in Linz’, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz*, 1971 (Linz, 1972), 125; also Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 120-21.

14 See *HSABB 1, 12* and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 131-3 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 14

took eleven years for the rebuilding work to be completed, and the organ builder responsible was Josef Breinbauer. Bruckner's successor at Linz, Karl Waldeck, requested a slight change in the stop disposition in 1892, and it can be surmised that he consulted Bruckner in advance. The alteration work was carried out by Josef Breinbauer's son, Leopold.¹⁵ One man who had a very high opinion of Bruckner's organ playing was Franz Josef Rudigier who, after spending two years as prebendary of Brixen Cathedral, was appointed diocesan bishop of Linz in 1852. Bishop Rudigier would often slip into the cathedral to listen to Bruckner practising and is known to have derived great spiritual comfort from his improvisations. One of Rudigier's grandest designs was to have a new cathedral built in a neo-Gothic style, and the renowned church architect, Vincenz Statz, was commissioned to accomplish this task. Bruckner was asked to write a festival cantata, *Preiset den Herrn* WAB 16, for the foundation stone laying ceremony on 1 May 1862. The entire construction work took 60 years and only the votive chapel was completed during Rudigier's lifetime.

January 1857; the original can be found in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz. See also Rupert Gottfried Frieberger, 'Die Bruckner-Orgel im alten Dom von Linz', in *In Ehrfurcht vor den Manen eines Großen. Zum 75. Todestag Anton Bruckners* (Linz, 1971), 47 for the text of a letter from Josef Breinbauer (14 April 1857) to the bishop's office concerning the planned rebuilding of the organ; the original is in the *Diözesanarchiv*, Linz. The transcripts of this and other documents relating to the rebuilding of the organ and its cost can be found in Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 142-48.

15 Josef Breinbauer (1807-1882) and Leopold Breinbauer (1859-1920) had an organ-building business in Ottensheim, near Linz. In 1979-80 a modern restoration of the organ was carried out by the firm Rieger-Orgelbau, Schwarzach (Voralberg). Further details of the organ, including Bruckner's connection with it, are provided by Otto Biba, 'Die Orgel im Alten Dom zu Linz - ein Dokument zu Bruckners Orgelpraxis'. in *BJ 1982/83* (Linz, 1984), 75-79. Bruckner's activities as an organist and organ consultant are discussed in the following books and articles: (a) 'Die Linzer Dom-Orgel', *Linzer Zeitung* (19 September 1867), 909; (b) Leopold Hager, *Die Bruckner-Orgel im Stifte St. Florian* (St. Florian, 1951); (c) Altman Kellner, 'Der Organist Bruckner', in *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1964), 61-65; (d) Rudolf Quoika, *Die Orgelwelt um Anton Bruckner. Blicke in die Orgelgeschichte Alt-Österreichs* (Ludwigsburg, 1966); (e) Hermann Busch, 'Anton Bruckners Tätigkeit als Orgelsachverständiger', in *Ars Organa* 39 (1971), 1585-93; (f) Rupert Frieberger, 'Die Bruckner-Orgel in der Ignatiuskirche in Linz - ein historisches Instrument', in *Singende Kirche* 18 (1971), 151-54; (g) Otto Biba, 'Anton Bruckner und die Orgelbauerfamilie Mauracher', in *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1975), 143-62; (h) Gerald Mitterschiffthaler, *Die Beziehungen Anton Bruckners zum Stift Wilhering*, *ibid*, 113-41; (i) Karl Schnürl, 'Drei niederösterreichische Bruckner-Orgeln. Tulln - Langenlois - Krems', *ibid*, 163-69; (j) Jiri Sehnal, 'Ein Brief A. Bruckners an den mährischen Orgelbauer Franz Ritter von Pistrich', in *BJ 1980* (Linz, 1980), 129-32; (k) Otto Biba, 'Anton Bruckners Orgel im Alten Dom zu Linz restauriert', in *Singende Kirche* 28 (1981), 120ff.; (l) Otto Biba, 'Die Orgel im Alten Dom zu Linz (Oberösterreich)', in *Ars Organa* 50 (1982), 30-36; (m) Erwin Horn, 'Zwischen Interpretation und Improvisation. Anton

At the ceremony to mark the dedication of this chapel in the autumn of 1869, Bruckner conducted the first performance of his own *Mass in E minor* WAB 27 in the cathedral square in Linz. Rudigier, the dedicatee, was sufficiently impressed to send the composer, now resident in Vienna, an honorarium of 200 florins, and Bruckner expressed his astonishment and gratitude in a letter to the bishop.¹⁶ Rudigier's great esteem for Bruckner's musical abilities was mingled with a caring pastoral concern for the composer. It is well known that when Bruckner spent three months in Bad Kreuzen in 1867 recovering from a nervous breakdown, Rudigier made arrangements for a priest to be in regular attendance. Not so well documented is the bishop's generosity in granting Bruckner a sum of between 50 and 60 florins to pay for medical treatment in October 1856, only a few months after he had taken up his appointment in Linz.¹⁷ Bruckner maintained strong connections with Linz after taking up appointments in Vienna in 1868. Rudigier kept his Linz post provisionally open for him until 1870 by which time Bruckner felt reasonably secure in the Austrian capital. Nevertheless, Bruckner continued to make 'guest appearances' as organist at the cathedral. In 1877, he wrote one of his finest miniatures, the motet *Tota pulchra es* WAB 46, for the 25th anniversary of Rudigier's enthronement as bishop and dedicated it to him. He played the organ at Rudigier's funeral service in December 1884. The clearest documentary evidence of Bishop Rudigier's high regard for Bruckner is a letter which he wrote to the composer in October 1874. In it he expressed his disappointment that Bruckner had lost one of his part-time appointments in Vienna but recalled with pleasure his accomplishment as a cathedral organist in Linz and commented on his growing reputation as a composer and his already established reputation as an organist – 'perhaps the

Bruckner als Organist', in *BSL 1995* (Linz, 1997), 111-39.

16 See *HSABB 1*, 118-19 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 19 October 1869; the original of this letter is not extant.

17 It is not known if the treatment was for Bruckner himself, his sister Maria Anna, or his mother. See Elisabeth Maier, "'Allweil Cantaten und all's mögliche Zeugs...'? Anton Bruckner im Dienst der Kirche", in *BSL 2000* (Linz, 2004), 76, and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, pp.121 and 123-24.

foremost player in Europe.’¹⁸

Bruckner’s reputation as an organist was beginning to spread beyond provincial bounds already in 1856. At the beginning of September, the *Frohsinn* choir, of which Bruckner was a member, travelled to Salzburg to take part in the *Mozart-Fest*. While he was there Bruckner played on the cathedral organ; and it is reported that his playing was criticised by Robert Führer - who had provided him with a testimonial only eighteen months earlier and who had applied unsuccessfully for the vacant post of organist at St. Florian. This led to a kind of ‘organists’ duel’ - a contest between the two men on the Salzburg cathedral organ.¹⁹ Newspaper reviews of church services and other events in which Bruckner’s played the organ in the late 1850s also attest to a growing appreciation of his skills. His playing at the Easter Sunday morning service in Linz Cathedral, to take just one example, made a particularly favourable impression on the *Linzer Zeitung* correspondent:

... The cathedral organist, Mr. Bruckner, also provided eloquent proof of his skill at the close of the church service [Haydn’s *Nelson Mass* was performed]. The partly free, partly contrapuntal development of the principal theme in the Easter song, combined with a majestic chorale which ended with a free fantasia, was truly uplifting. Only a very few cathedrals can possess an organist of Mr. Bruckner’s calibre...²⁰

18 See *HSABB* 1, 158-59. for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 7 October 1874; the original is in St. Florian. For further information about Rudigier (1811-1884), see Konrad Meindl, *Leben und Wirken des Bischofs Franz Josef Rudigier von Linz*, 2 vols. (Linz, 1891/92); Harry Slapnicka, ‘Bischof Rudigier und die Kunst’, *BSL* 1985 (Linz, 1988), 23-31; Rudolf Zinnhobler, ‘Das Bistum Linz zwischen Spätjosephinismus und Liberalismus’, *ABDS* 10 (Vienna, 1994), 33-58, partic. 53ff., and Elisabeth Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente* (Vienna, 2009), 40-42.

19 This contest was reported in the *Monatsschrift für Theater und Musik* 2 (1856), 544. See Gerhard Walterskirchen, ‘Bruckner in Salzburg - Bruckner Erstaufführungen in Salzburg’, in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 16 (December 1979), 14-20, which includes some extracts from the article; also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 118. The reporter considered Bruckner to be the better of the two organists ‘at least so far as technique is concerned.’

20 See *GrBL*, 29, G-A III/1, 50 and Othmar Wessely, ‘Anton Bruckner in Linz’, in *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* 1954 (Linz, 1955), 225 for extracts from this review in the *Linzer Zeitung* 78 (7 April 1858); there was also a report of the service in the *Linzer Abendbote* (6 April 1858). See also Susanna Taub, *Zeitgenössische Bruckner-Rezeption in den Linzer Printmedien (1855-1869)* [Music Education thesis, Salzburg 1987] for facsimiles of other reviews in which Bruckner’s organ playing during church

In July 1858 Bruckner brought the first part of his theoretical course with Sechter to a splendid conclusion by improvising on the *Piaristenkirche* organ in Vienna before an invited audience which included Ludwig Speidel, the music critic of the *Wiener Zeitung*. In his later review Speidel mentioned the background to the recital, including ‘glowing testimonials’ from Sechter, and reported that Bruckner’s playing had brought him ‘uncommon pleasure’.²¹ His musical understanding was obviously not confined to harmony exercises:

... He stated a theme and developed it with a more than respectable display of imagination and musical ability. He showed how proficient he was in both free fantasia and strict contrapuntal playing. With his great skill, enthusiasm and ambition, and given the serious lack of good organists at present, he is certain to have a fine future.²²

One of Bruckner’s musical contemporaries in Linz was Josef Hoffmann, choir director of the Lutheran church. His later recollection of Bruckner’s impressive improvisation of a fugue on a chorale theme and a “clandestine” visit of the composer to the church has already been mentioned.²³

services is mentioned, e.g. reports in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 24 November and 29 December 1857. Transcripts of reviews of Bruckner’s organ playing during the Linz period can also be found in Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 142, 150-52, 155, 160, 170 and *passim*.

21 See *G-A III/1*, 48-49 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 153 for Sechter’s ‘testimonials’ which refer to Bruckner’s organ playing (12 July 1858) and the successful completion of his harmony course (10 July 1858); the originals of Sechter’s reports are in St. Florian.

22 This report appeared in the evening edition of the paper, Saturday 24 July 1858 and was reprinted in the *Linzer Zeitung* and *Linzer Abendbote* on 27 July. See *G-A III/1*, 48-49 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 155 for the complete review and *HSABB 1*, 14-15 for Bruckner’s letter to Rudolf Weinwurm (Linz, 1 August 1858), in which he enthuses over the review and thanks Weinwurm for his help; the original of the letter is owned privately.

23 See Chapter 2, footnote 67. For another account of Bruckner’s playing, also his tendency to try the patience of the ministrant priest by indulging in over-long interludes during a service, see Hans Soukup’s recollection of Bruckner at Wilhering abbey in Mitterschiffthaler’s article in *Bruckner-Studien* (1975) [see footnote 15 (h)]

In September 1858 - at a time when he was still studying intensively with Sechter Bruckner attempted to reduce the pressure of his workload by requesting that the organist posts at the cathedral and parish church become two separate appointments. In an official letter to the bishop's office he pointed out that the present salary for the cathedral appointment, 300 florins, was not large enough for anyone to be able to subsist on without extra earnings, namely from parish church duties. On the other hand, combined duties at the cathedral and parish church could not always be fulfilled by one person as they involved attendance not only every Sunday and feast day but also frequently on ordinary working days. As a result, the assistance of a deputy had to be sought. Unfortunately, however, the current deputy was elderly and unreliable. Bruckner suggested that the two posts be separated and an income of 600 florins be made available for the cathedral post. The official reply was that this request was premature but could be reviewed when the oversight of the parish of St. Joseph was transferred to the cathedral.²⁴

Bruckner supplemented the regular income from his official post with some private piano, singing and harmony teaching. Most of his free time, however, was spent in a relentless pursuit of theoretical knowledge. His studies with Simon Sechter, Otto Kitzler and Ignaz Dorn prepared the way for a series of compositions, beginning with the *Mass in D minor* WAB 26 (1864) in which Bruckner threw off his earlier restraints and spoke with a voice of bold originality.

Bruckner's long and extensive harmony and counterpoint course with Sechter had already begun before his definite move to Linz. It now continued unremittingly until 1861, culminating in a final theory examination at the Vienna Conservatory and an organ examination in the *Piaristenkirche*, three and a half years after the successful completion of the first stage of the course in July 1858.²⁵ In between

24 See *HSABB* 1, 16-17 for Bruckner's letter, dated Linz, 14 September 1858, and the reply, dated Linz, 27 October 1858; see also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 157-59. The originals of both letters are in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz.

25 More than 600 pages of Bruckner's harmony and counterpoint exercises for Sechter are preserved in two sources in the *ÖNB* - Mus. Hs. 34.925 (128 folios) and Mus. Hs. 24.260 (192 folios). See *ABA*, 69 for the facsimile of a page. The third and most extensive source, which includes the exercises in canon and fugue undertaken in the years 1860-61, amounts to 288 pages. It is to be found in the

came the second (“simple counterpoint”), third (“double, triple and quadruple counterpoint”) and fourth (“canon and fugue”) stages. Bruckner regularly spent some time in Lent and Advent each year with Sechter. He also used a large part of his summer vacation to complete the second stage of the course in Vienna in 1859. On 3 June he wrote to Sechter to confirm that he would be spending six weeks in Vienna and on 6 June he informed Rudolf Weinwurm that he would be travelling from Linz to Vienna by Danube steamer on the 30th of the month and asked him to reserve a room for him in a suitable hotel near Sechter’s house – ‘as quiet and cool as possible and ideally looking on to a garden.’²⁶ The fruit of Bruckner’s intensive studies in the summer heat of Vienna was a certificate from Sechter.²⁷ Six months later Sechter informed his industrious pupil that he was more than satisfied with his progress and counselled him not to over-stretch himself:

... I have read through your 17 workbooks of double counterpoint exercises and am amazed by your industry and the progress you have made... So that you are in good health when you come to Vienna, I entreat you to take more care of yourself and give yourself the necessary rest. In any case I have absolutely no doubt about your industry and eagerness and do not want you to damage your health by over-stretching yourself intellectually. I feel constrained to tell you that I have never had any student as industrious as you...²⁸

Santini Library in Münster. For a description of this third source, see Wolfgang Grandjean, ‘Bruckners *Studienbuch 1860/61* der Santini-Bibliothek in Münster/Westfalen als biographisches und musiktheoretisches Dokument’, in *BJ 2001-2005* (Vienna, 2006), 303-31.

²⁶ See *HSABB* 1, 20-21 for the texts of Sechter’s reply to Bruckner’s letter, dated Vienna, 5 June 1859, and Bruckner’s letter to Weinwurm. The original of the former is in the *ÖNB* and the original of the latter is privately owned. The original of Bruckner’s letter to Sechter (3 June) is not extant.

²⁷ The original of this certificate, which is dated 12 August 1859 and officially signed by Sechter as ‘principal imperial court organist and professor of harmony at the Conservatory of Music’, is in St. Florian.

²⁸ See *HSABB* 1, 22 for the text of Sechter’s letter, dated Vienna, 13 January 1860; there is a facsimile of this letter in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 89. Also see *HSABB* 1, 21 for the text of another letter from Sechter to Bruckner, dated Vienna, 3 November 1859, in which the theorist answers a particular technical question from Bruckner; there is a facsimile of this letter in *G-A III/1*, 64-65. The originals of these letters are in the *ÖNB*. Bruckner’s first diary to

On 3 April 1860 Sechter was able to provide his pupil with a certificate marking the successful completion of the third stage of the course.²⁹ In order to prepare for the examination Bruckner had stayed for a few weeks in a hotel on the Mariahilferstraße. When he wrote to Weinwurm at the beginning of the following year, asking him once again to find suitable accommodation from the middle of February to the end of March, he stated his preference for private lodgings:

... there is no peace either day or night in a hotel. In the 'Kreuz' in Mariahilf last year I could never get to sleep before 3 or 4 in the morning because of unruly neighbours. I cannot and will not put up with that again unless it is absolutely necessary...³⁰

Yet another certificate from Sechter confirmed Bruckner's successful completion of the fourth and penultimate stage of the course.³¹ All that remained was for Bruckner to obtain official recognition of his achievements. In the meantime, Sechter, by now just as much a friend as a teacher, spent a few days with him in Linz at the beginning of September and, on the 5th, presented him with a fugue on the

survive - *Briefaschen-Kalender für das Jahr 1860* - includes some entries which relate to his studies with Sechter. 'Sorgen für Secund Accord im Canon' and a couple of bars of two-bar counterpoint together with the words 'Durchg[ang]' and 'Oct[av]klang' clearly refer to particular voice-leading problems that were troubling him. Another entry - 'Sechter schreiben' - no doubt relates to a letter which the composer intended to send, perhaps the one dated 13 January (see above). A transcription of the contents of this diary and facsimiles of each page of the original can be found in Elisabeth Maier, *Verborgene Persönlichkeit. Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen. ABDS 1. 2 volumes* (Vienna, 2001) [hereafter MVP].

29 See G-A III/1, 63-64. There is a transcript of this certificate in Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 174 and a facsimile in Leopold Nowak, *op.cit.*, 90; the original is in St. Florian.

30 Extract from letter, dated Linz, 10 February 1861. Bruckner had already written to Weinwurm on 30 January, stressing the desirability of quietness, good heating, and a toilet. See *HSABB 1*, 26 for the texts of both letters; the original of the earlier letter is privately owned, the original of the second is not extant.

31 See G-A III/1, 96. See Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 184 for a transcript of the certificate; the original, dated 26 March 1861, is in St. Florian.

motto 'An Gottes Segen ist alles gelegen' as a sort of official record of the formal completion of the course.³²

In October, Bruckner sent a formal letter to the directorate of the Vienna Conservatory, enclosing Sechter's certificates and requesting an examination with a view to receiving a diploma and permission to use the title 'Professor of Harmony and Counterpoint'. Bruckner's first request was granted but he was informed that the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* did not possess the authority to bestow the title of Professor.³³ In a second letter to the directorate Bruckner mentioned that there were one or two precedents, viz. people who had been granted the title in the past, but affirmed that he would be satisfied with an acknowledgment in his diploma that he was qualified to teach in a conservatory. The official reply fixed the date of his examination as Tuesday 19 November, and Bruckner was asked to forward some examples of his counterpoint exercises and free composition.³⁴ In complying with

32 There is a facsimile of this fugue in *G-A III/1*, 108; the original is in the *ÖNB*. See *HSABB* 1, 30 for Sechter's letter to Bruckner, dated 31 August 1861, confirming his visit and his time of arrival at Linz station; the original of this letter is in the *ÖNB*. Also in the *ÖNB* is Bruckner's copy of Sechter's *Grundsätze* in which he wrote 'Sechter selbst in Linz anno 1861 3. Sept' (on page 41 of the second section). Bruckner's studies with Sechter are described by Leopold Brauneiss in his article, 'Bruckners Studien bei Simon Sechter', in *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz, 2008), 161-71. For the wider ramifications of this period of study on Bruckner's later compositional output, see Frederick Stocken, *Simon Sechter's Fundamental-Bass Theory and its Influence on the Music of Anton Bruckner* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2009).

33 Bruckner's letter is dated Linz, 20 October 1861 and the reply, signed by the registrar, Moritz Anton Ritter von Becker, is dated Vienna, 25 October 1861. See *HSABB* 1, 31-32 for the texts of both letters. The originals (the second letter is in draft form) are in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library; there is a facsimile of Bruckner's letter in Fischer, op.cit., 111.

34 Bruckner's second letter is dated Linz, 29 October 1861, and the reply, signed by Becker, is dated Vienna, 8 November. See *HSABB*, 33-34 for the texts of both letters. The original of the former is in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library, the original of the latter is in St. Florian.

35 Extract from letter, dated Linz, 10 November 1861, enclosing some of the contrapuntal exercises requested, the others to be brought with him when he attended the examination on 19 November. See *HSABB* 1, 34; the original is in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library.

this request Bruckner drew attention to the fact that his theoretical studies since 1855 had effectively prevented him from composing any substantial original works:

... The candidate has not had the necessary time for free composition during his period of study (since 1855); he has written only a few songs and some choral pieces for the choral society of which he was the choirmaster, and these, the *Ave Maria* in particular, have been exceptionally well received both in Salzburg and in Linz. He will devote himself to free composition immediately after the examination. The candidate has tried to prevent his inspiration from running dry by improvising extensively on the organ and by listening to a considerable amount of excellent music in Vienna.³⁵

The examining board on the evening of 19 November consisted of Josef Hellmesberger, director of the Conservatory, Johann Herbeck, director of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Otto Dessoff, conductor of the court opera orchestra, and Moritz Becker, the registrar of the Conservatory. According to Bruckner's own account of the proceedings, the examiners, presented with clear evidence of his theoretical aptitude, were uncertain as to what should happen next until Herbeck finally suggested that they re-convene two days later in the *Piaristenkirche* and listen to Bruckner improvise a fugue on a given theme. Accordingly, on Thursday 21 November, Sechter was asked to provide a four-bar theme which Herbeck immediately extended to eight bars. Bruckner, by now a seasoned organist, had no difficulty in developing it into a large-scale introduction and fugue which astonished the examiners and drew from Herbeck the response, 'He should have been examining us!'³⁶ The official diploma, signed by each member of the examining board, drew attention to Bruckner's contrapuntal fluency and outstanding skills as an organist and confirmed that he was now well qualified to

³⁶ Bruckner's full account, as related to G llerich, can be found in G-A III/1, 114-17.

teach at a music conservatory.³⁷ Press reports of Bruckner's success appeared in both Linz and Vienna. The *Linzer Zeitung* of 3 December contained the information that Hellmesberger had been so impressed that he had asked Bruckner to write a string quartet.³⁸ Of greater importance for the composer's future was the report in the *Wiener Zeitung* which brought him to the notice of a wider public:

Anton Bruckner, organist of Linz Cathedral, who drained the brimful cup of Simon Sechter's theoretical learning to the dregs over several years, has been in Vienna recently to take a music examination at the Conservatory. The certificate, signed by Hellmesberger, Herbeck, Dessoff and Sechter, is of such merit that Bruckner can regard it as a veritable testimonial of excellence. According to this certificate, 'the submitted pieces of work provide evidence of the most comprehensive studies in counterpoint and a thorough knowledge of the strict style in its various forms. As an organist, Mr. Bruckner proved to have considerable gifts and a precise knowledge of the instrument, and demonstrated that he was equally skilled in performing the compositions of others as in improvising on his own and on given themes' ... Mr. Bruckner is also highly recommended as a potential music teacher in conservatories..May the composer, who is as modest as he is proficient, be fortunate enough to find a position commensurate with his abilities in Vienna.³⁹

37 See G-A III/1, 117-18, Fischer, op.cit., 100, and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 196 for the wording of this certificate, dated 22 November 1861. Facsimiles can be found in Fischer, 112, Maier, 195 and in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben*, 97; the original is in St. Florian.

38 Apart from this additional information, the article in the *Linzer Zeitung* is essentially a reprint of the article which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 1 December.

39 Quoted in *GrBL*, 31 and G-A III/1, 119 (abridged). See also Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 197 for transcripts of both the Vienna and Linz reports and Susanna Taub, op.cit., 12 for a facsimile of the former.

40 Bruckner gave a full account of the whole episode in a letter to Rudolf Weinwurm, dated Linz, 3 October 1861. See later, and footnote 83.

The occasional phrase in letters to his friend Weinwurm during this period suggest that Bruckner was beginning to find the provincial Linz atmosphere somewhat stifling and was setting his sights on a more prestigious position. His success in Vienna came as a welcome boost after the disappointing outcome of his attempt to secure the vacant position of director of the Salzburg *Dom-Musikverein* and *Mozarteum* which involved travelling to Salzburg on 19 September and conducting the cathedral choir and playing the organ on the following two days. According to Bruckner, Franz von Hillebrandt, the founder and secretary of the *Dom-Musikverein*, was not well-disposed towards him, and so it came as no surprise that a former St. Florian colleague, Hans Schläger, was appointed.⁴⁰

Bruckner had also recently severed connections with *Frohsinn*. He had joined the choir in 1856 as a second tenor and had been its assistant librarian for a brief period (1856-57). Its conductor from 1855 to 1860 was Anton Michael Storch. Bruckner succeeded Storch as conductor at the end of 1860, and one of his first appearances with the choir in February 1861 inspired the following favourable review in the *Linzer Abendbote*:

... May the choral society form a close relationship with their well-trained, accomplished conductor, Mr. Bruckner; we recognize in him the man who can lead them to fame and honour.⁴¹

Bruckner achieved some notable successes with *Frohsinn* at two large choir festivals in Krems (29-30 June) and Nuremberg (19-24 July).⁴² In the official report

⁴¹ See *GrBL* for an extract from this review in the *Linzer Abendbote*, 11 February 1861; also see Susanna Taub, 20-21 for the complete review and a facsimile.

⁴² On 21 July the choir's chairman, Karl Jax, was informed in a telegram from Nuremberg that

of the former, the choir was commended for its precision, assurance and delicate nuances in its singing of Storch's *Waldeinsamkeit* and Valentin Becker's *Jägers Aufenthalt*.⁴³ After the Nuremberg success, however, Bruckner took umbrage at a practical joke played on him by the choir. It involved a restaurant waitress called Olga who had caught the composer's eye. She was encouraged by the choir to dress seductively and visit the unsuspecting Bruckner in his room. Shocked and distressed, Bruckner left the room in great haste and resigned his conducting post in September.⁴⁴ On 7 November, however, his name was again put forward as the principal conductor of the choir but, although he conducted the choir on an occasional basis in the 1860s, he was not regularly involved again until 1868.

Before taking up the position of choral conductor in 1860, Bruckner had tried to increase his involvement in the musical life of Linz by collaborating with Engelbert Lanz in proposing the institution of a Singing Academy in the town. The Lanz-Bruckner project would certainly have been perfectly respectable on artistic grounds. Engelbert Lanz, four years older than Bruckner, had the same educational background. As well as being a talented singer, he was a proficient organist.⁴⁵

one of the choruses, *Wachet auf*, was interrupted by applause twice and that there was sustained applause at the end. See Franz Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 67 (2006), 12

43 See *G-A III/1*, 101-02, *GrBLS*, 67-68, and Othmar Wessely, *Anton Bruckner und Linz*, 254-55 for extracts from the report of the Krems festival and for further details of the Nuremberg festival. See also Andrea Harrandt, 'Aus dem Archiv der Liedertafel Frohsinn. Zum Chorwesen im 19. Jahrhundert', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 59ff. for "Erinnerungen an das Sängerfest Nürnberg" in the *Frohsinn* archives., and 62 for a facsimile of the list of Linz participants. Herbeck and the *Wiener Männergesangverein* also participated in both festivals and Bruckner would almost certainly have met Herbeck.

44 This is one of several 'reminiscences and anecdotes printed in *G-A III/1*, 102-05. Bruckner alluded to his resignation at the end of his letter to Weinwurm, 3 October 1861; see footnote 40.

45 See earlier and footnote 3 for further information about Lanz.

46 For further information, including transcripts of the relevant documents see Elisabeth Maier, 'Anton Bruckners Gesangsakademie', in *BJ 1982-83* (Linz, 1984), 89-94, and Maier, *ABDS* 15,

Bruckner for his part was an accomplished accompanist, a practised theoretician and a good teacher. Between them they would have made a success of a venture of this kind. But nothing came of the proposals and Lanz and Bruckner formally withdrew their request in February 1859.⁴⁶ It is possible that Bishop Rudigier, who knew of the project from the beginning, advised Bruckner to abandon the idea.

A contributory factor to Bruckner's growing feeling of unease was the conviction that all his attempts at self-improvement as a musician were largely misunderstood. His normally cordial relationship with Storch became somewhat strained in May 1860 after a series of articles about Schumann's *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* written by Storch appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung*. In the final article on 26 May, Storch made the following observation:

... Schumann was never one of those sad figures (composers) who slink around with heads bowed, believing that they have done enough for art when they approach their task from the formal side only, when they manipulate counterpoint very efficiently to dreary abstraction and when they rummage around in arid scholarship.⁴⁷

Although Storch was almost certainly criticising the advocates of the Caecilian reform movement here and perhaps also countering a recent reviewer's argument that Schumann's music lacked melodic distinction, the over-sensitive Bruckner took it as a personal slight, remarking in a letter to Weinwurm that he was 'the only

Dokumente, 160-61.

⁴⁷ Storch conducted *Frohsinn* in a performance of Schumann's work in Linz on 15 April 1860. He resigned from his position the following day. His six articles appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 3, 4, 8, 17, 23 and 26 May. For transcripts of the review of the performance in the *Linzer Zeitung* (19 April 1860) and five of the articles, see Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 175-82.

person who studied counterpoint in Linz' but certainly did not go around with his head bowed or believe that when he finished his contrapuntal studies he would have 'done enough for art'.⁴⁸ Any feelings of animosity towards Storch seem to have been short-lived, however. In December 1866, Bruckner responded to Storch's request for a male-voice piece for the *Niederösterreichisches Sängerbund* by writing him a friendly letter in which he enclosed three pieces, one of which - *Vaterlandslied (O könnt' ich dich beglücken)* WAB 92 - was specifically dedicated to the *Sängerbund*. Bruckner was so grateful that there was a prospect of one of his works being performed in Vienna that he was quite prepared to forego a fee!⁴⁹

No sooner had Bruckner completed his theoretical studies and received his certificate from the Vienna Conservatory than he embarked on another 'self-improvement' venture - a course of form and orchestration with Otto Kitzler. Kitzler had joined the Linz theatre orchestra as a cellist in 1858 and was appointed principal conductor in 1861. As a quartet player and cellist in the orchestra which participated in the performances of larger sacred compositions in the cathedral he was already well known to Bruckner. Between 1861 and 1863 when he moved to Brno to take up the post of theatre orchestra conductor he was largely responsible for introducing Bruckner to a considerable amount of modern music, unbinding him from the self-imposed restrictions of six years of harmony and counterpoint exercises, and encouraging him to find his own original voice.⁵⁰ Most

48 See *HSABB* 1, 23-24 for this letter to Rudolf Weinwurm, dated Linz, 7 June 1860; the original of the letter is in the *ÖNB*. Bruckner mentioned that Weinwurm's brother, Alois, would have written a reply to Storch's implied criticism of contrapuntal church music had not an excellent counter-article by Karl Santner, secretary of the Salzburg *Mozarteum*, appeared in the *Linzer Abendbote*.

49 See *HSABB* 1, 69 for Bruckner's letter, dated Linz, 11 December 1866; the original is in the library of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. The other two pieces which Bruckner enclosed were the second setting of *Der Abendhimmel* WAB 56 and *Vaterländisches Weinlied* WAB 91. Bruckner also mentioned Storch's request in a letter to Rudolf Weinwurm. See *HSABB* 1, 68-69 for this letter, dated Linz, 2 December 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

50 Otto Kitzler (1834-1915) had an interesting early career. In 1846 he sang in Dresden in a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony conducted by Wagner. In 1847 he also sang in the first performance of Schumann's *Das Paradies und die Peri* in Dresden. Before moving to Linz he worked for periods in Königsberg, Strasbourg and Lyon where he formed a German male-voice choral society.

of the exercises which Bruckner undertook for Kitzler are contained in one volume, a manuscript of 163 folios of different sizes arranged in chronological order from December 1861 to July 1863.⁵¹ The Canadian scholar, Paul Hawkshaw, has provided the following description of the manuscript to which he has given the name *Kitzler Studienbuch*:

The volume contains autograph sketches, verbal annotations, as well as complete and incomplete compositions, all testifying to the rigorous training Bruckner undertook and illustrating the systematic process with which he polished his technique.

There are only a few annotations by Kitzler himself, and it would appear that he

chose the course of studies and then served in an advisory capacity - leaving Bruckner to work out the details of the exercises for himself, rather than correcting every exercise as a harmony teacher might for a young student.⁵²

Later in Brno he became director of the Music Society and choirmaster of the Male-Voice Society.

51 The manuscript, formerly owned privately, was acquired by the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek in 2013 [Mus.Hs. 44706]. See Andrea Harrandt, 'Neues zum Kitzler-Studienbuch', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.13 (May 2014), pp.16-17. A facsimile edition of the autograph, ed. Paul Hawkshaw and Eric Wolfgang Partsch – *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band XXV: Das 'Kitzler Studienbuch'. Anton Bruckners Studien in Harmonie- und Instrumentationslehre bei Otto Kitzler (1861-1863)* [Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, 2014] – is now available, and there is a brief review by Klaus Petermayr in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.14 (December 2014), 27.

52 Paul Hawkshaw, *The Manuscript Sources for Anton Bruckner's Linz Works: A Study of his Working Methods from 1856 to 1868* [hereafter *HMSAB*] (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984), 85 and footnote 4. Hawkshaw's research into the Linz period works has also resulted in several important articles, including 'The Date of Bruckner's "Nullified" Symphony in D minor', in *19th-Century Music* vi/3 (Spring 1983), 252-63; 'From Zigeunerwald to Valhalla in Common Time. The Genesis of Anton Bruckner's Germanenzug', in *BJ 1987-88* (Linz, 1990), 21-30; 'Weiteres über die Arbeitsweise Bruckners während seiner Linzer Jahre: Der Inhalt von Kremsmünster C56.2', in *BSL 1992* (Linz, 1995), 143-52; 'Das Kitzler-Studienbuch: ein unschätzbares Dokument zu Bruckners Arbeitsweise', in *BSL 1995* (Linz, 1997), 95-109; 'A composer learns his craft: lessons in form and orchestration, [1861-63]', in *The Musical Quarterly* 82/2 (Summer 1998), 336-61 and *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 3-29.

Kitzler's main influence, apart from introducing Bruckner to modern music, particularly the music of Wagner, was in the areas of full score layout and formal structure. The exercises ranged from cadence structure and modulations to closely related keys through two- and three-part song form and instrumental forms such as the waltz, the mazurka and the minuet and trio to the more advanced sonata form. The culmination of this was the String Quartet in C minor WAB 111 which was completed on 15 August 1862. After a few exercises in orchestration, including scoring the exposition section of the opening movement of Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata,⁵³ Bruckner wrote the March in D minor WAB 96 (October 1862), the Three Orchestral Pieces WAB 97 (November 1862), the Overture in G minor WAB 98 (November / December 1862), the Symphony in F minor WAB 99 (January - April 1863) and, finally, Psalm 112 WAB 35 (completed 10 July 1863). During his period of study with Kitzler, Bruckner's three main textbooks were Ernst Friedrich Richter's *Die Grundzüge der musikalischen Formen und ihre Analyse* (Leipzig, 1852), Kitzler's own copy of Adolf Bernhard Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch* (Leipzig, 1837) and Johann Christian Lobe's *Lehrbuch der musikalischen Komposition* (Leipzig, 1850). As he grew more confident in setting his own ideas down on paper, he began to develop a working procedure which was retained by and large when he moved to Vienna in 1868. The composition of smaller works was usually worked out in a composition score that was developed from an initial melody-bass skeleton, and then a fair copy was made either by Bruckner himself or by one of his copyists. In composing his larger works, he began with a melody/bass continuity draft that encompassed either a complete movement or an extended section of a movement and included a working-out of the important structural details (outline of harmonic progressions, occasional contrapuntal passages, a few indications of orchestration and, in the case of choral

⁵³ See Franz Scheder, 'Bruckners *Pathétique*-Bearbeitung', in IBG *Mitteilungsblatt* 85 (December 2015), 25 for details of a forthcoming performance of Bruckner's orchestral realisation in Nuremberg in April 2016. There is also a short report of the performance in IBG *Mitteilungsblatt* 86 (June 2016), 27.

works, precise textual underlay). This was written either on two / three staves for instrumental works or three / four staves for combined choral and instrumental works. The next steps in the process were first, the transfer of the sketch to full-score paper; second, the orchestration of the score which was accomplished in two or more stages, normally strings first then wind, except in combined choral and orchestral works where the voice parts were completed first; third, final corrections and the addition of detailed performance markings (dynamics, rehearsal letters etc.).⁵⁴

After Bruckner's death, Otto Kitzler provided Franz Gräßlinger with a detailed account of Bruckner's studies with him:

... I had already made Bruckner's acquaintance during the first years (Autumn 1858 - 1860) of my stay in Linz. We had got to know each other as a result of my involvement with the church choir when I voluntarily played the cello in performances of the larger Masses. From the autumn of 1861, Bruckner had regular lessons in orchestration from me. Before commencing the orchestration course, I gave him some instruction in musical form with the assistance of a by now completely out-of-print book by Richter and took him through all the important structural schemes from eight-bar period to sonata form. Beethoven's sonatas formed the comparative basis of our exercises, and Bruckner was always particularly happy when he came across a musical procedure or feature which ran counter to his earlier studies with Sechter. Given his great talent and indefatigable industry, he made very speedy progress. In instrumentation we made use at first of Marx's book which, however, does not go any further than Meyerbeer in its examples. At that time there were no teaching manuals which included details of Wagnerian and Lisztian instrumentation techniques. Wagner's operas had not yet been performed in Linz. To my knowledge, Bruckner had not yet heard any of Wagner's operas, because, during the time that he was having lessons from Sechter in his short breaks in Vienna, he was so preoccupied with his studies that he would have had hardly any time to visit the *Hofoper* to see a work by a composer whose

⁵⁴ See *HMSAB*, 105-210 for a thorough examination of Bruckner's compositional procedures during the second half of the Linz period.

style would then have been quite foreign to him. And so he was quite astonished when I told him that I was going to perform *Tannhäuser*, and he became more surprised when I brought him the score and drew his attention to the beauties of the work and the originality of the instrumentation. That was in December 1862. It is therefore wrong to assume that Bruckner did not know any of Wagner's music before composing his Mass in D minor and his First Symphony in C minor and that his orchestration was not influenced in any way by Wagner. On the contrary, Bruckner studied the score of *Tannhäuser* thoroughly both before and after the performances. Shortly before this, and so not yet under the influence of this work, Bruckner had completed what was in fact his first symphony - the Symphony in F minor - while studying with me. This was more of a student work and, because it was not particularly inspired, I could find nothing special to praise in it. He appeared to be upset by my guarded attitude - and this surprised me, because he was extremely modest. Many years later, he conceded, laughingly, that I had been absolutely right... Shortly afterwards he began a new symphony. I can no longer remember today, forty years later, if it was the First Symphony in C minor... As our lessons had come to an end and the period of my Linz contract was also drawing to a close, he asked me one day, "When am I going to be released?" When I replied that it could happen at any time as he had already overtaken his teacher who had nothing more to teach him, he refused such an easy way out and invited my wife and me on a coach excursion which took us to the charming hunting lodge of Kürnberg situated in the woods. There, during a happy meal, the desired "release" [from "apprenticeship"] took place. We had an uninterrupted friendship until his death. Whenever I came to Vienna, I visited my friend. I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his somewhat primitive domestic life, and on one occasion, in view of the state of rather easy-going disorder which prevailed in his house, I ventured to ask why he did not marry so as to enjoy a more settled domestic life. Almost shocked by this suggestion, he retorted, "Dear friend, I don't really have the time - I have my Fourth Symphony to write at the moment!" I saw him for the last time two months before his death and, despite my request that he should not rise from his sick bed, he was determined to get up to greet me.⁵⁵

55 Translated from *GrBL*, 25ff. See Maier, *ABDS* 15 (2009), *Dokumente*, 216 and 217 for a transcript and facsimile of the certificate, dated 10 July 1863, that Kitzler provided for Bruckner at the end of his studies. The original can be found in the Bruckner-Archiv, St, Florian.

That the relationship between the two men remained a cordial one long after Kitzler had left Linz is supported by several letters which passed between them. In June 1875, Bruckner informed Kitzler that he was in the process of writing his Fifth Symphony and that both Wagner and Liszt had described his Third Symphony as a “very significant work”. He suggested that Kitzler perform his Second Symphony and signed the letter affectionately “Your pupil A. Bruckner.”⁵⁶ Writing from St. Florian seventeen years later, Bruckner sent Kitzler warm greetings for the New Year and thanked him for his offer to conduct the Fourth Symphony. As a result of his declining health, however, it was unlikely that he would be able to come to the performance. Also, on this occasion he referred to himself as “your former pupil”.⁵⁷ A few months later Bruckner supplied Kitzler with further information about his ill health. He mentioned that he had retired from both the *Hofkapelle* and the Conservatory and was no longer allowed to play the organ. As he had to avoid situations which might cause stress there was a great deal of uncertainty about his travelling to Brno to attend Kitzler’s projected performances of the Fourth Symphony and *Te Deum* with the choir and orchestra of the Musikverein. Bruckner was also too ill to attend a performance of his Second Symphony by Kitzler and the Brno Musikverein orchestra on 25 March 1896 but sent a letter of thanks.⁵⁸

Shortly after Kitzler had left for Brno a young Viennese musician called Ignaz Dorn came to Linz to play violin in the *Landständisches Theater* orchestra.⁵⁹ He was

56 See *HSABB* 1, 161-62 for this letter, dated Vienna, 1 June 1875; the original is owned privately.

57 See *HSABB* 2, 199 for the text of this letter, dated St. Florian, 27 December 1892; the original is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz.

58 Bruckner’s letters to Kitzler are dated Vienna, 14 March 1893 and Vienna, 27 March 1896 respectively. The texts can be found in *HSABB* 2, 210-11 and 329; the originals are in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz. For the text of Kitzler’s letter to Bruckner inviting him to the 1896 performance (dated Brno, 20 March 1896), see *HSABB* 2, 329; the original is in St. Florian. For further information about Kitzler’s *Trauermusik*, composed in Bruckner’s memory and given its first performance in Brno on 11 November 1905, see Elisabeth Oberlik, ‘Otto Kitzlers *Trauermusik* für Anton Bruckner’, in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.17 (June 2016), 21-22.

59 Ignaz Dorn (1830-72) played second violin in the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra before coming to

an accomplished instrumentalist and composer and was soon appointed Kitzler's assistant at the theatre. As a modern music enthusiast Dorn continued Kitzler's work of extending Bruckner's horizons. He studied Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Lohengrin* with Bruckner and introduced him to Berlioz's and Liszt's works, in particular the *Symphonie Fantastique* and the *Faust Symphony*. He made a present of the score of the latter to Bruckner with the handwritten dedication, 'as a souvenir from your sincere friend Ig. Dorn.'⁶⁰ Like Kitzler before him he encouraged Bruckner to develop his own compositional skills, which resulted in the Mass in D minor WAB 26 and the Symphony no. 1 in C minor WAB 101. In the spring of 1866 Dorn left Linz to become Kitzler's assistant in Brno. Writing to Bruckner from Brno in May 1866 he said how much he would like to hear this new C minor symphony and asked him to postpone any planned performance of it until August when he would be on his honeymoon.⁶¹ Dorn's story has a tragic ending. The wedding plans - he hoped to marry Karl Zappe's daughter, Maria - did not materialize. An increasingly serious drinking problem led to dismissal from his post in Brno in 1871. He managed subsequently to find another position in Vienna as a conductor at the *Neue Welt* concert hall in the Hietzing suburbs, a hall in which Eduard and Josef Strauss gave concerts and the Vienna *Männergesangverein* performed regularly during the summer months. There was a final reunion of the three friends - Bruckner, Kitzler and Dorn - after the famous Wagner concert in Vienna on 12 May 1872 when Wagner conducted Beethoven's *Eroica* symphony and excerpts from *the Ring*. Dorn was admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Vienna soon afterwards and died there of delirium tremens. An obituary notice written by Eduard Kremser appeared in a later edition of *Das Vaterland*. Bruckner wrote to

Linz.

⁶⁰ "Andenken von seinem aufrichtigen Freund Ig. Dorn". According to Göllicher (G-A III/1, 246), Bruckner lent this score to Otto Kitzler.

⁶¹ This letter, dated Brno, 7 May 1866, was in reply to one sent by Bruckner. See HSABB 1, 61 for the text of Dorn's letter. The originals of both letters are not extant.

Kremser, thanking him for the obituary and saying how moved he was by the fact that Kremser's review of the first performance of his own F minor Mass had appeared in the same edition.⁶²

One of Bruckner's closest friends during the Linz years was Alois Weinwurm, singing teacher at the secondary school in the town and founder of the *Sängerbund* choir in 1857.⁶³ There appears to have been a temporary breach in the relationship in 1865/66 but it was soon patched up. Alois's younger brother, Rudolf, first made Bruckner's acquaintance in Linz in the early autumn of 1856 and maintained a regular correspondence with him from Vienna where he was permanently based.⁶⁴ Rudolf Weinwurm kept Bruckner in touch with what was happening in Vienna and, along with Johann Herbeck, was instrumental in persuading him to move there in 1868. Bruckner's letters are often purely factual, dwelling on events in Linz and, in the 1860s, the progress of his compositions, but his deeper feelings and internal struggles occasionally come to the surface. The earliest recorded letter to Weinwurm dates from November 1856, and it was evidently a long-delayed reply to an earlier letter from his new friend. Bruckner recalled with pleasure Weinwurm's

62 Kremser's obituary notice and review of Bruckner's Mass in F minor were published on 20 June 1872. See *HSABB* 1, 135 for Bruckner's letter to Kremser, the original of which is owned privately. For further information about Dorn, see Hermann Zappe, 'Anton Bruckner, die Familie Zappe und die Musik', in *BJ* 1982-83 (Linz, 1984), 140-41; Elisabeth Maier, 'Brahms und Bruckner. Ihr Ausbildungsgang', in *BSL* 1983 (Linz, 1985), 69-70.; idem, 'Ignaz Dorn's Charakteristische Symphonie "Labyrinth-Bilder"', in *BSL* 1987 (Linz, 1989), 69-78. This third article includes a reprint of Selmar Bagge's review in the *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 2 (1861), 44-45 of a concert in the *Musikvereinsaal*, Vienna on 2 February 1861 in which four of Dorn's works, including his symphony, were performed.

63 Alois Weinwurm (1824-79) was educated in Zwettl and Vienna. From 1844 until his move to Linz in the 1850s he was a piano and singing teacher in Vienna.

64 Rudolf Weinwurm (1835-1911) was also educated in Zwettl and Vienna where he founded the *Akademischer Gesangverein* in 1858 and held appointments as singing teacher at the University, conductor of the *Singakademie* (1865-78), and conductor of the *Männergesangverein* (1866-80). He was the composer of several choral pieces and the author of some vocal teaching manuals.

visit to Linz in September, in particular a joint outing with some friends to St. Florian and Steyregg. He also asked his friend to send him a copy of a recent journal which had contained a reference to his organ playing in Salzburg Cathedral at the beginning of September.⁶⁵

The conclusion to the letter is more personal:

...My longing to see you and my confidence in you increase day by day. Write to me soon... Please remember me; I would never forget it.

With deepest affection, and with greetings from your brother as well...⁶⁶

65 See earlier for Bruckner's visit to Salzburg (6-9 September) and his participation in an organcontest with Robert Führer. Anton Scheele was a music journalist and the editor of a monthly journal in Vienna for which Rudolf Weinwurm provided an article on Bruckner's playing in Salzburg. There was also a report in the *Österreichische Bürgerblatt* (edition of 14 September 1856), 864 which was published before Weinwurm's return to Vienna (on 20 or 21 September). See footnote 19 for the reference to the *Monatsschrift für Theater und Musik* 2 (1856) which is presumably the "berühmte Monatblatt" which Bruckner asked Weinwurm to purchase and send to him.

66 See *HSABB* 1, 12 for the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 30 November 1856. The original of this letter is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. The originals of the majority of Bruckner's letters to Weinwurm, however, are to be found in the *ÖNB* and the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek* (shelf nos. I.N. 35309-332). For further information about Weinwurm, see Leopold Nowak's article, 'Rudolf Weinwurm - Zum 150. Geburtstag', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 26 (October 1985), 26; for further information about the Bruckner - Weinwurm relationship, see Andrea Harrandt, "'...den ich als einzigen wahren Freund erkenne...". Anton Bruckner und Rudolf Weinwurm', in *BSL* 1994 (Linz, 1997), 37-48.

67 See *HSABB* 1, 14-15 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 1 September 1857. The original is owned privately; there is a facsimile of the letter in Bassenge's *Auktionskatalog* 57 (Berlin, May

Bruckner's letters to Weinwurm and Sechter's letters to Bruckner during the period 1857-1861 reveal that Weinwurm often acted as a go-between, collecting exercises from Sechter to send to Bruckner. Bruckner evidently required some medical treatment during August 1857, possibly from a doctor recommended by Weinwurm. Writing to Rudolf at the beginning of September, he enclosed some money and asked his friend to pay the doctor's bill. He reminded Weinwurm that he had not yet sent his brother Alois some choruses he had promised. Finally, he mentioned that Sechter had written to him, and asked Weinwurm to collect some exercises from his teacher. "Don't be annoyed, and write to me soon", he wrote in conclusion.⁶⁷ During Bruckner's study visit to Vienna in July 1858, Rudolf Weinwurm introduced him to some of Schumann's songs and dedicated an organ prelude (op. 5 in F major) to him.⁶⁸ This visit culminated in an organ recital in the *Piaristenkirche* which was something of a personal triumph. A week later, he wrote to Weinwurm thanking him for his letter and expressing his deep gratitude for all that he had done on his behalf. He asked his friend to send him some copies of Ludwig Speidel's favourable review in the evening edition of the *Wiener Zeitung* (24 July) and to ascertain Speidel's address so that he could write him a letter of thanks.⁶⁹

1991), 191.

68 The organ prelude has not survived, but one of Bruckner's workbooks from this period (harmony and counterpoint exercises, 128 pages) can be found in the *ÖNB* (Mus. Hs. 24.260).

69 See *HSABB* 1, 14-15 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 1 August 1858; also see earlier and footnote 22.

70 In his letter to Bruckner, dated Vienna, 26 September 1858, Sechter refers to Bruckner's letter of

Weinwurm collected some more counterpoint exercises from Sechter in September but appears to have delayed in sending them to Bruckner.⁷⁰ At the end of October, Bruckner wrote to Weinwurm in good spirits, congratulating his friend on his recent appointment as choirmaster of the *Akademisches Gesangverein* and giving him the good news that Alois had formed a new choir in Linz called *Sängerbund* for which he had great plans:

... I too have a lot to do. I am very well and once again a little in love. Alois must now take your place at my side (in Linz, of course), and he does it very well. Write again soon...⁷¹

Before spending six weeks (end of June - middle of August) in Vienna during the summer of 1859, Bruckner confirmed with Sechter that he would be able to teach him, and then wrote to Weinwurm to ask him to find suitable lodgings. He longed to see him again as he did not have “a friend like him” in Linz.⁷²

Bruckner’s next study visit to Vienna was towards the end of February or the beginning of March 1860. He had to change his original plan of arriving in Vienna on 22 February because he had not yet received any reply to two letters that he had sent to Sechter and suspected that his teacher, who had recently suffered one or two bouts of ill health, might be indisposed. He asked Weinwurm to visit Sechter

22 September (which has been lost) but, to Sechter’s surprise, there had been no mention of the receipt of the exercises. A month before this, on 26 August 1858, Sechter had also written to Bruckner, enquiring with some concern why his pupil had not contacted him and fearing that he might have caught a chill on his return to Linz during a spell of very severe weather. See *HSABB* 1, 15-18 for the texts of these letters; the original of the August letter is in the *ÖNB*; the original of the September letter, which was first published in *ABB*, 350-51, is not extant. See also later and footnote 227 re *Litanei*.

71 See *HSABB* 1, 14 for the full text of this letter, dated Linz, 30 October 1858; the original is in the *ÖNB*.

72 Bruckner’s letter to Sechter (dated Linz, 3 June 1859) is not extant. See *HSABB* 1, 20-21 for Sechter’s reply to Bruckner’s letter, dated Vienna, 5 June 1859, and Bruckner’s letter to Weinwurm, dated Linz, 6 June 1859. The original of the former is in the *ÖNB* and the original of the latter is privately owned. See also earlier and footnote 26.

and ask him if it was convenient to come.⁷³ Another letter sent to Weinwurm about six weeks later indicates that Bruckner had been in Vienna in the meantime. He had been loath to leave his friend and hoped that Weinwurm would be able to visit Linz during the summer. He had obviously made the acquaintance of a certain 'Frl. Pepi' - probably Rudolf's sister Josepha - during his visit and asked to be remembered to her.⁷⁴

How much importance he attached to his friendship with Rudolf Weinwurm is revealed in his next letter to him. Bruckner described Weinwurm as his 'one true friend'. He treasured all the letters sent from Vienna and had been particularly delighted to receive a portrait of Rudolf which would now have a place of honour in his apartment. The possibility of a visit from his friend later in the summer also filled him with joy.⁷⁵ The possibility became an actuality. Weinwurm stayed with Bruckner as his guest in the *Stadtpfarrmesnerhaus* from 23 August until 10 September 1860.

Three months later Bruckner was in a difficult financial position and asked Weinwurm to contact a certain Mr. Kaan who was now in Vienna and remind him that he had promised to send the sum of 45 florins which he owed.⁷⁶ Bruckner

73 See *HSABB* 1, 22 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 21 February 1860; the original is owned privately. Sechter's most recent communication with Bruckner had been on 13 January – see footnote 28.

74 See *HSABB* 1, 23 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 6 April 1860; the original is in the *ÖNB*.

75 See *HSABB*, 23-24 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 7 June 1860. It was in the second part of this letter, referred to earlier, that Bruckner complained of Storch's description of 'sad figures who slink around with heads bowed'. See earlier, footnote 48.

76 See *HSABB* 1, 25 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 9 December 1860; the original is in private possession. Raimund Kaan was a captain in the hussars, also active as a musician and composer.

77 Bruckner recorded his mother's death – "Mutter gestorb[en]" beside the date 11 November in the *Briefaschen-Kalender 1860*. See *MVP*, 11. See also *HSABB* 1, 24 for Bruckner's letter to his sister

would almost certainly have had to pay the funeral expenses of his mother who had died in Ebelsberg on 11 November, and he obviously required immediate payment of the debt.⁷⁷ Bruckner's financial problem appears to have been resolved satisfactorily. The following month he wrote again to Weinwurm, mentioning that he was hoping to spend the entire Lenten season (from Ash Wednesday, 13 February onwards) in Vienna, and asking his friend to find him some quiet, well-heated lodgings preferably in the inner city.⁷⁸ When Weinwurm replied, giving him

Rosalie Hueber, about their mother's death. It is dated Ebelsberg, 11 November 1860, and the original is in private possession in Vöcklabruck. Bruckner kept a photograph of his mother on her deathbed in a special place in his room (covered with a green curtain) for the rest of his life.

⁷⁸ See *HSABB*, 26 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 30 January 1861; the original is in private possession. See also earlier and footnote 30.

⁷⁹ See *HSABB*, 26 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 10 February 1861. The original has been lost. See also earlier and footnote 30.

the address of a hotel, Bruckner recalled his unhappy experience of the previous year when he had stayed at the *Kreuz* hotel in the Mariahilf area and had not been able to get to sleep until three or four in the morning. He said he would much prefer to stay with a 'nice stable family'. He gave Weinwurm the time of his expected arrival in Vienna, said that he had much to tell him and looked forward to be able to "put Linz behind me for a while."⁷⁹ While he was in Vienna, Bruckner made an official request to the committee of the *Wiener Männergesangverein* to borrow several choral pieces for *Frohsinn* in Linz.⁸⁰ Bruckner, Alois and Rudolf Weinwurm were all involved with their respective choirs in Krems at the end of June 1861. Just before this, Bruckner wrote to Rudolf to thank him and the *Männergesangverein* on his own behalf and on behalf of *Frohsinn* for sending the music he had requested. He had recommended relatively simple pieces for his choir in order to avoid 'too severe criticism'. 'If only the rehearsals were better attended', he complained. In this letter Bruckner also referred to the post of director of the *Dommusikverein* and *Mozarteum* in Salzburg which had become vacant because of Alois Taux's death in April.⁸¹ He had heard that there was a possible candidate for

⁸⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 27 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 23 March 1861; the original is in the Wiener Männergesang-Verein archives.

⁸¹ See *HSABB* 1, 27-28 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 21 June 1861. The original is in private

the post from Innsbruck and asked Weinwurm if he himself was interested. Bruckner's own interest in the position seems to have waned when he discovered that Hans Schläger, a former colleague in St. Florian, was the front runner, and yet he regarded it as a matter of honour to undergo the ordeal of travelling to Salzburg in September and conducting the *Singakademie* choir. The whole story was graphically related by Bruckner in another letter to Weinwurm. At the end of the letter, he referred to his intention to be formally examined in Vienna in November:

... Schläger is a *dictator* under Hillebrandt in Salzburg. I could say a lot about this but will confine myself to the following. I received letter after letter, i.e. written invitations to travel to Salzburg to take rehearsals. This was after I had already heard from Schläger, who was with me, that he was the favourite. And so, I did not go. When I eventually received an urgent letter, however, and realised that it was now a question of salvaging my reputation, I decided to travel to Salzburg on the night of Thursday 19th last month. I conducted there on the Friday and Saturday and returned here on Saturday night. Hillebrandt had spoken to some people about my ability in insulting, even contemptuous terms. I will never forget the struggles I had on the Friday evening. You can well imagine the situation. The ladies of the *Singakademie*, stirred up by the Hillebrandt faction, were all against me - it was shocking. But I did not give up and, finally, my choral piece (7-part *Ave Maria*) was very well received and applauded twice. At the end Hillebrandt was *very frank*, indeed *too frank*, with me. But I will tell you all about it in November. It is reported that Schläger was appointed at a reduced salary of 600 florins. All the best to him!

The newspapers already knew about the situation before there was a meeting in Salzburg. I made enquiries on your behalf. We will have a good laugh about it here in Linz. A novel could be, indeed ought to be, written about the filling of this 600-florin post.

I was grossly insulted by *Frohsinn* and resigned from the choir in September. Sechter stayed with me for a few days. I am thinking

of travelling to Vienna in the second half of November. Could you be available, please, and possibly make a few preparations. In any case I would like to invite Randhartinger, the court music director, and Gottfried Preyer to be members of the examining committee. Write to me soon. Sechter will oversee the examination.⁸²

In the summer of 1862 Bruckner took the first steps to secure a post at the Court Chapel in Vienna. Ignaz Aßmayr died at the end of August and was replaced as chief music director by Benedikt Randhartinger. Gottfried Preyer became assistant director, and Sechter and Ludwig Rotter were the two paid organists. Sechter visited Bruckner on his way back to Vienna from Friedberg and promised that he would recommend him to Randhartinger as a supernumerary organist designate. Joseph von Arneth, a government official and the brother of the abbot of St. Florian, heard Bruckner play the organ at the St. Augustine's Day service in St. Florian on 28 August and was so impressed that he was willing to use his influence, and Count O'Hegerty, a former student of Bruckner's from the St. Florian days, undertook to speak on his behalf to Prince Karl Liechtenstein, the Lord Chamberlain. Bruckner also had another friend in high places, a certain Count Johann Karl Huyn, an officer in the Austrian army, who had heard his organ playing and was convinced that his future lay in a move to Vienna. On 4 September Weinwurm wrote to Bruckner about the vacancy in the music staff of the Court Chapel and gave him some good advice about the various diplomatic steps he should take, including the submission of original compositions, so that he could muster support for a possible application.⁸³ In his reply Bruckner assured Weinwurm that he had already taken

82 See *HSABB*, 28-29 for the text of Bruckner's official application for the post in Salzburg, dated Linz, 22 June 1861. Franz von Hillebrandt (1796-1871), a Salzburg lawyer, was largely responsible for the foundation of the *Dommusikverein* and the *Mozarteum* in 1841 as an artistic institution for the promotion of music, especially choral music.⁷ He was its administrative director for 30 years. Its first music director was Alois Taux (1817-61).

83 See *HSABB*, 30-31 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 3 October 1861; the original is owned privately. Benedikt Randhartinger (1802-93) became assistant court music director in Vienna in 1844 and succeeded Ignaz Aßmayr as principal music director in 1862. He retired four years later, in 1866.

certain steps, including a letter to Randhartinger to express interest in a possible post. Unfortunately, because of his extended period of study with Sechter, he had very few original compositions to his name. Enclosing a copy of his seven-part *Ave Maria*, he asked Weinwurm to try to persuade Ferdinand Stegmayer, professor of choral singing at the Conservatory, to perform it. If there was a performance, he would try to approach all the music critics, for instance Selmar Bagge, from whom he could expect favourable reviews. If Weinwurm had the opportunity to speak to Randhartinger on his behalf in the meantime, he would be most grateful.⁸⁴ All Bruckner's efforts were in vain. At first, he was informed by Randhartinger that there would be a competition for the vacancy in due course and that he would certainly be apprised of any developments. At the same time, he heard a conflicting report from another person (unnamed) in Vienna that Pius Richter was being considered for the post.⁸⁵ At the end of September or beginning of October both Sechter and Arneth wrote to Bruckner to confirm that no supernumerary organist would be appointed in the interim. In any case, since such a post would be an unpaid one, the successful candidate would have to reside in Vienna. Because of the uncertainty of any other prospects for Bruckner in Vienna at this stage in his career, he decided not to pursue his application.⁸⁶ Six months later Bruckner heard

Gottfried Preyer (1807-1901) was director of music at St. Stephen's, Vienna and became Randhartinger's assistant in 1862.

84 See *HSABB* 1, 35-36 for the text of this letter; the original is in St. Florian.

85 See *HSABB* 1, 36-37 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 7 September 1862; the original is in the *Stiftungs-, Dokumentations und Forschungsstelle des deutschen Chorwesens e.V.*, Feuchtwangen.

86 Bruckner conveyed this information to Weinwurm in a letter, dated Linz, 23 September 1862. See *HSABB* 1, 38 for the text of this letter; the original is owned privately.

from Sechter that he had been forced by ill health to give up his position at the Court Chapel (for which he had received the imperial 'long service' medal) and that his duties were now confined to teaching at the Conservatory. Pius Richter, known to both Randhartinger and the Lord Chamberlain, had been appointed first organist-designate and Rudolf Bibl second organist-designate.⁸⁷

Bruckner spent the summer of 1863 putting the finishing touches to his Symphony in F minor WAB 99 and Psalm 112 WAB 35. He referred to both these works and to another composition he was preparing for the *Oberösterreichisches Sängerbundesfest (Festival of Upper Austrian Choral Societies)* in 1865 - *Germanenzug* WAB 70 - in a letter written to Weinwurm at the beginning of September. He was intending to go to a music festival in Munich at the end of the month and hoped to see Weinwurm there.⁸⁸ But his friend was unable to attend, and Bruckner had to be satisfied with a letter to which he replied shortly after his return from Munich early in October. While in Munich he had met the renowned critic Hanslick who had mentioned Weinwurm several times. Otherwise, he had not been able to 'make the acquaintance of important men, far less perform for them.' However, he had introduced himself to Franz Lachner:

... I eventually introduced myself to Lachner and asked him to have a quick look at my compositions. After two days he said, 'My congratulations, your works are distinguished by a good flow of ideas and awareness of structure and a fine sense of direction. I would not be averse to performing your symphony sometime in

87 See *HSABB* 1, 39 for Bruckner's letter to Weinwurm, dated Linz, 20 October 1862; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Bruckner was also able to congratulate his friend, who had been experiencing severe financial difficulties, on his appointment as singing teacher at Vienna University. The letters from Sechter and Arneth have been lost.

88 See *HSABB* 1, 39-40 for Sechter's letter to Bruckner, dated Vienna, 27 March 1863; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Pius Richter (1818-1893) was a piano tutor at the court from 1857. He became a paid organist at the court in 1868 and was appointed assistant music director in September 1893, three months before his death. Rudolf Bibl (1832-1902), a pupil of Sechter, was appointed organist at St. Stephen's in 1859. He eventually became court music director in 1897.

the future but have already selected Herbeck's for this winter season.'

This was more or less the gist of what he had to say. He then told me how both he and Schubert had been rejected by the court chapel in Vienna. He became very friendly after I related my own story to him...

I have started making preparations for a tour next year - it is my intention to give organ concerts...⁸⁹

Bruckner again mooted the possibility of giving organ concerts in Germany when he wrote to Weinwurm in February 1864. After providing his friend with information about his *Germanenzug* and asking him if he could recommend a Viennese harpist who would be able to play the harp part in the solo quartet and be prepared to travel to Linz the following year when the work was to be formed during the Choral Festival in the town, he added:

... Could I ask you either to write yourself or arrange for a letter to be sent to Dresden and Leipzig to determine whether it would be possible to give concerts or whether I should play, unpaid, only free fantasias? The audiences should include many influential invited guests. Bagge etc. would certainly make the best recommendations. Please, this is a matter of urgency because of the preparations I will have to make...⁹⁰

Writing to Weinwurm again at the beginning of the following month, Bruckner passed on some advice from Alois concerning the instrumentation of the piece he (Rudolf) was writing for the Choral Festival - he should keep it as simple as possible.

89 See *HSABB* 1, 42 for this letter, dated Linz, 1 September 1863; the original is owned privately.⁹⁰ Extract from Bruckner's letter to Weinwurm, dated Linz, 8 October 1863. See *HSABB* 1, 42-43 for the complete text; the original is owned privately. Bruckner's meeting with Lachner was also reported in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 31 July 1863. Franz Lachner (1803-1890) studied with Sechter in Vienna in the 1820s and made the acquaintance of both Beethoven and Schubert. From 1836 until his retirement in 1868 he played a prominent part in the musical life of Munich as director of the court opera, conductor of choral and orchestral concerts, and director of music festivals in 1855 and 1863.

90 Extract from letter, dated Linz, 25 February 1864. See *HSABB* 1, 45-46 for the complete text; the original is not extant. It was first published in *ABB*, 54-55.

Bruckner again broached the subject of a concert tour:

... In connection with the tour, I should tell you that, unfortunately, I do not have any repertoire, although I have played Bach and Mendelssohn. I have neither the time nor the volition to be particularly concerned about this, as it serves no purpose. Organists are always badly paid, and, in my opinion, if concerts cannot be arranged to run at a profit, the best solution is to perform without a fee and to improvise fantasias etc. without music. I believe that there are any number of competent players around who can perform the works of other composers well. Do you not agree? I would rather not waste time wondering whether I can give concerts. Please don't forget to write to Dresden and Leipzig...

At the end of the letter, he confessed to feelings of depression and disenchantment, referred to recent changes in the administration of the Linz *Musikverein* and alluded to forthcoming concerts in Vienna which he might attend.⁹¹ The proposed concert tour did not materialize.

In referring to changes in the *Musikverein* Bruckner was no doubt recalling his own involvement a few months earlier. At the end of October 1863, the committee of the *Musikverein* asked Bruckner to succeed Engelbert Lanz as artistic director, take charge of the next concert and perform one of his own compositions. In his reply Bruckner gave clear indication of how concerned he was that the Society should have a much more secure financial and artistic standing:

... Honoured as I am by the invitation of your esteemed committee to assume the artistic direction of the *Musikverein*, may I be permitted to point out that this direction would be contingent upon the following conditions:

The Society can only fulfil its duties if it is furnished with the necessary means, viz. active and supporting members.

91 See *HSABB* 1, 46-47 for the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 1 March 1864; the original is in the University library, Leipzig. On 22 March, the Tuesday of Holy Week, Bruckner heard a performance of Bach's *St. John Passion* in Vienna, conducted by Johann Herbeck. As *Weinwurm* stayed with Bruckner in Linz from 26 March until 7 April it is possible that Bruckner stayed in Vienna until the end of the week and returned to Linz with his friend.

What is particularly necessary is a recruiting drive both within the Society and the numerous musical bodies outside the Society so that its artistic strength can be gauged. There should be an accurate register of those ladies who are not pupils of the Society as well as pupils of the Society who can sing soprano and alto, of those men who can sing tenor and bass, and of those who are string players, wind players etc.

This urgent appeal to participate as active members should be made not only to the fairly large number of current musical friends but also to those who have an enthusiasm for beautiful art, one condition being that they promise to attend a weekly practice regularly.

The supporting members should be levied to supply the material resources.

Although an increase in the number of supporting members can be accomplished especially by the good performance of first-rate works, it would be extremely important, immediately after determining who the active members were, to produce a circular letter in which the entire situation, viz. the need for financial support, was brought to the attention of the religious and civic dignitaries and the townspeople and a voluntary annual subscription was sought. Men like the mayor will certainly be able to commit themselves to more than two florins annually, even if they are members already.

NB. As His Majesty the Emperor already releases large sums of money to the music societies not only in Vienna but in the provinces as well, a petition to the Emperor should have the greatest effect of all.

In this way the material standing of the Society could be improved. As far as raising the artistic standing is concerned, I will gladly devote all my energy, knowledge and ability to accomplish this, if it is facilitated by the preparation and organization outlined above. I am obliged to make a sincere request for an annual salary commensurate with the great effort and responsibility attached to the artistic direction of the Society, a salary which cannot possibly be considered unreasonable by those gentlemen who have some conception of thorough musical training in relation to the expenditure and enormous effort involved, who understand what it means to raise the musical standards of a Society, and who are also aware of my own circumstances.⁹²

92 See *HSABB* 1, 44 for the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 6 November 1863, which was in reply to the request made on 22 October; the original is in the Linz *Singakademie* archives.

Bruckner's ideas were premature. Engelbert Lanz had not received any financial remuneration for his efforts and, as very little money was evidently available, Bruckner's suggestions were declined.⁹³

Bruckner spent the summer of 1864 working on his D minor Mass. His original intention was to have it ready for performance at the Emperor's summer residence in Bad Ischl, but he was not able to meet this self-imposed deadline. In his next letter to Weinwurm, written in October, he apologized for not writing earlier. He had been expecting to see Weinwurm again in Linz in August, but, when the visit did not go ahead, had decided to postpone writing until he could share the news that his Mass was finished. He was hoping for a performance on St. Caecilia's day. In the meantime, he had played the organ at Bad Ischl for the Emperor's name-day on 4 October.⁹⁴ In his reply two days later, Weinwurm informed Bruckner that there was a proposal to begin an organ class in the Conservatory and registered his surprise that Sechter had not mentioned this in recent letters to Bruckner. As the lecturer appointed would also share in harmony teaching, Weinwurm thought that his friend would be ideally suited to the post. Even though the pay would be quite low, at least it would provide a basis for other activities in Vienna.⁹⁵ Perhaps because Weinwurm also mentioned that a certain Hermann Köhler had been named as a candidate for the position, Bruckner did not make any reference to the possibility of moving to Vienna in his next letter to his friend. Instead, in a fit of melancholy, he

93 According to some commentators, including Auer, *ABB*, 53 footnote and Nowak, *Anton Bruckner und Linz. Katalog zur Ausstellung 1964* (Linz, 1964), 70, Lanz resumed his unpaid position. According to the report of the Linz *Musikverein* published in 1871 to commemorate its 50th birthday, however, Karl Weilnböck succeeded Lanz.

94 See *HSABB* 1, 49 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 10 October 1864. The original is owned privately; there is a facsimile of the first page in J.A. Stargardt, *Versteigerungskatalog* 630 (Marburg, 1983), 251.

95 See *HSABB* 1, 50-51 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 12 October 1864. Weinwurm also provided news of his own activities and other musical happenings in Vienna, lamenting the dearth of performances of modern music. The original of this letter has been lost; it was first published in *ABB*, 373-76.

complained about the lack of harmony and piano pupils because of fee undercutting in Linz and said that he would be prepared to go abroad - to Russia, even Mexico! - if he did not obtain any recognition in Linz.⁹⁶ Two months later, however, his mood had changed. Two performances of his new Mass in D minor WAB 26 in Linz, the first in the cathedral on 20 November, the second in the *Redoutensaal* on 18 December, had pleased Bruckner immensely. After congratulating Weinwurm on his own recent conducting successes in Vienna, he mentioned the two Linz performances of the Mass and enclosed copies of the favourable reviews in the *Linzer Zeitung* and the *Abendbote*. He continued:

...Archduke Josef also attended my concert... I am having a fair copy of the full score made at present. Do you think that I should send it later through you to Hanslick and Herbeck? It requires too many rehearsals for a church performance (even when the singers and instrumentalists involved are the most capable court musicians). And what choir director would be pleased with that state of affairs? My own feeling is that the best solution would be if Herbeck found it good enough to perform as part of a *Musikverein* concert. (Or Dessoff, if that was not appropriate) - or Krenn? - but who would hear it there? What do you think? I hope to speak to you soon, as I intend travelling over for the Ninth Symphony and for the Philharmonic concert. I don't know when this will be. Please write to me...⁹⁷

Weinwurm did write to him, communicating the excellent news that he would be prepared to conduct a performance of the Mass during the University of Vienna's

96 See *HSABB*, 51-52 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 18 October 1864; the original is owned privately. Bruckner also referred to Mexico in another letter to an unknown recipient - dated Linz, 10 October 1864; see *HSABB* 1, 49 for the text of this letter, the original of which is in the library of the University of Basel.

97 See *HSABB* 1, 52-53 for the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 26 December 1864; the original is owned privately; there is a facsimile of the first page in Stargardt, *Versteigerungskatalog* 628 (Marburg, 1983), 245. Franz Krenn (1816-97) was music director of a church in the Mariahilf district of Vienna. He later became one of Bruckner's teaching colleagues at the Vienna Conservatory. The performance of Beethoven's Ninth was given by the Vienna Philharmonic on 26 December, the date of this letter!

500th birthday celebrations in 1865. Not only Bruckner but ‘almost the whole of Linz’ was delighted by this honour:

... As soon as a fair copy of the score has been made, you will receive it together with all the individual parts. From now on the Mass should not be performed anywhere else before the University jubilee. Above all I must tell you that it is very difficult to perform. Even with the best Viennese forces at your disposal, you will require very thorough study of the chorus parts and many rehearsals because the intonation is difficult. Several orchestral rehearsals will be necessary on account of the very precise nuances. And then, finally, a couple of dress rehearsals. It goes without saying that I will place all the means that I possess at your disposal. (Perhaps you could also use this opportunity to perform my 7-part *Ave Maria*.) I beg you to remain firm and not to accept any other Mass. (You will probably be harassed on all sides.) When is the jubilee this year? In July? I will come in any case, as will Alois and several others from Linz. Alois sends you his greetings. He is going to write to you today. I now feel very happy. To have such a friend as you is a great blessing. Perhaps I will come to see you during Lent...⁹⁸

Later in the month Bruckner sent Weinwurm the score and parts of the Mass, emphasised once again the need for the chorus parts to be rehearsed thoroughly, and asked his friend to let Hanslick and other potential reviewers see the score. He also added as a postscript the request that Weinwurm return the score of his symphony - presumably the F minor symphony - as soon as he had perused it.⁹⁹ In his reply Weinwurm mentioned how helpful it would be to have a piano score of the Mass for rehearsal purposes. Bruckner, writing again a few days later, said that he did not have any time at present to prepare a piano score. He recommended Dorn, who was in Vienna at the time, as a suitable accompanist, and added that it would

98 See *HSABB* 1, 53-54 for the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 3 January 1865; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Weinwurm's letter to Bruckner has not been traced. Perhaps he wrote to his brother Alois, and Alois passed on the good news to Bruckner?

99 See *HSABB* 1, 54-55 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 21 January 1865; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Bruckner had referred to this symphony in an earlier letter to Weinwurm (7 September 1862); see footnote 85.

not be difficult to construct a piano part from the vocal parts. He hoped to be able to send Weinwurm 100 florins for the Vienna performance and suggested that some of the money be used to prepare a proper piano score. In the meantime, he was busy working on his C-minor symphony and now had more private pupils to teach. But he was in low spirits - a recent proposal of marriage to the adopted daughter of a respectable family had been declined - and wished that he lived nearer Rudolf.¹⁰⁰

There is a gap of almost twelve months before Bruckner's next letter to Rudolf Weinwurm. That Weinwurm was not able to perform Bruckner's Mass as promised is a possible explanation. Events at the *Upper Austrian Choral Festival* in Linz in June 1865 no doubt put a further strain on the friendship. Before the festival Bruckner, accompanied by Carl Pichler-Bodog, director of the Linz theatre, and Franz Schober, one of his harmony students, travelled to Munich to be present at the first performance of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* on 15 May. He met Wagner, who gave him a signed photograph, Hans von Bülow and Anton Rubinstein and showed von Bülow and Rubinstein the completed sections of his C minor Symphony. According to Bruckner, they had a few reservations but were generally enthusiastic.¹⁰¹ Because of the indisposition of Mrs. Schnorr-Carolsfeld, the first *Isolde*, the first three performances of the opera had to be postponed. Bruckner had to return to Linz to conduct his *Germanenzug* at the Choral Festival (4 - 6 June) and, as a result, did not see *Tristan und Isolde* until its third performance on Monday 19 June.¹⁰²

100 See *HSABB* 1, 55-56 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 29 January 1865; the original is owned privately.

101 See *G-A III/1*, 315-16 for Bruckner's account. Reports of Bruckner's visit to Munich in the *Linzer Zeitung* 111 (14 May 1865) and the *Neue Freie Presse* 257 (18 May 1865) are cited in Leopold Nowak, op.cit., 144-45. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15 (2009), *Dokumente*, 265 for an extract from the report of the Choral Festival in the *Österreichischer Volksfreund* (8 June 1865), and Othmar Wessely, 'Anton Bruckner und Linz', *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1954* (Linz, 1955), 262 for the text of Ludwig Speidel's report in *Fremdenblatt* of the postponement of the premiere of *Tristan und Isolde* in which he mentions Bruckner's difficulties at the Austrian / Bavarian border because he did not have the proper travelling documents with him. Evidently Herbeck came to his rescue!

102 According to Bruckner's own account (*G-A III/1*, 317), he returned to Munich immediately after the end of the festival. See *GrBL*, 39 for a reference to a report in the *Linzer Zeitung* 129 (7 June 1865) of Bruckner's intended return visit to Munich. According to Uwe Harten, however, Bruckner

Between his visits to Munich he won second prize at the Festival. Rudolf Weinwurm's *Germania* won first prize - but Bruckner did not accept this decision with good grace, believing that his composition was superior to that of his friend! He was also suspicious that Alois Weinwurm, who was one of the adjudicators, may have influenced the other members of the adjudicating committee in favour of his brother.¹⁰³ The immediate result was a temporary breach in the relationship until the beginning of 1866. In the meantime, Bruckner was sufficiently heartened by Hanslick's encouragement to continue setting his sights on Vienna. Hanslick was present at the Festival, and, at the end of the year, recalled his visit with pleasure by sending Bruckner a signed copy of Schumann's Mass op. 147.¹⁰⁴

Bruckner's next letter to Rudolf Weinwurm at the beginning of 1866 suggests that the breach in the relationship had been essentially between Bruckner and Alois Weinwurm. Some words which Bruckner had uttered somewhat rashly to Franz Melichar, a member of *Frohsinn*, had been reported to Alois who had taken offence and had written in very cool terms to Bruckner, withdrawing the hand of friendship. But Alois had been ill, Bruckner had visited him several times, and their friendship had been restored, albeit without the same cordiality as hitherto. Bruckner was now working on the Adagio of his [C minor] symphony. The other movements, including a new Scherzo, had been written, and he looked forward to showing them to Weinwurm.¹⁰⁵

was in Munich from 13 to 20 July. See Uwe Harten, 'Zu Anton Bruckners vorletzten Münchener Aufenthalt', in *Studien sur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (Tutzing, 1993), 324.

103 See later in the chapter for further information about *Germanenzug* and its reception.

104 Othmar Wessely, op.cit., 261, cites a report in the *Linzer Zeitung* 130 (8 June 1865) that Hanslick had asked Bruckner for a copy of the score of *Germanenzug*. Hanslick's gift to Bruckner is mentioned in *G-A III/1*, 321, Wessely, op.cit., 229, and Manfred Wagner, 'Bruckner in Wien', *ABDS* 2 (Graz, 1980), 50. The dedication is 'Herrn Anton Bruckner zur freundschaftlichen Erinnerung an Eduard Hanslick. Wien im Dezember 1865'. This dedication score is not extant - it is in neither the *ÖNB* nor the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* libraries.

105 See *HSABB* 1, 57 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 27 January 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

The cooler tone of Weinwurm's reply took Bruckner aback, and he was eager to repair any damage that had been caused unwittingly and to reassure Weinwurm of his affection and high regard for him. He also mentioned that Alois was still not well, and that Hanslick had been in Linz again and had suggested that Bruckner give an organ recital in Vienna in the autumn.¹⁰⁶ When he wrote to Weinwurm again the following month, Bruckner congratulated him on his recent appointment as conductor of the *Wiener Männergesangverein* and reiterated his expressions of esteem and friendship in spite of recent events. Alois was still having trouble with his eyes. Rehearsals of his First Symphony were about to begin but there were doubts about an early performance on account of the impending war.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the suggestion was made to Bruckner that he arrange a performance of the symphony for patriotic purposes. But Alois, who was of the opinion that all the music associations should respond to requests of this nature by singing only a few patriotic songs, advised him against it and, in any case, an undertaking of this nature would inevitably require a considerable amount of expenditure (rehearsals, writing out of parts) which would cause financial difficulties. Indeed, the rehearsals held so far had been very poorly attended.¹⁰⁸

Bruckner in the meantime had been renewing his attempts to secure a position of some kind in Vienna. In April 1866 Benedikt Randhartinger retired from his post as chief musical director at the Court and his place was taken by Johann Herbeck. The new Lord Chamberlain, Prince Constantin von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, had also initiated some much-needed reforms in the Court Chapel, and Bruckner clearly felt that the time was ripe for a positive approach. In a congratulatory letter to

106 See *HSABB* 1, 58 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 25 March 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Weinwurm's letter to Bruckner is not extant.

107 See *HSABB* 1, 59 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 14 April 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. The war referred to here was the Austro-Prussian war which resulted, after two initial successes, in a crushing defeat for the Austrian army at Königgrätz on 3 July.

108 See *HSABB* 1, 62-63 for Bruckner's letter to Weinwurm, dated Linz, 8 June 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

Herbeck, Bruckner reminded him of his encouraging words five years earlier and said that his future now lay in Herbeck's hands. Feeling more and more restricted by the lack of opportunity in Linz he made a heartfelt plea for help and ended with the rather dramatic words – 'otherwise I am lost.'¹⁰⁹ It was not long before Herbeck was in a position to give Bruckner the help he needed.

Bruckner's next letter to Weinwurm touches on a subject that was of great importance to the composer at this particular juncture in his life. His many brief 'affairs of the heart' throughout his life point to a desire for female companionship. He was obviously attracted to the fair sex and made many proposals of marriage, all of them rejected. His mother's death in 1860 had been a severe blow, particularly as he had often encouraged her to come to stay with him in Linz. His sister, Maria Anna, came to live with him in 1866 and moved with him to Vienna in 1868 but her untimely death in 1870 deprived him of another source of female companionship. According to Gräflinger,

It would be wrong to interpret Bruckner's relationship to women other than it was essentially - a harmless weakness of the composer. His life was not transfigured by a woman as, for instance, Robert Schumann's was by Clara Wieck or Richard Wagner's by Mathilde Wesendonck. He did not worship an "immortal beloved" as Beethoven did.¹¹⁰

Most of Bruckner's attempts to form deeper relationships with women were short-lived. Although he had a healthy appreciation of physical beauty, his strict moral and religious code would have prevented him from indulging in any improprieties. Consequently, his frequently irrational pursuit of a young lady who

¹⁰⁹ See *HSABB* 1, 60 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 30 April 1866. The original is in the *ÖNB*; there is a facsimile of the final page in Schneider. *Musikantiquariat, Katalog 316* (Tutzing, 1990), 17. Bruckner also thanked Herbeck for lending him the score of Schumann's *Scenes from Faust* (which he had just returned to him at his Conservatory address) and mentioned that he had been working on a symphony which he hoped to bring to Vienna.

¹¹⁰ Franz Gräflinger, *Liebes und Heiteres um Anton Bruckner* (Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1948), 84.

had attracted him would invariably lead to a marriage proposal which would inevitably be declined. It was as if Bruckner was going through the motions of the preliminary stages of a deeper relationship without being willing or able to go any further, perhaps because of some kind of psychological blockage. There were a very few exceptions to these brief platonic 'love affairs' and one example was a more serious relationship (on Bruckner's part) concerning Josefine Lang, the attractive daughter of a Linz butcher. He had first made her acquaintance at the end of the 1850s when he was employed for a short time as a supply teacher at the local school; she was one of his pupils. He had then invited her to join the church choir, had made friends with her brother Anton, and eventually, in August 1866, plucked up the courage to write to her, making a formal proposal of marriage. He urged her to be completely honest and to provide a definite answer: yes or no!¹¹¹ She declined, saying that, as a 17-year-old girl, she was really too young, and she returned his presents - a prayer-book and a gold watch. Although initially disappointed, Bruckner harboured no ill feelings. Indeed, 24 years later, he decided to visit Josefine, now Josefine Weilnböck, at her home in Neufelden and was surprised and delighted to meet her fourteen-year-old daughter, Caroline, who reminded him so much of her mother in younger days.¹¹²

At the beginning of the year Bruckner had informed Weinwurm of several improvements which had been made to his flat - at a cost of 300 florins which he

111 See *HSABB* 1, 63-64 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 16 August 1866. The original is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz; there is a facsimile in Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 113-16.

112 Josefine Lang (1844-1930) married Josef Weilnböck, a merchant, in 1870. On 21 April 1891, Bruckner wrote to Caroline, recalling the pleasant day he had spent, as well as to her mother. See *HSABB* 2, 134 for the texts of both letters; the originals are in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz. See also *HSABB* 2, 157 and 160-61 for an exchange of letters between Karl Waldeck and Bruckner, dated Linz, 11 November and Vienna, 20 November 1891 respectively, in which "Fräulein C" is almost certainly a reference to Caroline, and "Anton L..." a reference to Anton Lang, Caroline's uncle; the original of Waldeck's letter is in St. Florian and the original of Bruckner's letter is not extant but *Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag*, Vienna possesses a copy. Further information about Bruckner's visit to Neufelden in September 1890 is provided in Chapter 6.

had to borrow from his insurance society.¹¹³ Was he thinking seriously about marriage and ‘putting his house in order’, as it were, for such an eventuality? After the disappointment of Josefine Lang’s rejection of his suit, he immediately turned his attention to another young lady, the 18-year-old Henriette Reiter, who lived with her mother, the owner of a flower shop in the Josefstadt area of Vienna. Having made further enquiries about her through a friend in Steyr, he had been informed that her dowry would probably be 3000 florins. As he calculated that this sum, combined with his present level of income, would not be sufficient to provide her with the standard of living to which she was accustomed, he asked Weinwurm to find out more about her but, under no circumstances, to divulge his age. He considered that he looked younger than his 42 years!¹¹⁴ Bruckner also passed on a request from a Steyr choirmaster for further information about a choral piece which had been sung recently by the *Wiener Männergesangverein* at the Dresden Song Festival. Weinwurm replied by return of post, enclosing the necessary information, and Bruckner wrote again, mentioning both the Viennese girl and another young lady from Salzburg whose name he would like Weinwurm to send. He added, on a more serious note, that he had sent the score of his First Symphony to Dessoff and was awaiting his reaction.¹¹⁵ Writing to Weinwurm again a fortnight later, he felt constrained to warn him that he had heard in confidence about a group opposed to him within the *Männergesangverein*. He hoped that there was no foundation to this rumour but had every confidence that Weinwurm would know what to do in the event of a potentially difficult situation.¹¹⁶

113 See letter dated Linz, 27 January 1866 (footnote 105). See also the letter dated 13 March 1866 from the Linz parish priest Josef Schropp to Bruckner concerning partial reimbursement of the cost involved. There is a transcript of this letter in Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 272.

114 See *HSABB 1*, 64-65 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 30 August 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

115 See *HSABB 1*, 65-66 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 2 September 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

116 See *HSABB 1*, 66 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 18 September 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. The opposing faction apparently preferred Adolf Lorenz, a

At the end of October Bruckner heard from Sechter, now 78 years of age, that persistent illness was confining him to his house, with the result that his Conservatory pupils had now to come to him for their lessons. Sechter hoped that Bruckner would pay him a visit the next time he was in Vienna and show him some of his recent compositions.¹¹⁷ A few days later, Bruckner, concerned about Sechter's health, asked Weinwurm if he could obtain further information about his former teacher's domestic situation and, if possible, arrange for some other medical assistance to be made available. He himself was recovering from a bout of flu but hoped to have the time and energy to attend a forthcoming performance of Beethoven's Ninth in Vienna. He expressed his concern about Weinwurm in view of an outbreak of cholera in the city.¹¹⁸ Early in December he wrote again to Weinwurm, asking him to obtain two tickets - for Alois and himself - for the Berlioz concert, and adding that he also wanted to hear Beethoven's Ninth even if it meant travelling to Vienna again on another occasion. He also mentioned that he had completed his E minor Mass, written specifically for the dedication of the Votive Chapel of the new cathedral in Linz, and a piece for male-voice choir.¹¹⁹

The first signs of a severe depression which led to a nervous breakdown during the spring of 1867 are alluded to in Bruckner's next letter to Weinwurm. In enclosing ten florins, presumably the cost of the December concert tickets, he

member of the choir from 1846 until 1900.

¹¹⁷ See *HSABB* 1, 67 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 31 October 1866; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Sechter was suffering from what he described as 'chronic diarrhoea'.

¹¹⁸ See *HSABB* 1, 67-68 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 4 November 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. There was a cholera epidemic in Vienna in August 1866 which claimed the lives of about 5,000 people. See also A.C. Howie, 'Bruckner and Covid-19', in *The Bruckner Journal* 24/2 (November 2020), 9-11.

¹¹⁹ See *HSABB* 1, 68 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 2 December 1866; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Berlioz himself conducted his *Damnation of Faust* in the large *Redoutensaal* in Vienna on 16 December 1866. The performance of Beethoven's Ninth did not take place until 24 February 1867. The male-voice piece mentioned by Bruckner is *O könnt' ich dich beglücken* WAB 92, written for the *Niederösterreichische Sängerbund*, conducted by Storch.

apologized for the delay and hinted at a bout of extreme tiredness which had prevented him from writing sooner. He was pleased to report that his friendship with Alois had returned to its former cordiality and passed on a request from *Frohsinn* for the name of a chorus by Schumann which Weinwurm had conducted several years previously. He was intending to travel to Vienna for Herbeck's performance of his D minor Mass in the Court Chapel on 10 February and asked for Weinwurm's advice about when he should come and what he should do.¹²⁰

The day before his letter to Weinwurm Bruckner wrote to Herbeck, thanking him for his willingness to perform the D minor Mass and asking him if his *Afferentur* WAB 1 and *Ave Maria* WAB 6 could be used as the Gradual and Offertory respectively. He hoped to be in Vienna on the 8th or 9th of February.¹²¹ Ludwig Speidel, who had written a complimentary report of Bruckner's organ playing in the *Piaristenkirche* nine years earlier, had the distinction of providing the first review of the performance of a Bruckner work in Vienna. Writing about the performance of the D minor Mass in the *Hofburgkapelle*, with Herbeck conducting and Bruckner playing the organ, he pointed out that Bruckner had nothing to be modest about, in view of his 'great theoretical knowledge' and his 'truly outstanding organ playing.'¹²²

Bruckner's next three letters to Weinwurm were written from Bad Kreuzen where he spent a three-month period of convalescence - from 8 May until 8 August - after his nervous breakdown in the spring of 1867. Some indication of the nature of the illness is given in the first letter:

120 See *HSABB* 1, 70-71 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 18 January 1867; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. The Schumann chorus was his *Ritornelle in canonischen Weisen* for male-voice choir which Weinwurm performed on 24 January 1861.

121 See *HSABB* 1, 70 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 17 January 1867; the original is in the Music Division of the New York Public Library.

122 From Speidel's review in the *Fremdenblatt* 41 (11 February 1867). This review was reprinted in the *Linzer Abendbote* on 13 February and, in a slightly abbreviated form, in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 14 February 1867; see Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 66 for facsimile. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 277 – 83 for further documentation, including previews and reports in the Vienna and Upper Austrian Press.

... You have heard nothing more from me since my journey back from Vienna. You also did not attempt to find out how I was getting on. As I presume that you still want to hear from me and as other reasons also make it necessary, I am taking this opportunity of writing to you and, above all, of apologizing for not yet being able to grant your wish. Despite what you may think or may have suspected - or indeed heard - it was not because of laziness! It was much more serious than that!!! It was total collapse and desolation, chronic stress, and nervous breakdown! I was in the most shocking state. I am confessing it to you alone – don't breathe a word. A little longer and I would have been finished, totally lost. Dr. Fadinger in Linz has already informed me that madness would have been a possible outcome. God be praised! He has saved me from that. I have been in Bad Kreuzen near Grein since 8 May. I have felt a little better over the last few weeks. But I am not allowed to play, study or work. Can you imagine such ill fortune! I am a poor fellow! Herbeck sent me the scores of my Mass [in E minor] and Symphony [no. 1 in C minor] without writing a word. Is everything quite so bad, then? Please find out, dear friend and write to me here, wretched and forsaken in my exile. If you had come to Linz at Easter, you would have been shocked by my condition.¹²³

Although Bruckner was overjoyed to receive a letter from Weinwurm, he was not able to reply immediately because of a temporary setback in his recovery. As he put it rather quaintly in his next letter, he delayed writing until he could relate 'only good things.' He also provided Weinwurm with a brief timetable of his daily activities at the sanatorium. Perhaps outside visitors were discouraged, but Bruckner's poignant 'no one from Linz has ever visited me here' makes particularly sad reading.¹²⁴

123 See *HSABB* 1, 71 for the text of this letter, dated Bad Kreuzen, 19 June 1867. The original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*; there is a facsimile of the second page in Leopold Nowak, *op.cit.*, 127.

124 See *HSABB* 1, 73 for the text of this letter, dated Bad Kreuzen, 15 July 1867. The original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*; a facsimile of part of the first page was reproduced in the brochure for *BSL 1994*. Weinwurm's letter to Bruckner is not extant.

In response to Weinwurm's request for a more detailed description of what was involved in the cure - one of Weinwurm's friends had evidently been making enquiries - Bruckner wrote that it was a 'cold water establishment, with very good air and springs but not particularly good drinking water'. The treatment consisted of a mixture of baths - foot baths, 'sitting baths', 'wave baths' - and sessions during which the patient had to sit swathed in wet linen cloths. He had to drink frequently from the springs. Apart from a three-course midday meal, the diet included only milk ('cold, sour, and hot') and fruit. The treatment was geared to the needs of the individual patient and was determined on a day-by-day basis by the doctor. It was a long day, beginning at about 4 a.m. and finishing at about 9 p.m. There were about 100 patients, and social activities were organized regularly. Bruckner, however, preferred to be on his own. The cost differed from patient to patient. Bruckner's monthly outgoings amounted to about 80 florins. The normal length of stay was six weeks, but some conditions required three-month or even six-month treatment.¹²⁵

The loan of 250 florins from his Insurance Society which Bruckner had arranged at the beginning of his three-month cure covered the total cost of approximately 226 florins. About a month after leaving Bad Kreuzen Bruckner wrote to the episcopal office in Linz requesting some financial help in view of the amount of

¹²⁵ See *HSABB* 1, 74 for the text of this letter, dated Bad Kreuzen, 21 July 1867; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Bruckner also recommended that Weinwurm's friend contact Dr. Keyhl for further information. Dr. Maximilian Florian Keyhl (d. 31 May 1870) established the 'cold water sanatorium' in Bad Kreuzen in 1846. There is a list of those who took the cure (which was printed in 1874) in the library of the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*; see Rupert Gottfried Frieberger, 'Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte und Musikpflege im Mühlviertel', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 263 for a facsimile of the title page and one page from this list. Although Bruckner did not receive any visits from acquaintances in Linz, two letters from Alois Brutscher, a tradesman from Krems who had apparently been at Bad Kreuzen for treatment and had befriended the composer while he was there, are extant. They show a touching concern for Bruckner's health and well-being. Brutscher asks to be remembered to Dr. Keyhl, J.B. Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, and Simon Kremshuber, a priest from Linz (probably the priest sent by Bishop Rudigier to provide Bruckner with spiritual help), all of whom he had presumably met at Bad Kreuzen. It would appear that Bruckner was not forgotten by the church at least! See *HSABB* 1, 72 and 75 for these two letters, dated Krems, 5 July and 10 August 1867 respectively; the originals are in St. Florian. Bruckner's reply to Brutscher's first letter (alluded to at the beginning of Brutscher's second letter) is not extant.

money he had to spend on his treatment. He received 60 florins.¹²⁶

Towards the end of November Weinwurm was informed that Bruckner's D minor Mass was to be performed in Linz at the beginning of January 1868. As the score of the Mass had been lent to Count Laurencin d'Armond in Vienna and Bruckner now required it for rehearsal purposes, he asked his friend to recover it as quickly as possible and send it immediately to Linz.¹²⁷

Bruckner had occasion to write to Weinwurm several times in 1868 when a move to Vienna was becoming a strong probability rather than a mere possibility. After 1868 there was no longer the need for such regular epistolary contact, and what letters are available were written to mark such significant events as Weinwurm's 50th birthday, the first performance of Bruckner's *Te Deum*, the award of the Franz Josef Order to Bruckner, and Bruckner's 70th birthday.¹²⁸

Two of Bruckner's most understanding friends during his Linz years were the district commissioner, Moritz von Mayfeld, and his wife Betty.¹²⁹ They gave him immense encouragement when his first truly original compositions began to appear in the 1860s. After his move to Vienna, they saw him frequently because they had an apartment in the city where they lived during the winter months. In later years Bruckner visited his two friends in their country house at Schwanenstadt. Their

126 See *HSABB* 1, 76 for the incomplete text of Bruckner's letter, dated 3 September 1867. The original of the letter, the text of which was first published in *GrBL* (1911), 44 is not extant. Bruckner's request was received on 4 September and granted on 6 October. See Elisabeth Maier, "Kirchenmusik auf schiefen Bahnen". Zur Situation in Linz von 1850 bis 1900', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 113; the originals of the relevant documents are in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 283, 287-88 and 290 for transcripts of the invoice from Bad Kreuzen, dated 15 August 1867 (original in the Bruckner-Archiv, St. Florian) and the other relevant documents.

127 See *HSABB* 1, 79 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 27 November 1867; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Count Ferdinand Peter Laurencin d'Armond (1819-1890) was a music critic and keen supporter of Liszt and Wagner.

128 See *HSABB* 1, 273-74 (17 April 1885), 308 (13 January 1886), 334 (9 July 1886) and *HSABB* 2, 279 (3 September 1894) for the texts of these letters.

129 Moritz von Mayfeld (1817-1904) was a keen art- and music-lover. He dedicated one of his two *Tristan* transcriptions to Bruckner. Betty von Mayfeld (1831-1908) was an accomplished amateur pianist. Bruckner derived great pleasure from listening to them playing the Beethoven symphonies in piano-duet versions. See, Maier, *ABDS* 15, 50-52 for further information about the Mayfelds.

concern for Bruckner and desire that he should make his way socially in the Austrian capital occasionally led to some expressions of dismay at his sartorial habits! But even such pointed remarks as ‘did you make these clothes yourself or did you have them cut by a joiner?’ seem to have made very little impression on the stubborn Bruckner whose Upper Austrian dress sense was a source of much amusement. In matters musical, however, Bruckner was clearly indebted to Mayfeld who, in his capacity as music critic of the *Linzer Zeitung*, was one of the first to recognize and draw attention to the composer’s creative gifts.

Another of Bruckner’s acquaintances in Linz was Karl Waldeck. Waldeck first came to Linz as a student teacher in 1856/57 during which he had organ lessons from Bruckner and deputized for him at the early morning Mass.¹³⁰ From 1858 to 1861 he was employed as an assistant teacher outside Linz but returned in 1861 to take up a teaching position in the town and to be organist at the Capuchin church. On renewing his acquaintance with Bruckner, he was the witness of many of the latter’s hasty ‘affairs of the heart’. He often accompanied the composer on Sunday afternoon walks or, if the weather was poor, would spend time with him in his rooms listening to excerpts from his latest compositions:

... As a result of showing great interest in Bruckner’s playing and of taking the opportunity of recommending him as a piano teacher, I came into favour again. I attended the cathedral services to hear him play and usually went walking with him after Vespers. If the weather was bad, he would play me sketches from his compositions of which only the outer parts were generally available in sketch form. After he had played me the sketch of the *Credo* from his F minor Mass one day, he asked for my opinion. I said that the ‘Et incarnatus est’ seemed to me not to be on the same high level as the other parts of the *Credo*. After reflecting for a short time Bruckner said, ‘How would this be?’, whereupon he improvised a theme for solo tenor with quaver accompaniment in a high register. This struck me as being much better, and Bruckner immediately wrote it down and retained it. Whenever

¹³⁰ As a trainee teacher, Karl Waldeck (1841-1905) also received musical instruction from Dürrnberger and Lanz.

Bruckner improvised on the piano, the light had to be put out. I had to play my own attempts at composition to him and I was always praised. When the conversation turned on one occasion to the subject of how much effort was involved in being able to play thematically, contrapuntally, and extempore, Bruckner said, 'When you come to write my biography, you can say that in St. Florian I practised the piano for ten hours and the large organ for three hours almost every day, as well as spending many hours at night studying music.'¹³¹

Waldeck also had some first-hand experience of Bruckner's fixations and tendency to numeromania, a type of obsessive disorder that was one of the symptoms of the illness leading to his breakdown in 1867:

... Despite his strong constitution and healthy appetite, such over-exertion [viz. hours spent in instrumental practice and in completing Sechter's theory course] had its consequences. Bruckner suffered a great deal from mental disturbances, depressions, fixations, etc. For instance, during a walk he would stand next to a tree so that he could 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 behaviour, 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. As can be seen from his letters, Bruckner to his dying day was grateful to me for supporting him during the most unhappy period in his life. He also promised me that, when he became court music director - which was nothing less than he deserved - he would bring me to Vienna as court organist.¹³²

When Bruckner moved from Linz to Vienna in 1868, Bishop Rudigier agreed to keep the position of cathedral organist open for two years in the event of a decision

131 From Waldeck's account, as related to Franz Gräflinger, *GrBL*, 114-15.

132 *GrBL*, 115-16.

on Bruckner's part to return to Linz. Waldeck became provisional cathedral organist, and then, on Bruckner's recommendation, was appointed to the post on a permanent basis when Bruckner finally resigned in July 1870.¹³³

During his years in Vienna Bruckner kept in touch with Waldeck, writing to him on his name-day and occasionally meeting him. In October 1871, for instance, when Bruckner was in very low spirits because of the threat of disciplinary action being taken against him following an alleged 'pass' at a female student, he thanked Waldeck for his support during 'days of severe trial' and assured him that he would not be trying to get his old job back in Linz!¹³⁴ In 1891, Bruckner spent Easter as usual at St. Florian. He was to play the organ at Linz Cathedral on Easter Sunday, 29 March, however, and, in a letter to Waldeck, confirmed that he would arrive in Linz in good time for the service.¹³⁵ Waldeck was present at the Vienna performance of the F minor Mass conducted by Gericke on 4 November 1894. He also accompanied Bruckner to a performance of Mozart's *Requiem* in the *Hofkapelle* two days earlier and attended the final rehearsal of the Mass. It proved to be the last time the two old friends met. In a University lecture he gave on 5 November 1894, Bruckner referred to the performance of the Mass and recalled how Waldeck had been primarily responsible for the 'Et incarnatus est' section as it now stood, having compared the original setting unfavourably with the parallel passage in the D minor Mass.¹³⁶ Eight years after Bruckner's death, Waldeck was present at a Festival Concert given in Linz on Palm Sunday, 27 March 1904, at which Göllerich conducted Bruckner's Symphony no. 6 and the F minor Mass. He was deeply moved

133 See *HSABB* 1, 125 for the text of Bruckner's letter to the episcopal office, dated Vienna, 18 July 1870. The original is not extant - the letter was first published in *ABB*, 113.

134 See *HSABB* 1, 133-35 for the texts of two letters from Bruckner to Waldeck, dated Vienna, 21 and 28 October 1871 respectively. The original of the former (first published in the *Neue musikalische Presse* 14 [1905]) is not extant, but the original of the latter is in the *ÖNB*.

135 See *HSABB* 2, 242 for the text of this letter, dated St. Florian, 27 March 1891. It was first published in the *Neue musikalische Presse* 14 (1905) no.3; the original is not extant.

136 See *G-A* IV/3 (1936), 444-45 for an account of this lecture.

particularly by the performance of the Mass as it brought back memories of the days of its conception. In a letter to Gräßlinger, Waldeck recalled the time when Bruckner 'played parts of his Mass which had been composed during a time of the most painful emotions and mental torment.'¹³⁷

Shortly after Bruckner's return from his three-month cure at Bad Kreuzen, Simon Sechter died. More eager than ever to move to Vienna, he made some preliminary attempts to accomplish this. First, he wrote a *Promemoria* to the Lord Chamberlain, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, enclosing a *curriculum vitae* which drew attention to his long period of theoretical training, his activities as a teacher, organist, conductor, and composer, and ended with a request for an appointment as 'court organist or supernumerary unpaid assistant director'. At the same time, he sent Herbeck documents in support of his application.¹³⁸ Second, he wrote to Ottokar Lorenz, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Vienna University, requesting the creation of a teaching post in 'musical composition (in particular, harmony and counterpoint)' at the University and the appointment of himself as teacher. At a faculty meeting held on 16 November 1867 Bruckner's request was considered but refused. As Professor of Music History and Aesthetics at the University, Eduard Hanslick was responsible for an official response. He mentioned a similar request made previously by Rudolf Weinwurm and the Faculty's response and decision that

137 Part of this is quoted in *GrBL*, 118. Waldeck also wrote a letter to Göllerich on the day after the performance. This is quoted in *G-A III/1*, 624. Further information about Waldeck can be gleaned from Franz Gräßlinger, *Karl Waldeck* (Linz, 1905); Franz Gräßlinger, *Karl Waldeck. Kirchenmusikalische Streiflichter* (Linz, 1911), *SchABCR*, 365-66.; Franz Zamazal, 'Karl Waldeck: Vergessener Bruckner-Schüler', in *Studien & Berichte* 65 (2005), 22, and Ikarus Kaiser, 'Der Dom- und Stadtpfarrkapellmeister Karl Borromäus Waldeck und die Orgel der Stadtpfarrkirche in Linz', in Maier, *ABDS* 15 (2009), 369-91.

138 See *HSABB* 1, 76-77 for the complete text of the *Promemoria*, dated Linz, 14 October 1867; see also Franz Grasberger, 'Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle', in *ABDS* 1 (Graz, 1979), 31-43 for the text with annotations. The original is in the Vienna *Staatsarchiv*; there is a facsimile in Hans C. Fischer, *Anton Bruckner. Sein Leben. Eine Dokumentation* (Salzburg, 1974), 120. See *HSABB* 1, 77 for the text of Bruckner's letter to Herbeck, dated Linz, 15 October 1867; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Constantin Prinz zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1828-1896) succeeded Prince Karl Liechtenstein as Lord Chamberlain in July 1866. As an enthusiastic patron of music and the arts he was responsible for rather sweeping reforms in the Court Chapel.

a University, not a Conservatory, was the more appropriate place for the teaching of composition. Furthermore, given his position as director of the University choir, Weinwurm had a stronger claim than a third party (viz. Bruckner) who had no connections with the University. Lorenz informed Bruckner of the Faculty's decision a few days later.¹³⁹

At the end of 1867, Bruckner's prospects of moving to Vienna appeared to be no brighter. To make matters worse, he was finding his organist's duties in Linz more demanding now that composition was assuming a much more important role in his life. As there had been no increase in remuneration since 1856, he made an official request to the bishop's office for a 'salary increase or additional annual allowance.' This was not granted but, according to a decision made on 30 December, it was suggested that a similar request made in a year's time would be supported.¹⁴⁰

The main musical event in Bruckner's life at the beginning of 1868 was a performance of his D minor Mass in Linz Cathedral on 6 January. In letters to Anton Imhof von Geißlinghof, a councillor in the court chancellery, and Johann Herbeck to convey his good wishes for the New Year, he mentioned that he had experienced a considerable amount of trouble training a large choir for the performance.¹⁴¹ But the performance was a success and, writing to Rudolf Weinwurm the day afterwards, he provided further information and outlined future plans. The postscript suggests that Weinwurm had asked him for a choral piece.

139 See *HSABB* 1, 78-79 for Bruckner's letter, dated Linz, 2 November 1867, and for Lorenz's reply, dated Vienna, 20 November 1867. The original of the former is in the University library, Vienna, but the original of the latter is not extant. *G-A III/1*, 414-19 also contains Hanslick's official response. For fuller details, see Robert Lach, *Die Bruckner-Akten des Wiener Universitätsarchives* (Vienna, 1926), 25-28. Ottokar Lorenz (1832-1904) was Professor of Philology and History at the University of Vienna. He was appointed Rector in 1880.

140 See *HSABB* 1, 79-80 for the text of Bruckner's letter to the bishop's office, dated Linz, 2 December 1867; the original is privately owned. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 295-96.

141 See *HSABB* 1, pp. 80 and 81-82 for the texts of these letters, both dated Linz, 30 December 1867; the original of the former is in the *ÖNB*, the original of the latter is in the Music Division of New York Public Library. Imhof was the dedicatee of the F minor Mass and, in both letters, Bruckner refers to ongoing work on it - the *Credo* was virtually complete, and the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* had been sketched.

Dear friend,

I have just completed a major undertaking. The performance was yesterday, the 6th, and it went very well, far better than three years ago. The church was packed full and there was unprecedented interest and involvement in the proceedings. I had at my disposal a very large choir and very good orchestra which consisted mainly of players from the military band. Alois produced excellent results. Three cheers for him! I am deeply grateful to you for your devoted efforts on my behalf at the present time. They have taken me completely by surprise. Unfortunately, I have no further information for you. As there are so many good violinists at the theatre here, it has been suggested that I have my symphony performed during Lent; I will perhaps arrange for it to be played in a Philharmonic concert. I do not want any financial reward, and the performers should share the proceeds among themselves. At least in this way I will be able to hear it.

The Credo of the new Mass will soon be finished. Unfortunately, the first two movements have only been sketched. I am under some stress again - probably the result of recent exertions.

I wish you a really good New Year and appeal for your life-long affection and friendship. If only I could spend the rest of my days near you!

With a thousand affectionate greetings,

Your friend,
A. Bruckner

N.B. Unfortunately, I have no composition for you. What do you require and for what forces - male voices or mixed, with or without accompaniment? Many thanks for your gracious invitation.¹⁴²

Moritz von Mayfeld's review of the performance was somewhat guarded in tone:

¹⁴² See *HSABB* 1, 81-82 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 7 January 1868; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. Alois Weinwurm was responsible for training the choir. The symphony referred to is the Symphony no. 1 in C minor, completed in 1866.

... Yesterday's performance surpassed the first in precision and assurance, with the result that the work was more readily understood. While it cannot be regarded as a standard work in the old church style, it is nevertheless an important sacred composition. When Mr. Bruckner succeeds in refining or, rather, curbing his imagination, in avoiding over-violent cadences and strident dissonances and, on the other hand, in allowing his themes to flow more freely and with more harmonic interest, we are convinced that he will not surprise and astonish his listeners again in a second work of this kind but will truly uplift and edify them.¹⁴³

Having inadvertently distressed Bruckner with this review, Mayfeld attempted to put matters right in a subsequent article in which he clarified some of his earlier statements and stressed that he had no doubts whatsoever that Bruckner was richly talented and more than able to write original compositions.¹⁴⁴

Another review of the performance drew attention to the problems of setting traditional liturgical words in a modern musical idiom:

... On the 5th [sic] of this month the already known Mass in D by our cathedral organist, Anton Bruckner, was performed once again after an interval of about three years. Following the first performance there was a thorough and very appreciative review of this extremely effective and original composition in a local paper. We came to recognise Bruckner in this significant work as an adherent of the so-called Wagnerian movement, approaching his task with great seriousness of purpose. Although it is open to question whether the new musical style with its complicated apparatus can be accommodated within the church as easily as the simple classical style of older composers, Bruckner has certainly proved that an unusual effect can be obtained with the

143 From the review which appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 9 January 1868; see G-A III/1, 420-21. There is a facsimile of this review in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 67-68. The first performance of the Mass was in Linz on 20 November 1864 and there was a second performance on 18 December of the same year

144 See G-A III/1, 421-22 for extracts from this article in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 12 January 1868; there is a facsimile in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 69.

dramatic handling of the religious text. The performance was very precise and energetic and deserves even more praise because this composition for voices and orchestra presents extraordinary difficulties.¹⁴⁵

Members of the *Frohsinn* choral society in Linz had taken part in the performance of the Mass and, in a letter to the choir committee, Bruckner officially thanked them for allowing them to use their premises for rehearsal purposes. He also paid tribute to the members of the choir for their excellent contribution to the performance as well as their efforts in the strenuous rehearsals, and said that he would be only too pleased to be of service to the committee in the future.¹⁴⁶ A week later Dr. Matthias Weißmann, the secretary of *Frohsinn*, contacted Bruckner to offer him the position of conductor!¹⁴⁷

On 16 January Bruckner wrote a curious and rather morbid letter to his friend Weinwurm in Vienna. Both he and Weinwurm had been invited at some point to go to Mexico as court organists of Emperor Maximilian, the younger brother of Emperor Franz Josef of Austria. Bruckner had been considering the possibility when the news of Maximilian's death reached him. Maximilian's body had evidently been brought back to Vienna, and Bruckner asked Weinwurm to enquire on his behalf at

145 From review in the *Linzer Tagespost* 6, 9 January 1868. See G-A III/1, 422-23; there is a facsimile of the review in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 68. The earlier 'thorough and very appreciative review' was by Franz Gamon and appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 20 and 29 December 1864 as the final two parts of a weekly series (commencing 30 November) on the development of the Mass from the end of the fifteenth century until Bruckner's time. See later in this chapter when the D minor Mass will be discussed in further detail. There was also a report of the January 1868 performance in the *Linzer Neueste Nachrichten*; see Susanna Taub, op.cit., 67 for a facsimile. And it was mentioned in the *Neue Freie Presse* 1211, Vienna, on 14 January. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 297-305 for previews and other reviews of the performance, including a lengthy one, spread over two issues, in the *Katholische Blätter* (9 and 11 January 1868).

146 See *HSABB* 1, 82 for this letter, dated Linz, 10 January 1868; the original is in the *Frohsinn-Archiv* of the *Linzer Singakademie*.

147 See *HSABB* 1, 84 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 17 January 1868. The original is in the archives of the *Linzer Singakademie*; there is a facsimile in the possession of Dr. Franz Scheder. Bruckner had been a second tenor in the choir from 1856 to 1858 and had already been its conductor for a short period (from the end of 1860 to the autumn of 1861).

the Lord Chamberlain's office if it was likely that the body would be on view (either open in a coffin or visible in a glass frame!) or if only the closed coffin would be visible. He requested a quick reply by telegram for which he would defray the expenses.¹⁴⁸

On the same day, Bruckner received a letter from Dr. Maximilian Keyhl, one of the doctors who had treated him at Bad Kreuzen the previous year. Keyhl was pleased to hear that Bruckner was on the way to a full recovery, but suggested that he continue the recommended treatment and diet.¹⁴⁹

In January Richard Wagner was elected an honorary member of *Frohsinn*. Bruckner also wrote to him to request either an existing choral piece or a new composition which would be performed at the choir's anniversary concert in April. In his friendly reply to Bruckner, Wagner both graciously acknowledged honorary membership and suggested that the choir sing the closing scene (beginning with Sachs's words 'Verachtet mir die Meister nicht') from his new opera *Die Meistersinger*. He advised Bruckner to contact the publisher Schott for a specimen copy of the vocal score.¹⁵⁰ At the anniversary concert on 4 April Bruckner and the choir had the distinction of giving the first performance of this extract from the opera. The concert also included performances of the 'Chorus of Nobles and Ladies' from Act 2 of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and Bruckner's own choral piece, *O könnt' ich dich beglücken*, WAB 92 (1866), and was enthusiastically reviewed in the *Linzer*

148 See *HSABB* 1, 83 for the text of this letter, the original of which is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. There is an English translation of part of this letter in Hans F. Redlich, *Bruckner and Mahler* (London: Dent, 2/1963), 30. Maximilian was a close friend of Emilie von Binzer who had a salon in Linz which Bruckner occasionally frequented. For more on Emilie von Binzer, see Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 52-55. Ferdinand-Josef Maximilian (1832-1867) became Emperor of Mexico in 1863. He was soon embroiled in a civil war, was captured while defending Querétaro in May 1867, and was executed on 19 June.

149 See *HSABB* 1, 83 for this letter, dated Bad Kreuzen, 16 January 1868; the original is in St. Florian.

150 See *HSABB* 1, 84-85 for this letter, dated Munich, 31 January 1868; the original is in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich. On 11 February Hans Richter telegraphed Frohsinn to inform the chairman that the choir would receive the copy within a week. See Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', in *Studien & Berichte* 69 (December 2007), 12-13.

Zeitung.¹⁵¹ Later in the same month, on 21 April, Bruckner composed one of his finest smaller sacred works - *Inveni David* WAB 19, for male-voice choir and four trombones - to be sung as the offertory in a special service held to commemorate the founding of *Frohsinn* on 10 May. The sung Mass was by Antonio Lotti and the gradual was Bruckner's own setting of *Ave Maria* WAB 6 (1861) for unaccompanied seven-part chorus.

Early in 1868 Weinwurm asked Bruckner if he would be prepared to play the organ at a concert to be given by the *Akademischer Gesangverein* in Vienna on the Thursday of Holy Week (9 April). In his first reply Bruckner made detailed enquiries about the organ on which he would be expected to play - its size (he preferred the effect of a larger organ to which his own style of playing was more suited) and type of pedalboard (the position of the pedals was different in some of the newer makes of organ, and he was not prepared to play on one of those). As he no longer had the time to learn new organ pieces, he would rather improvise fantasias and fugues on given themes; in any case there were plenty of good organists in Vienna capable of playing the standard repertoire. He would prefer the recital to take place at a time other than Holy Week as he had his own official organ duties to fulfil in Linz during that week and would have to obtain permission from the bishop to be exempted from them. In a second letter, written a few days later, Bruckner informed his friend that he would not be granted exemption from his duties during Holy Week, and asked him not to divulge this information to anyone else as he did not want his superiors to be criticised in the press! He felt, in any case, that a public organ recital would be too much of an emotional strain in the present circumstances.¹⁵²

Although he had set his sights on a position in Vienna, Bruckner was sufficiently

151 See *G-A III/1*, 432-33 for an extract from this review which appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung* 81 on 7 April 1868; there is a facsimile of the review in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 35. The concert was also reviewed in the *Linzer Abendbote* on 7 April and the *Linzer Tagespost* 82 on 8 April; there is a facsimile of the latter review in Susanna Taub, *op. cit.*, 37.

152 See *HSABB 1*, 85-86 for the texts of both letters, dated Linz, 8 and 16 March respectively; the originals are in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

attracted by the vacant position of Director of Music of the *Dommusikverein und Mozarteum* in Salzburg to make an official application at the end of March 1868. He was clearly not daunted by his lack of success seven years earlier when he applied for the same post in the summer of 1861. Although circumstances had not been favourable then, his notable achievements in the intervening years had no doubt given him the confidence to try again.¹⁵³ In a separate letter to the *Mozarteum* a few days later, Bruckner enclosed his D minor Mass and mentioned that he was working on a new Mass for the court chapel in Vienna. A week later, the secretary of the *Dommusikverein und Mozarteum* wrote to Bruckner to acknowledge receipt of the Mass and to assure him that it would be rehearsed and performed in the cathedral at the earliest opportunity.¹⁵⁴ At the same time, Franz von Hillebrandt, the President of the *Mozarteum*, wrote to Dr. Ferdinand Krakowizer who had recently moved from Salzburg to Linz and had recommended Bruckner for the vacant position. Although he outlined some of the prerequisites for the position, he gave no indication as to who was likely to be successful. However, he mentioned the possibility of a performance of Bruckner's D minor Mass in May.¹⁵⁵ On 11 May Bruckner received official notification that the position had been offered to Dr. Otto Bach, but that he (Bruckner) had been granted honorary membership of the *Dommusikverein* in recognition of his submission of the Mass.¹⁵⁶

153 See *HSABB* 1, 87-88 for Bruckner's letter of application, dated Linz, 29 March 1868. The original is in the *Konsistorialarchiv*, Salzburg, and there is a facsimile of the first three pages in Ernst Hintermaier, 'Anton Bruckner und der "Dommusikverein und Mozarteum" in Salzburg', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 16 (1979), 11-13. See earlier and footnotes 81-82 for further details of Bruckner's application in 1861.

154 See *HSABB* 1, 88-89 for the texts of these two letters, dated Linz, 4 April 1868, and Salzburg, 10 April 1868 respectively. The original of the former and a draft of the latter can be found in the *Stiftung Mozarteum*, Salzburg.

155 See *HSABB* 1, 89 for the text of this letter, dated Salzburg, 10 April 1868. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *G-A* III/1, 426-27. Bruckner's D minor Mass was not performed in Salzburg (at the cathedral) until September 1870.

156 See *HSABB* 1, 90 for this letter, a draft of which can be found in the *Konsistorialarchiv*, Salzburg. On 4 June Bruckner wrote a short letter of acknowledgment in which he mentioned that he had been offered the post of Professor of Harmony and Counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory; see

In Linz Bruckner was able to draw some encouragement from the successful first performance of his Symphony no. 1 in C minor in the *Redoutensaal* on 9 May. The usual orchestra was augmented by band members of the two regiments garrisoned in Linz. There were various difficulties in rehearsal - the quintuplet figures for strings in the slow movement seem to have caused the most trouble - but Bruckner adamantly refused to comply with suggestions that he simplify some passages.¹⁵⁷ As the concert was held at an unusual time of day (5 pm) and as there was more public interest in the recent collapse of the Danube bridge (on 5 May), the audience was a fairly select one, consisting mainly of members of the aristocracy and clergy. Writing to Weinwurm to congratulate him on his receipt of a 'high honour', Bruckner expressed his satisfaction with the performance of the symphony although the concert was anything but a financial success.¹⁵⁸ Reviews in the *Linzer Zeitung* and the *Linzer Tagespost* were favourable.¹⁵⁹ But it is Hanslick's report of the concert in the *Neue Freie Presse* that is the most interesting, because it provides a convenient link to the main event of the year – Bruckner's move to Vienna - which, as we shall see, was only finalized after a considerable amount of heart-searching and indecision.

... A new symphony by Anton Bruckner was performed in Linz recently and enjoyed an extremely favourable reception from a

HSABB 1, 93 for this letter, the original of which is also in the *Konsistorialarchiv*, Salzburg.

157 According to Franz Schober, a member of the Linz *Musikverein* and a cellist in the orchestra. See *G-A* III/1, 434. For further information about Schober (1843-1916) and his activities as a cloth manufacturer and amateur musician in Linz, see Franz Zamazal, 'Aus Bruckners Linzer Bekanntenkreis: Franz Schober', in *Mitteilungsblatt der IBG* 56 (June 2001), 17-20.

158 See *HSABB* 1, 90 for this letter, dated Linz, 11 May 1868; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

159 See *G-A* III/1, 436ff. for Moritz von Mayfeld's review in the *Linzer Zeitung* 111, 13 May 1868, and 438ff. for the report in the *Linzer Tagespost* 110, 12 May 1868. Facsimiles of both reviews can be found in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 75ff. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 311-22 for previews and reviews of the performance in the *Linzer Zeitung*, *Linzer Abendbote*, *Linzer Tagespost* and *Katholische Blätter*. See also supplementary information towards the end of this chapter.

large, very select audience and from the critics. The composer was called back to the rostrum several times. When news of Bruckner's forthcoming appointment at the Vienna Conservatory is confirmed, we can only congratulate this educational establishment.¹⁶⁰

Herbeck had already set wheels in motion for Bruckner to come to Vienna. He had arranged for him to play the organ to the Lord Chamberlain in the Vienna Hofburg chapel in the autumn of 1867, and was surprised when he learned from Eduard Hauptmann, the director of the Linz *Musikverein*, in April 1868 that Bruckner had not yet made an official application to the Conservatory for the position of Harmony and Counterpoint lecturer made vacant by the death of his former teacher, Sechter, in the summer of 1867. Herbeck went out of his way to spend some time with Bruckner on 24 May. According to Bruckner's own account of events on that day, they travelled together from Linz to St. Florian where Bruckner played the organ. During the journey Herbeck talked to Bruckner about the position in Vienna and intimated that he was the obvious choice. It would clearly be better if an Austrian was appointed, and, if Bruckner did not accept, it would have to be offered to a musician from Germany. If Bruckner became a teacher at the Conservatory, he would almost certainly be able to secure an appointment as organist-designate at the Court Chapel.¹⁶¹

But Bruckner had some reservations, and it becomes clear from subsequent correspondence that these reservations were mainly of a financial nature. Writing to Herbeck only two days after their meeting, he mentioned that some well-meaning friends of his had already approached his present employer and asked about pension facilities:

160 See G-A III/1, 440 and Elisabeth Maier, *ABDS* 2, 178 for this report, dated 19 May 1868. It is not entirely certain, although most likely, that Hanslick was the writer of this review - and it may have been 'second hand'.

161 See G-A III/1, 443-44. for Bruckner's account.

Most highly esteemed Court Director,

I sincerely hope, Sir, that you returned safely to the welcoming arms of your loving family. If I had known the exact time of your return journey, I would gladly have greeted you, my second father, at the station!

The more that time goes by and the more I recover from the enormous surprise, the more prestigious this calling seems to be and the more indescribable your gracious and noble efforts on my behalf. When I first heard the news, I was so dumbfounded and had no idea of its import - my nerves were so on edge! Now I am more aware of the significance of this honour and anticipate it more and more keenly. I will come to Vienna myself if you should so wish, Sir (that is, after the customary exchange of letters, as you intimated to me). I have faith in God and entrust to my noble patrons that unshakeable hope for the future which will not allow me to falter.

As far as the Bach fugues are concerned, I owe it to myself to inform you that I have played some, including those with an independent pedal part. I found them among my musical possessions but could not recall them immediately; it is some time since I played them, however.

Unknown to me, and without my consent, a deputation from the choral society went recently to His Grace the Bishop and asked for his assistance etc. He is reported to have said that he will not leave me in the lurch and will secure a pension for me.

As a result of this, I went not to him but to the appropriate government department, as I knew that the Bishop is not in a position to do this. I learned that, if there should be a particular need for such a pension and I petitioned the Emperor, I could possibly be granted one as a special dispensation. The only other means of obtaining a pension would be through the Ministry; but there would have to be a special need and I would have to make some financial contribution myself. All this because of your request!

I await with longing and keen anticipation a comforting and encouraging letter from you. I beg you to remain favourably disposed towards me. I will certainly make every effort to show you how grateful I am for the double honour that has been bestowed upon me. My respects to your gracious wife and your sons.

Your most grateful servant,

Anton Bruckner¹⁶²

The next day, Bruckner wrote to Weinwurm, providing him with details of the positions offered and asking for advice:

Dear friend,

My apologies for not keeping you informed until now. I was also taken aback by the article in the [Neue] Freie Presse, but, as I knew nothing about it myself at the time, was not able to write to Dr. Hanslick. Shortly after receiving your delightful letter, however, I was visited by Court Director Herbeck who told me that I could become Sechter's successor at the Conservatory with an annual income of 600 florins. My weekly duties would be 9 hours - 6 hours of Counterpoint and 3 of Organ. He said that I would receive written confirmation and then I would have to decide. Although, under normal circumstances, I will never be able to receive payment for being an organist at the Court Chapel - and that is very unfortunate - it is an extremely favourable offer. What is your opinion? Write to me soon! I also have no claims on a pension in Linz - except in the case of need and by petition to the Emperor. Please give me the benefit of your wise, helpful advice!

Counsel me, dear friend. Most of my acquaintances, including Alois, think I should move, no matter what. The choral society and some of the clergy are not in favour. But you know the situation and can certainly give me your honest opinion. Please write soon.

It is unbearably hot here! How are things with you in Vienna? Will 600 florins be enough for me to live on in the event of difficult circumstances?

Many greetings from Ozelsberger (sic) who is back in Linz after his business trip and will remain here. Alois and other acquaintances of yours send greetings.

Your old friend,

Anton Bruckner¹⁶³

162 See *HSABB* 1, 91 for this letter, dated Linz, 26 May 1868; the original is owned privately.

163 See *HSABB* 1, 92 for this letter, dated Linz, 27 May 1868; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und*

Bruckner must have communicated his vacillating feelings to other friends. Ludwig Ehrenecker, an old acquaintance from his St. Florian days, wrote to him from Steyr, reminding him that he was also in two minds at the time of the Linz appointment twelve years earlier and advising him to go to Vienna.¹⁶⁴ Herbeck, aware of Bruckner's hesitancy and reluctance to move because there was no guarantee of absolute financial security, provided an extremely honest appraisal of the whole situation in this letter to Bruckner:

Dear Sir,

Immediately on my return [to Vienna] I spoke on your behalf to Mr. Imhof, the privy councillor, and ascertained what I had already predicted in Linz, viz. that nothing can be done under the existing circumstances, although Mr. Imhof himself has every sympathy with your request for some kind of guarantee (assistance in the possible event of indisposition).

No one knows better than you how eager I have been and still am to bring you to Vienna, and it is for precisely this reason that I must be frank with you and say to you once again that I cannot categorically advise you to take up a position in Vienna, which is prestigious but by no means financially watertight, and to give up your present position which, of course, is also prestigious, more remunerative, and provides financial security in the event of indisposition. Local enquiries have also revealed that there has never been a case of a cathedral employee who has given outstanding service being left destitute.

Should you, nevertheless, take the initiative and decide to come to Vienna, can I urge you, before you take this step irrevocably, to consider most seriously whether your possible position here, which will be largely concerned with teaching, is commensurate with your inclination and aptitude to impart your great knowledge to others and, above all, whether you will feel

Landesbibliothek. The article in the *Neue Freie Presse* (19 May) was Hanslick's (?) which had obviously embarrassed Bruckner because it referred to his 'forthcoming appointment' at the Conservatory. Josef Ozlberger was a Linz businessman.

164 See *HSABB* 1, 92-93 for this letter, dated Steyr, 2 June 1868; the original is in St. Florian.

happy in a new situation in which, I must repeat, your main source of income will be teaching, since by far the greatest part of your income at present is derived from organ playing and conducting.

If your decision to move still remains firm after you have given all this your serious consideration, please never forget that you have taken this step of your own volition and at your own risk, that I have only assisted in being able to offer you this excellent position which is by no means attractive materially and is not absolutely secure, and that if there should come some unexpected and disappointing bad news or, God forbid, an accident which resulted in your being unfit to work, I cannot under any circumstances assume responsibility or liability of a moral or material nature.

I am not in a position at present to say whether it would be possible to accede to your request for an increase in salary by a few hundred florins in return for an extension to the proposed teaching duties; however, I will raise this point at the next board meeting and inform you of the outcome immediately. (To effect an intervention on the Ministry's part is, in my view, a virtual impossibility.)

Reflect on the matter until then and, even if I am able to give you encouraging news about an increase in salary, keep on examining the situation from all sides before giving your answer - carefully considered and of your own volition. I strongly advise you to take your time!

With best wishes and the best of intentions,

Joh. Herbeck¹⁶⁵

Herbeck's well-meaning letter seems to have intensified Bruckner's feelings of isolation and uncertainty. A report in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 17 June that the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* had appointed Leopold Alexander Zellner, a music teacher, composer and acoustician, to the vacant position at the Conservatory no doubt convinced him that a move to Vienna was now more or less out of the

165 See *HSABB* 1, 94 for this letter, dated Vienna, 10 June 1868. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in Ludwig Herbeck, *Johann Herbeck. Ein Lebensbild von seinem Sohne* (Vienna, 1885), Appendix, 78. See earlier and footnote 141 for Bruckner's letter to Imhof. During his meeting with Bruckner on 24 May, Herbeck had promised to ask Imhof about the possibilities of a pension or some other kind of future financial security for the composer.

question.¹⁶⁶ He gave full vent to his feelings in a letter to Weinwurm:

Dear friend,

No doubt you know what has happened and how it happened. After you wrote I made many requests in a letter to Mr. v. Herbeck, but these were by no means intended to suggest that I did not accept the original conditions. I should have gratefully accepted the position at any price.

I was waiting for the contract documents - and then it happened. I am dreadfully unhappy about the whole thing, can neither eat nor drink, and expect that I will have to make abject apologies. If only I had seized the opportunity immediately, wretched fellow that I am! Mr. v. Herbeck's intentions were so generous! Why did I give way to certain misgivings?

Just think of this prestigious position! Where and when will there be another opportunity like it? I am heartbroken. Everything gets on my nerves. If I had dreamt that anything like this would happen, I would have travelled to Vienna every day. Take pity on me, Weinwurm - I am in a hopeless position, perhaps abandoned for ever.

And so all is perhaps lost!!! You can have no idea of my torment and dreadful sorrow; my only wish is that this will not affect your own happiness.

If I had imagined that this would happen, I would not have written a single syllable. Now I am distressed.

But I have only myself to blame for my stupidity and the resulting torment - bitter torment. How could this have happened? I only wanted to explore the possibilities of improving the salary, but should have accepted with alacrity; after all, 600 florins and many lessons etc. would have provided sufficient security.

Farewell, and think often about your grief-stricken friend.

166 See Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 327 for this report. In fact, a later report which appeared in both the *Wiener Zeitung* and *Neue Freie Presse* 1390 on 14 July 1868 makes it clear that at least three new appointments either had been or were about to be made for the beginning of the new session in October 1868. According to Richard von Perger and Robert Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der k.k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna, 1912), 323-24, Zellner was appointed to teach harmony, Franz Krenn to teach harmony, counterpoint and composition, and Bruckner to teach harmony, counterpoint and organ. Zellner was subsequently appointed secretary-general of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. See Elisabeth Maier, *ABDS 2*, 181 (also footnotes 127 and 128). See also *G-A IV/1* (1936), 72ff. for further information about Leopold Alexander Zellner (1823-1894).

Anton Bruckner¹⁶⁷

On the same day (20 June), Bruckner, apparently convinced that he had ruined his chances of obtaining a post in Vienna and anxious not to stay in Linz for the rest of his life, wrote a remarkably undiplomatic letter to Hans von Bülow in Munich. It was patently the act of a confused and emotionally overwrought man.

N.B. My address: Anton Bruckner, cathedral organist and choirmaster in Linz.

Dear, highly esteemed Court Director,

I am extremely sorry, Sir, to have to trouble you with a request, particularly at a time when every moment is precious to you. I have been compelled to do so by pressing circumstances.

I have been fortunate enough to make a name for myself in Austria through my organ playing. In Vienna I have repeatedly been called the best organist in Austria. I am qualified as a Conservatory teacher (a pupil of Sechter's). I have written several large Masses, the first of which was performed in the Court Chapel in Vienna with such success that a second was commissioned by the Lord Chamberlain. You were good enough, Sir, to examine some movements of my C minor symphony a few years ago. Permit me to make, in confidence, the following request: if I am passed over in my own country, as I cannot stay for ever in Linz, could I, on your recommendation and on the recommendation of Mr. Wagner, be granted an audience with the king and play the organ to His Majesty with a view, perhaps, to obtaining a position as court organist and assistant court director either in the church or the court theatre in return for a better and assured salary? Would this be possible, or is it completely out of the question at present? I am confident that Mr. Wagner, who wrote affectionately to me a short time ago, would gladly do all he could for me if there was any opportunity at the present time.

167 See *HSABB* 1, 95 for this letter, dated Linz, 20 June 1868. The original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*; there is a facsimile of the first page in Hans C. Fischer, *op.cit.*, 122. The letter which Bruckner sent to Herbeck is presumably the one mentioned by Herbeck himself in his reply to Bruckner (also on 20 June; see below); the original of this letter has not been found - it was perhaps destroyed by Herbeck?

Please be good enough to ask Mr. Wagner. And then, I beseech you, send me your own response and that of Mr. Wagner as soon as possible. If this can be arranged, how much could I expect as an annual income? I await your reply most eagerly.

I humbly beseech you to treat this request of mine in the strictest confidence and, especially, not to divulge it to anyone in Vienna.

Will the third and final performance be on the 29th? If there is the slightest possibility, I would like to come to Munich to share with Mr. Wagner, my illustrious model, in the great pleasure and joy inspired by this superlative work. My congratulations and deepest respect! Please be so kind as to reply.

Your grateful servant,

Anton Bruckner¹⁶⁸

Bruckner was probably able to withdraw this request when he travelled to Munich for the third performance of *Die Meistersinger* at the beginning of July. In the meantime, Herbeck had been extremely active on his behalf and was able to inform him of a new, improved offer and to reassure him that there was no need for further impassioned outbursts of despair:

My dear Mr. Bruckner,

Everything is going well! So, calm yourself! Do you place so little trust in my given word that you feel constrained to indulge in such wretched outbursts? It is not true that there is no place for you anywhere and that your own country rejects you. You must surely realise that it is not possible to dismiss a question of subsistence with a gesture of the hand, particularly when important and well-grounded fears are expressed by the person

168 See *HSABB* 1, 95-96 for this letter, dated Linz, 20 June 1868. The original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*; there is a facsimile of the final page of the letter in Hans C. Fischer, *op.cit.*, 122. Bruckner showed his C minor Symphony to von Bülow in June 1865 when he was in Munich to attend a performance of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. The king referred to is King Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845-86), a patron of Wagner and his music. The first performance of *Die Meistersinger* was conducted by von Bülow in Munich on 21 June 1868, the day after this letter was sent. The third performance, originally intended for 29 June, was postponed until 2 July.

concerned. And now, to reassure you, I can inform you that the governing body of the *Gesellschaft* is prepared to increase your income to 800 florins (in return for an extra three hours' teaching each week), and that your eventual appointment as an imperial court organist (designate) is only a formality. Your appointment at the Conservatory must first be settled by contract of course, (and this can be arranged in a very short time), before your appointment as a court organist can be recommended to His Majesty the Emperor.

I am not yet able to send you the text of the contract because that cannot be finalized until the next board meeting. (I am expecting notification of a meeting in the next few days.) Do not forget that all information concerning your appointment as a court organist must remain a secret.

And so, if you are pleased with today's information, write me a couple of lines - but let there be no distress or despair, as there is no justification for it in your present position. Reflect on the fact that many a talented musician in Austria has not been able to attain your present position (not to mention your future one), that we are prepared to do all that we can for you under the present circumstances, and that, as already mentioned, the entirely reasonable questions about provision in the event of illness which you raised and which I sanctioned, together with your request for an increase in salary, have caused a delay - due to no fault of mine.

Your affairs will now take an uninterrupted, straightforward, and favourable course. No one apart from you can now spoil them - that is if you were to send the same kind of emotionally overwrought letters to others as the one I received from you today. So do not go 'out of the world' but 'into the world'. May there not be unwarranted despondency in a man and artist of your calibre. You have no occasion for it.

Kind regards, and sincerely yours.

Joh. Herbeck¹⁶⁹

After the uncertainties and emotional upheavals of the preceding week, Bruckner's affairs now proceeded more calmly and followed an 'uninterrupted,

169 See *HSABB* 1, 97 for this letter, dated Vienna, 20 June 1868. The original is not extant; it was first printed in Ludwig Herbeck, *op.cit.*, Appendix, 78-79.

straightforward course', as Herbeck had predicted. On 28 June he wrote to the administrative body of the Conservatory, accepting the appointment 'with gratitude', and asked that it be 'finalized' and made official.¹⁷⁰ The appointment was duly made official on 6 July, and Bruckner wrote a second letter to the Conservatory, formally accepting the position:

... I wish to thank you most sincerely for the written reassurances, and, trusting in the assurances which have been made, to inform you that I have finally resolved to accept the teaching posts offered me, and so, God willing, will be ready to take up this highly prestigious position in Vienna at the beginning of October.

Yours faithfully,
Anton Bruckner¹⁷¹

At the end of July Bruckner informed the church authorities in Linz that he had accepted a position at the Vienna Conservatory. Just as he had earlier asked Mayr at St. Florian to hold his old organist post in reserve until he had become firmly established in Linz, he now requested that his Linz position be held in reserve for some time, adding that it would bring him 'great comfort' as well as 'great peace of mind' if his request was granted. Thanks to the supportive intervention of Bishop Rudigier, Bruckner was given two years' grace and was able to leave Linz without any nagging doubts about his future security.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 98 for the text of this letter. The original is in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library; there is a facsimile in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 130.

¹⁷¹ See *HSABB* 1, 98 for this letter, dated Linz, 23 July 1868. The original can be found in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library; there is a facsimile in Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner* (Mainz, 1983), 84 and in Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 336. See *G-A* III/1, 459ff. and Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 330 for the text of the official contract sent to Bruckner on 6 July; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Maier also includes a facsimile of the contract as well as notices of Bruckner's appointment in some Linz and Upper Austrian newspapers in *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 330-34.

¹⁷² See *HSABB* 1, 98-99 for Bruckner's letter to the church authorities, dated Linz, 24 July 1868. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *G-A* III/1, 457-58. See *HSABB* 1, 101-02 for Bishop Rudigier's letter to the Government offices in Linz, dated Linz, 25 August 1868, in which the bishop draws attention to Bruckner's 'excellent qualities and merits'; the original of this letter is in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*. for the draft of a letter to Bruckner, dated 24 September 1868, in which his request was officially granted. Karl Waldeck, one of Bruckner's former pupils, was his provisional replacement as organist of Linz Cathedral. See Maier,

A letter from Ignaz Dorn throws some further light on Bruckner's ambivalent feelings during the summer of 1868. Dorn had written an earlier letter congratulating Bruckner on his new appointment, and Bruckner had apparently misinterpreted Dorn's words. Dorn now attempted to clear up the misunderstanding.

Dear friend,

I cannot understand why you should have found my letter so disquieting as to have second thoughts about your decision. To see a danger in it for you was far from my intention - on the contrary, I congratulate you on your new sphere of activity. The fact that I alluded to your previous position, which was by no means unimportant, and even highlighted it, because there are so few of them available, was not intended to make you doubt your move. I was simply surprised that, after spending such a long time in Linz, you have made such a firm decision. Otherwise, do not have any further scruples.

As you have already perceived, what I wrote was certainly of no particular import.

Or do you feel that I was not justified in attaching so much importance to your previous position in Linz? Could I have ignored it? To me its significance was such that I could not avoid mentioning it, if only on account of the long duration of your activities which still revive happy memories, e.g. your Mass, Symphony etc. Because you have improved your position, however, and I congratulated you on this achievement in my first letter and congratulate you again here, I can put your mind at rest and, in accordance with your wishes, completely reassure you here and now. So cast away all your doubts and be convinced that all of us who know you delight in the knowledge that you are a professor in Vienna! As you are so often the topic of conversation here, I cannot refrain from talking about your two compositions (Mass and Symphony) and from drawing particular attention to your virtuoso organ playing and fugal

ABDS 15, Dokumente, 342-44 for the documentation regarding Waldeck's appointment (August – September 1868). After Bruckner wrote to the church authorities on 18 July 1870, formally resigning from his former position and thanking them for holding it in reserve, Waldeck was formally appointed as definitive organist. See *HSABB 1, 125* for this letter. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *ABB, 113*.

extemporization. That is certainly the truth! Ask my colleague Kitzler. We often sit and chat with a bunch of musicians. Have you heard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*? I consider it to be his greatest work! His other operas are so marvellously beautiful, of course - fine polyphonic works - but counterpoint is particularly prominent in *Die Meistersinger*. Be sure to have a good look at the score. You will find that it confirms what I said.

And so, farewell. I have run out of space. May the doubts that you have entertained also come to an end. Let me hear from you again soon.

Best wishes, dear Professor, from
Your friend
Dorn,
Music director

I addressed my first letter to Vienna because I thought that you were there already. As you have written to tell me that you will be in Linz until October, I am sending this letter to Linz. My first letter was obviously forwarded to you from Vienna.¹⁷³

The only matter which was still not fully resolved was Bruckner's appointment as an organist-designate at the Court Chapel. Once again Herbeck intervened on Bruckner's behalf and wrote a letter of recommendation to the Lord Chamberlain:

... Your obedient servant wishes to support the request made by Anton Bruckner, cathedral organist in Linz, that he be graciously offered the position of organist-designate in the *Hofmusikkapelle*.

As an organ virtuoso Bruckner has no equal in the Empire. He has been appointed by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, commencing next session, Professor of Counterpoint and Organ Playing at the Conservatory in place of Professor Sechter, the deceased court organist and one of the most renowned celebrities in the realm of music theory - and this speaks volumes for Bruckner's outstanding ability - and, in his present position in Linz, has an excellent reputation as a man and artist.

173 See *HSABB* 1, 99 for this letter, dated Brno, 6 August 1868. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *ABB*, 302ff. The works referred to by Dorn are the D minor Mass and the Symphony no. 1 in C minor. The first letter alluded to here has not been traced.

The circle of outstanding artists in the Court Chapel would be desirably enriched by Bruckner's appointment and there would be absolutely no financial outgoings on the part of the court treasury.

My Lord, I trust that this information will help to reassure you that you are not dealing with an unworthy applicant, should you speak to His Majesty the Emperor on his behalf.¹⁷⁴

In his formal report to the Emperor, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst enclosed Herbeck's request and added the further recommendation:

... As it has always been customary to secure artists of outstanding reputation for the court music chapel, and Bruckner is certainly described as such, as, in addition, there is a greater need for organists to be employed not only in Vienna but also in Your Majesty's other residences, and, finally, as Bruckner's appointment as unpaid organist-designate would not incur any extra expense, may I ask Your Majesty's permission to have the customary designate authorization made out for Anton Bruckner?¹⁷⁵

Emperor Franz Josef duly ratified Bruckner's appointment, and Herbeck was informed a few days later. Herbeck immediately contacted Bruckner by telegram to give him the good news and then wrote an official letter to advise him that he had been appointed an organist-designate at the court chapel and was entitled to use the title 'Imperial Court Organist'. He was also a candidate for a definitive post in the future, and, in the meantime, would be required to act as a substitute organist as often as necessary.¹⁷⁶

174 See *HSABB* 1, 100 for this letter, dated Vienna, 8 August 1868; the original is in the Hofburg archives, Vienna. Also see earlier and footnote 135 for Bruckner's application to the Lord Chamberlain in October 1867 for the post of either court organist or supernumerary unpaid assistant music director. Herbeck obviously considered that he would stand a better chance if he set his sights somewhat lower. In fact, Bruckner's appointment was to be as second organist-designate, as Rudolf Bibl had been first organist-designate since February 1863. Bibl eventually obtained a permanent position in June 1875 as did Bruckner at the beginning of 1878.

175 See *ABDS* 1, 47 for the full text of this report, dated 30 August 1868; the original is in the Hofburg archives, Vienna.

176 See *ABDS* 1, 48 for the Emperor's letter of authorization, dated Ischl, 4 September 1868; see

While Bruckner was making preparations for his move to Vienna, he was also active as a choirmaster in Linz. The two main Linz choirs, *Frohsinn* and *Sängerbund*, were asked to take part in a charity concert on Monday 17 August for the benefit of the people of Ulrichsberg which had suffered extensive fire damage, and Mathias Weißmann, the secretary of *Frohsinn*, wrote to Bruckner asking him to conduct a joint rehearsal on Friday 14 August. At the end of September, a special informal soirée was organized by *Frohsinn* in the *Stadt Frankfurt* hotel in Linz to bid farewell to Bruckner and Weißmann wrote him an official letter of appreciation for his excellent achievements as choirmaster.¹⁷⁷

After moving to Vienna, Bruckner maintained contact with his friends in Linz. Letters from Alois Weinwurm and Moritz von Mayfeld indicate that Bruckner had already written to them commenting enthusiastically and favourably on musical life in Vienna. Alois urged him to make sure that he obtained sufficient financial remuneration for his artistic endeavours:

Dear friend,

I was very happy to read your welcome lines and to learn that all is extremely well with you. I congratulate you - it must be good for you to be able to associate with true artists. Your successor in the choral society, whom I have not met yet, is enjoying tremendous praise...

also *ABDS* 2, 185 for a facsimile of the original. See also *ABDS* 1, 50 for the letter from the Lord Chamberlain's office to the Court Chapel, dated 8 September 1868; the original is in the Court Chapel archives, Vienna. For Herbeck's telegram to Bruckner, sent on either 4 or 5 September, see Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 13, and for his letter to Bruckner, dated 9 September 1868, see *ABDS* 1, 51 and *HSABB* 1,102. Notices in the Austrian press concerning Bruckner's appointment as organist-designate at the Court Chapel can be found in Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 348-49 and 354-56.

¹⁷⁷ See *HSABB* 1, 101 and 103 for the texts of both letters, dated Linz, 13 August and 29 September respectively. The originals can be found in the *Frohsinn*-Archiv of the *Linzer Singakademie*; in the *Frohsinn*-Archiv there is also another letter of appreciation from *Frohsinn* to Bruckner, dated Linz, 25 October 1868. Also see Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 351-53 for reports in the *Welser Anzeiger* and *Linzer Zeitung* concerning the informal soirée on 29 September. Bruckner also gave an organ recital in Steyr Parish Church on 21 September, a few days before his move to Vienna. There was a glowing review in the local paper – *Der Alpenbote* – on 24 September, and Bruckner's imminent departure for a new post in Vienna was mentioned. See Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 349 for this review.

Otherwise, everything is as it always has been in our neck of the woods. The great artistic delights have already started - *Musikverein* - *Frohsinn* - *Sängerbund* - *Eintracht* - and several other artistic societies; in short, the poor public will have to be rather thick-skinned. There is something that I would urge you to do. Make use of your patrons while the iron is hot. Those who secured the court appointment for you almost certainly have the power to obtain an income for you. There are enough funds to ensure that a worthy artist such as you can be supported in a most generous manner. So give these gentlemen no peace - it must happen, and I am convinced that it can and will happen.

When you give me pleasure by writing a few lines to me again, enclose your address.

Best wishes from
Your true friend
A. Weinwurm¹⁷⁸

Moritz von Mayfeld was clearly delighted that Bruckner had not taken long to find his feet in Vienna:

Most illustrious maestro!

I am very pleased to hear that you are having a good time in Vienna, and that circumstances are beginning to turn out favourably as I predicted they would. That there now appears to be the possibility of triumphs in 'foreign parts' for you surpasses even my own expectations. I hope that you will give me further information about this Nancy opportunity in due course.

My wife sends her very best wishes to you and, as you are already aware, takes the keenest interest in your artistic endeavours. As she is travelling with her sisters to Vienna next Friday in any case, she will hear your Mass if it is actually to be performed in the Court Chapel on the 22nd (or perhaps on the 29th). She is very much looking forward to it, but, as she is concerned that she will not be able to get a seat in the small chapel, would be most grateful to you if, perhaps, you could be of some assistance to her in this matter. I also hope to be able to come, and to extricate myself from my duties here for this one

¹⁷⁸ See *HSABB* 1, 104 for this letter, dated Linz, 8 November 1868; the original is in St. Florian. Bruckner's successor as conductor of *Frohsinn* was Franz Behr.

day. Could I ask you, therefore, to write or send a telegram to me in any case and tell me if the performance is to take place.

I am very envious of the many beautiful things you have the opportunity of hearing in Vienna in contrast to the very meagre fare which one is served here. I have also to inform you that a certain Miss v. Lucam, a harmony student, will contact you sometime this month about lessons. She is a very good pianist and an enthusiastic musician.

And so until we probably meet again on the 22nd!

Yours sincerely,
Mayfeld

If you should see Dr. Hanslick, Laub or Körer, please convey my best wishes to them.¹⁷⁹

As 1868 drew to a close Bruckner looked forward to spending Christmas with his friends in Linz. J.B. Schiedermayr, dean of Linz Cathedral, was the recipient of the following letter:

Dear Dean,

Above all I must thank you for all the kindness you have shown me. I will never, never forget it! I am reluctant to describe how difficult it was for me to take leave of you, Your Grace, and can find no words to express how much I miss you. I also sorely miss every spiritual contact, except for Father Schneeweiß who visited me recently. Otherwise, I am well and in very good health; moreover, everyone is well disposed towards me. The churches I normally attend are the chapel of the *Bürger-Versorgungshaus*, St. Stephen's and the court chapel. I have free admission to concerts and to the Court Opera.

¹⁷⁹ See *HSABB* 1, 104-05 for this letter, dated Linz, 14 November 1868. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *ABB*, 330-31. The "Nancy opportunity" is a reference to Bruckner's invitation to play the organ at a festival in Nancy; see chapter 4 for further information. A performance of Bruckner's new F minor Mass was originally scheduled for 22 November and was advertised in the *Neue Freie Presse* 1520; the first rehearsal evidently took place on 20 November. The performance was then postponed until 29 November but did not take place on this date - there was a second rehearsal of the Mass on 16 January 1869. According to Bruckner, Herbeck found the Mass 'too long and unsingable'; see *G-A* IV/1(1936), 78.

My Mass is to be performed in January, as further rehearsals are needed and Imhof has not been available.

I certainly hope that it will be possible for me to spend Christmas in Linz. Then Your Grace will not be able to get rid of me. In looking forward to it, I take comfort in the knowledge that Your Grace will have some idea of the pleasure I derive from being in your company.

I also look forward very much to seeing His Grace the Bishop again. I beg you to convey my deepest respects to him; I certainly prayed - but did not write - on 3 December. I do not know the address and don't have the confidence to find out.

Please give my regards to your sisters. With the deepest respect,
Your Grace, from your grateful servant

Anton Bruckner

N.B. My address is Währingerstraße 41.¹⁸⁰

During 1869 Bruckner kept in regular touch with his friends in Linz, informing them of his successes as an organist in Nancy and Paris and making arrangements for the first performance of E minor Mass at the special dedication service of the Votive Chapel of the new cathedral on 29 September.¹⁸¹ His successes abroad prompted three choral societies to elect him an honorary member - the *Wels Männergesangverein* (20 May), *Frohsinn* (9 June) and the Linz *Diözesan-Kunstverein*

180 See *HSABB* 1, 105 for this letter, dated Vienna, 8 December 1868; the original of the letter is privately owned. Father Karl Schneeweiß (1808-1887) was Bruckner's father confessor. A performance of the F minor Mass (or, possibly, the D minor Mass) in the court chapel was scheduled for 17 January 1869 but was replaced by a work written by Johann Baptist Gänsbacher (1778-1844), formerly director of music at St. Stephen's. 3 December was Bishop Rudigier's name-day.

181 Bruckner's letters to Schiedermayr are of particular interest, as two of them (Vienna, 20 May 1869 and Vienna, 19 June 1869) were originally owned by Alois Weissgärber, Schiedermayr's great-nephew, and are still privately owned by the family today. See *HSABB* 1, 110-11 and 113-14 for the texts of these letters. Bertha Barghesi was the illegitimate daughter of Karoline Barghesi who lived for some time with Dr. Josef Schiedermayr, Johann Schiedermayr's brother, in Vienna. Bertha had five children, two sons and three daughters. Because of certain facial likenesses to Bruckner in the two sons, Alois (who became an officer in the Austrian army) and Maximilian (who became one of the leaders of the Vienna Philharmonic), the suggestion has been made that Bruckner was Bertha's father! See two articles under the general title 'Familienerinnerungen an Anton Bruckner': Fröhlich-Weissgärber, 'Vorfahren meines Vaters' and Renate Bronnen, 'Die Weissgärber-Geschwister. Ein Kapitel aus dem Leben Anton Bruckners?' in *BJ* 1984/85/86 (Linz, 1988), 25-26 and 27-52. Facsimiles of the two letters mentioned above can also be found in *BJ* 1984/85/86, 28 and 40-41.

(21 October). After 1869 he maintained a less regular contact with Linz but was occasionally asked to write works for specific occasions or to play at important services. His choral piece, *Mitternacht* WAB 80, was written for *Frohsinn's* anniversary concert on 15 May 1870. On 4 June 1878 his motet, *Tota pulchra es* WAB 46, was given its first performance at a special ceremony in honour of Bishop Rudigier's 25-year tenure as bishop of the Linz diocese. Six years later, on 4 December 1884, Bruckner played the organ in the performance of Mozart's *Requiem* at Rudigier's funeral service; Cardinal Ganglbauer from Vienna officiated. The following year Bruckner's imposing *Ecce sacerdos magnus* WAB 13 was written for the centenary celebrations of the Linz diocese.¹⁸² At the request of Rudigier's successor, Bishop Müller, Bruckner's *Te Deum* was performed in September 1887 at a special event to mark the 25th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone and the dedication of the organ of the new cathedral. In the spring of 1886, the *Frohsinn* choral society decided to mount a special Bruckner concert to commemorate its 41st anniversary. A special poetic greeting to Bruckner by Karl Kerschbaum, a local poet, appeared in the Linz *Tagespost* on Tuesday 13 April, and the concert took place two days later. It was certainly a most ambitious concert by Linz standards, consisting of *Germanenzug* WAB 70, *Um Mitternacht* WAB 90, the Adagio from his Third Symphony and the *Te Deum*. Wilhelm Floderer conducted and Bruckner, who attended the concert, wrote later to *Frohsinn* to express his heartfelt gratitude. A special ceremony was held in his honour after the event, and glowing reports appeared in the *Tagespost*, the *Linzer Zeitung* and the *Volksblatt*.¹⁸³

In May 1889 Bruckner was invited to play the organ at the enthronement of the new bishop, Franz Maria Doppelbauer. On 21 December 1890 the Linz *Musikverein*

182 In the event, two pieces scheduled to be performed during the centenary celebrations (26 September - 4 October), *Virga Jesse* WAB 85 and *Ecce sacerdos magnus* WAB 13, were found to be too difficult and were replaced by other pieces.

183 See *HSABB* 1, 324 for Bruckner's letter to *Frohsinn*, dated Vienna, 20 April 1886; the original has been lost; it was first printed in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 30 April 1886. It is also printed in *G-A* III/1, together with a full report of the concert, ceremony, and reviews (pp. 593-604). See also Erich Wolfgang Partsch, 'Das Erste Bruckner-Festkonzert (Linz 1886)', in *IBG Studien & Berichte, Mitteilungsblatt* 76 (June 2011), 5-11.

orchestra, conducted by Adalbert Schreyer, performed the second (1877) version of Bruckner's Third Symphony. This was an unfortunate piece of programme planning - Bruckner was unable to attend because the recently completed third version of the same symphony was being performed in Vienna on the same day by the Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Hans Richter!

At the request of Bishop Doppelbauer, Bruckner played the organ in Linz Cathedral on Easter Sunday 1891. This was to be the last time that he played the organ in Linz. As a token of gratitude and as a gesture of recognition of Bruckner's many years of service to the region, Doppelbauer arranged for the composer to be granted an annual stipend of 400 florins from the Upper Austrian Parliament. He was in effect able to achieve what Bruckner had not been able to accomplish seventeen years earlier when he petitioned the Upper Austrian Parliament for an annual endowment to provide him with some additional financial security. This had been refused on the grounds that Bruckner was already receiving a significant salary from the Vienna Conservatory and was not in exceptional need of financial help.¹⁸⁴

When Bruckner died in 1896, the musical director in Linz was August Göllerich, the composer's first biographer. He was responsible for initiating the first regular cycle of Bruckner concerts in Austria. With the foundation of a most important centre for Bruckner research - the *Anton Bruckner Institut Linz* - in the late 1970s, the city can be said to have fully repaid its debt to one of its greatest sons.

3.3 The Music

In this brief assessment of the compositional output of the Linz years, the main emphasis will be on those works written after Bruckner's long period of study with Sechter which came to a successful conclusion at the end of 1861. Very few works were written in the years 1856-61, because of Bruckner's stringent self-imposed moratorium on original compositions. The 'student works' that were written under

¹⁸⁴ See *G-A III/1*, 564ff. for further details. This stipend is mentioned by Bruckner in his letter to Prince Liechtenstein, 16 December 1890; see *HSABB 2*, 97-98.

Kitzler's supervision in the years 1861-63 show the gradual emergence of an original voice, and the Mass in D minor WAB 26 (1864) is the first work in which Bruckner's true stature is fully displayed.

3.3.1 Secular choral works

Two issues of the *Linzer Zeitung* in June 1863 included the official announcement that there was to be a composition competition as part of the first *Upper Austrian Singing Festival* to take place in Linz on 14 and 15 August 1864.¹⁸⁵ Applicants were invited to submit their works by 30 November 1863, and eight compositions were to be chosen for performance at the festival, their composers receiving 50 florins each.¹⁸⁶ At the festival itself, additional prizes of 100, 60 and 40 florins would be given to the composers of the pieces adjudged first, second and third in order of merit. At some point during 1864 the festival was postponed until June 1865 and was re-named the *Oberösterreichisches-salzburgisches Sängerbundesfest*.

We first learn of Bruckner's interest in the competition in a letter sent to him by the poet August Silberstein which suggests that Bruckner had already contacted him about a suitable poem. Silberstein enclosed his poem *Germanenzug*, commented on its structure, made some suggestions about a possible musical setting, wished him good luck, and included a glossary of mythological names which might be new to him.¹⁸⁷ In his reply Bruckner, after thanking him for the poem, asked for Silberstein's advice about the metre of the piece which, in his own opinion, ought to

185 Issues of 18 June, 574 and 28 June, 612.

186 See Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 221-26 for a letter dated 29 December 1863 from Josef Hafferl, the chair of the selection panel, to Alois Weinwurm, archivist of the Upper Austrian *Sängerbund*, including the panel's report on the submitted choral works.

187 See *HSABB* 1, 40-41 for this letter, dated Vienna, 27 July 1863. The original of the letter has been lost; it was first printed in *ABB*, 348-9. The autograph copy of Silberstein's poem is in the *ÖNB*; there is a facsimile in *G-A* III/1, between pages 208 and 209. Dr. August Silberstein (1825-1900), a poet and journalist in Vienna, was a member of the *Wiener Männergesangverein* and, from 1866, an honorary member of the *Wiener Schubertbund*. He also provided Bruckner with the texts for *Helgoland* WAB 71, *Vaterlandslied* WAB 92, and *Vaterländisches Weinlied* WAB 91.

be 4/4 to correspond with the mood of the poem.¹⁸⁸ His reference at the end of the letter to the 3/4 metre of *Zigeuner-Waldlied* WAB 135 as being unsuitable would suggest that Bruckner's original intention was to use this choral piece, which is now lost, as the basis for his competition entry:

... He was unhappy with the text, perhaps because he felt that a gypsy song was unsuitable for a male-chorus festival, and asked Silberstein for something more appropriate. When Bruckner saw the new text and recognised that triple metre was no longer appropriate, he wrote a new piece in duple metre using material from the *Zigeuner-Waldlied* and discarded the earlier composition.¹⁸⁹

As the postscript to Bruckner's letter to Rudolf Weinwurm of 1 September makes clear – 'I have just written a chorus (Germanenzug) for the Upper Austrian Festival' - he spent August composing the work or at least the first version of the work.¹⁹⁰ We next hear of the choral piece in January 1864. An article in the edition of the *Linzer Zeitung* for 20 January stated that Bruckner's *Germanenzug* was one of the eight successful compositions that had been chosen from an entry of 120 works at a meeting of the festival committee on 10 January. Bruckner himself was one of the judges, two of the others being Hans Schläger from Salzburg and Anton Storch from Vienna, but the identities of the composers were deliberately concealed during the selection process.¹⁹¹

188 See *HSABB* 1, 41 for this letter, dated Linz, 29 July 1863; the original is in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*.

189 Paul Hawkshaw, 'From Zigeunerwald to Valhalla in Common Time. The Genesis of Anton Bruckner's *Germanenzug*', in *BJ* 1987/88 (Linz, 1990), 21-22. See also Uwe Harten, "'Germanen durchstreiten des Urwaldes Nacht". Zu Anton Bruckners Chorwerk *Germanenzug*', in *Österreichische Musik - Musik in Österreich: Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas: Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1998), 395-402.

190 See earlier and footnote 88.

191 From the information provided in *G-A* III/1, 210 and confirmed by Hafferl's letter, the initial entry had amounted to no less than 331 works. These were presumably narrowed down to 120 and finally pruned to the eight successful choruses which were allowed to go forward to the festival.

Bruckner's correspondence with the publisher Kränzl and with his friend Rudolf Weinwurm in Vienna between January and August indicates that he was still making alterations to the work as late as the summer of 1864. As Hawkshaw points out, the first three of his four letters to Kränzl

... deal with routine composer / publisher matters: on 28 January Bruckner granted publishing rights to Kränzl's firm; on 5 February he sent Kränzl a piano reduction; and on 9 May he asked the publisher to ensure that, in the full score, the first horn had a D sharp in measure 56.¹⁹²

Although Bruckner sent a piano reduction to Kränzl on 5 February, he was still considering, at Weinwurm's suggestion, a change of instrumentation in the middle section of the chorus (a harp to replace the horn quartet) in late February and early March. This is the gist of his two letters to Weinwurm (25 February and 1 March) from which we also glean the information that Weinwurm was likewise involved in making some alterations in the scoring of his own piece which had also been successful in the competition.¹⁹³ Even as late as 13 August when Bruckner returned the proofs to Kränzl, he was eager to point out that he had not only made corrections but also added several new changes.

Of the three manuscript scores of *Germanenzug* WAB 70 in Kremsmünster abbey, the earliest - an autograph score of the instrumental parts only - is possibly the version mentioned in the letter Bruckner sent to Weinwurm on 1 September 1863. The other two scores are a full score and a piano reduction, mainly of the instrumental accompaniment, both of which Bruckner prepared in collaboration with Franz Schimatschek, his Linz copyist.¹⁹⁴ Bruckner's letters to Kränzl and

192 Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 22. See *HSABB* 1, 45 and 47-48 for Bruckner's four letters to Josef Leopold Kränzl (1825-1907), dated Linz, 28 January, 5 February, 9 May and 13 August 1864 respectively; the originals are in the *Museum Innviertler Volkskundehaus*, Ried im Innkreis where Kränzl had his publishing business. Publication of the successful competition pieces was obviously part of the prize.

193 See earlier and footnotes 90 and 91.

194 For a fuller description of these manuscripts, see Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 22ff, *HMSAB*, 198ff., and Franz Burkhardt, 'Anton Bruckner und sein Germanenzug', *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 14 (1978), 19-23.

Weinwurm in February and March 1864 allude to this version of the work which differs in several respects from the earlier autograph score. In addition, there is almost certainly a 'lost intermediate version, which must have existed in manuscripts of the full score and piano reduction'.¹⁹⁵ This intermediate version would have been written in October or November 1863 before the composition deadline of 30 November. The other missing layers of the compositional process are the engraver's copies of the full score and the piano reduction which Bruckner referred to in his letter to Kränzl on 13 August. We can surmise, however, that they contained the 'many changes' which appeared in the first edition.¹⁹⁶

The eight successful choruses which had reached the final stages of the competition were conducted by their own composers at the Festival in Linz on 5 June 1865. First, second and third prizes were awarded according to the volume of applause - surely a risky business without a "clapometer"? - and Bruckner's *Germanenzug* had to take second place to Weinwurm's *Germania*, a result which, as we have seen, seems to have somewhat soured the relationship between the two friends for a time. The *Linzer Zeitung* contained the following review of Bruckner's work:

Mr. Bruckner is an epic composer in this chorus. The poem is spirited and sublime, but requires so much declamatory stress that we cannot regard it as being very suitable for a musical setting and must judge it at least as a very problematic stumbling-block for the

Franz Schimatschek (1812-1877), a horn player in the Linz theatre orchestra and the National Guard band, was also well known as an excellent copyist and Bruckner had an extremely high opinion of him.

195 Hawkshaw, op.cit., 26.

196 This was the first of Bruckner's works to be published. The exact date of publication is not known but was presumably during the late summer or autumn of 1864. Later in the century (1892?) an edition of the score and parts was published by A. Robitschek (Vienna and Leipzig), and Eduard Kremser prepared an edition of the work for chorus and orchestra. There is a modern edition in both full score and study score format, ed. Franz Burkhardt et al., in *ABSW XXII/2 / XXII/7* (Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1987 / 1998), 179-212 / 1-32. The original scoring of the work is for male-voice choir accompanied by a brass ensemble comprising four horns, two cornets, four trumpets, three trombones, a tenor horn (euphonium) and tuba.

composer. The composition as such has verve and provides fresh proof of Mr. Bruckner's great talent for the higher style and his powerful and secure mastery of the entire descriptive material. Both the opening and closing sections make an excellent, impressive effect. The entry of the solo quartet has a singular beauty. The poet, who was at the festival, will no doubt have given the composer some assistance in his setting of the poem, and we cannot raise any objection to that. Nevertheless, now that the poem has been set to music, we have to express our opinion that *inter alia* the end of the first movement which is marked *forte*: "as the watchful escort of Valkyries hovers around the heroes and sings of the battle" and the solo quartet which enters immediately afterwards *piano* are not entirely successful.¹⁹⁷

Despite this critic's reservations, *Germanenzug* was performed several times during the composer's lifetime. Its slower middle section was sung by the *Wiener Akademischer Gesangsverein* accompanied by a horn quartet from the Vienna *Staatsoper* at Bruckner's funeral on 14 October 1896.

While working on *Germanenzug*, Bruckner wrote two other accompanied secular choral works, *Um Mitternacht* WAB 89 and *Herbstlied* WAB 73. *Um Mitternacht*, for male-voice choir, solo alto, and piano, was completed on 12 April 1864. Bruckner set the same text by Robert Prutz again in Vienna more than twenty years later (*Um Mitternacht* WAB 90), writing for similar forces but replacing the solo alto with a solo tenor. The autograph score has no dedication, but Schimatschek's copy has a dedication to the Linz *Sängerbund* on the title page signed and dated by Bruckner, 15 April 1864.¹⁹⁸ Bruckner conducted the first performance of the piece in Linz on

197 This review (critic unknown) appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung* 129 on 7 June 1865; see Susanna Taub, op.cit., 28-29 for facsimiles of this report and the report of the festival procession in the *Linzer Abendbote*, 7 June 1865. Bruckner's *Germanenzug* was also mentioned in reports of the festival which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* 277 and the *Österreichischer Volksfreund* (see Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 265) on 8 June.

198 The autograph score, formerly in the private possession of Anton Dermota, is now in the *ÖNB*. Schimatschek's copy, as described in *G-A* III/1, 252, is in the archives of the *Linz Singakademie*. The work was first published by U.E. Vienna in 1911, edited and with a foreword by V. Keldorfer; there is a modern edition in *ABSW* XXIII/2, 62-69.

11 December 1864 at the anniversary celebrations of *Sängerbund*. The reviewer of the work in the *Linzer Zeitung* referred to its ‘unusually sombre mood’ at the beginning but singled out the solo alto entry in E major and ‘its truly delightful conclusion’ for special mention.¹⁹⁹ *Herbstlied*, a setting of a poem by Friedrich v. Sallet for male-voice choir, two soprano soloists and piano, was composed in March 1864 and dedicated to Josef Hafferl, who was the chairman of the *Frohsinn* choir at the time. The Viennese copyist, Franz Hlawaczek, prepared two copies. Both have dedications but only one has autograph entries by the composer with his signature and the date 19 March 1864.²⁰⁰ As there is no surviving autograph score, Hawkshaw surmises that Bruckner wanted to keep one of the copies for his own use because the autograph ‘was for some reason impractical to use.’ Why Bruckner should have employed a Viennese copyist is a mystery, but it is possible that Rudolf Weinwurm hired Hlawaczek on his behalf.²⁰¹ The chorus was first performed by *Frohsinn* at a special ladies’ evening in Linz on 24 November 1864. One of the two soprano soloists was Marie Schimatschek, the eldest daughter of Franz Schimatschek. The reviewer in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 2 December considered the piece to be well composed but found the initial soprano entries too prominent above the *pianissimo* choral description of the echoes of earlier nightingale singing.²⁰²

While the accompanied secular choral works were confined to the years 1863-65, the unaccompanied works spanned almost the entire Linz period. According to the date at the end of the autograph score, *Das edle Herz* WAB 66 was completed in

199 See G-A III/1, 254 for an extract from this review (possibly by Franz Gamon) in the *Linzer Zeitung* 287, 16 December 1864. See Susanna Taub, op.cit., 44-45 for facsimiles of this review and another review which appeared in the *Linzer Abendbote* 284, 13 December 1864.

200 Both copies are now in the archives of the Linz *Singakademie*. The work was first published by U.E. Vienna in 1911, edited and with a foreword by V. Keldorfer; there is a modern edition in *ABSW* XXIII/2, 54-61.

201 See *HMSAB*, 149 and 327-73.

202 See Susanna Taub, op.cit., 25 for a facsimile of this review in the *Linzer Zeitung* 276, 2 December 1864.

December 1857.²⁰³ It was Bruckner's second setting of a poem by Ernst Marinelli, a St. Florian priest. Whereas the earlier setting (WAB 65, c.1851) is for male voices, the Linz setting is for mixed voices. One of the first pieces Bruckner wrote after completing his theoretical studies with Sechter was a setting for mixed-voice quartet of Heine's poem *Du bist wie eine Blume* WAB 64. There are two autograph scores, the second of which is dated Linz, 5 December 1861 at the end.²⁰⁴ Bruckner dedicated this piece to *Sängerbund* and it was performed at the choir's fourth anniversary concert on 15 December. Bruckner composed the first of his two settings of Zedlitz's *Der Abendhimmel* WAB 55 in January 1862 for male-voice quartet. According to Göllicher, a fair copy of the manuscript bore the dedication: 'Dedicated to my dear friends, P.T. Munsch 1. Tenor, Dr. Stifler 2. Tenor, Dr. Benoni 1. Bass, Dr. Weinmann 2. Bass. Anton Bruckner. January 1862.'²⁰⁵ The second setting, WAB 56, for male-voice choir, was completed on 6 December 1866, nearly five years later, and reveals just how much richer Bruckner's harmonic language had become during this time.²⁰⁶

Towards the end of 1866, A. M. Storch, the conductor of the *Niederösterreichische Sängerbund*, asked Bruckner to send him a chorus for male voices. The composer

203 This autograph score can be found in Wels municipal library. Renate Grasberger's dating of 1861 in *Werkverzeichnis Anton Bruckners* (Tutzing, 1977), 72 is clearly wrong. The piece is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 91-92 and printed in *G-A III/2*, 13-17; there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 44-46. See also *HMSAB*, 255 and 262.

204 The first of these, now in the *ÖNB*, is a composition score and is reproduced in *G-A III/2*, 193-96. The second, now in the archives of the Linz *Singakademie*, is a fair copy and is reproduced in Appendix 5 of *HMSAB*. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 49-50. See also *G-A III/1*, 124 and *HMSAB*, 266-67.

205 A facsimile of the autograph composition score in the *ÖNB* is reproduced in *HMSAB*, 112ff., but the fair copy, as described by Göllicher in *G-A III/1*, 124-25. and to which he must have had access, is missing. See also *G-A III/2*, 18ff. for a printed copy of the work, and *HMSAB*, 112ff. and 268-69 for further discussion. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 51-54.

206 The autograph is in the *ÖNB*. See *G-A III/1*, 361-62 and *HMSAB*, 291 for further discussion. The work was first published by U.E. Vienna (chorus parts 1899, score 1902) as the second of *Zwei Männerchöre*, the first being *O könnt' ich dich beglücken* WAB 92. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 75-76.

referred to this request in a letter to Weinwurm of 2 December in which he also mentioned that he had just completed the E minor Mass.²⁰⁷ On 11 December Bruckner thanked Storch profusely for his request, and continued:

... I had absolutely nothing prepared but composed these choruses in the last two weeks. I am making two of them - *Abendhimmel* and *Weinlied* - available to you to do with as you wish. But I have been so bold (please forgive me) as to dedicate a third piece, Silberstein's 'O könnt' ich dich beglücken', to your excellent choir because I regarded it as the most substantial of the three... I am not interested at all in any honorarium. I will be sufficiently rewarded if the good Lord permits one of my works to be performed...²⁰⁸

The *Weinlied* referred to in this letter is Bruckner's setting of another poem by August Silberstein, *Vaterländisches Weinlied* WAB 91, a short twelve-bar piece.²⁰⁹ *O könnt' ich dich beglücken* WAB 92, a setting of a four-verse patriotic poem for tenor and baritone soloists in addition to male-voice choir, is the most extended of these unaccompanied works.²¹⁰

The remaining unaccompanied secular works written during the Linz period are of uncertain date, but it is probable that the short motto, *Das Frauenherz, die Mannesbrust* WAB 95a, was given its first performance by the combined *Frohsinn*

207 See earlier and footnote 119.

208 See *HSABB* 1, 69 for the text of this letter; the original is in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library.

209 The autograph of this chorus has been lost. See *HMSAB*, 289-90 for details of two copy scores. See also *G-A III/1*, 358-61 and F. Racek, 'Ein neuer Text zu Bruckners "Vaterländisches Weinlied"', in Franz Grasberger, ed., *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1964), 83-86. The work was first published as *Vaterländisch* by Emil Berté and Co. in *Wiener Componistenalbum* (Vienna, 1892). It is also printed in *G-A III/2*, 139, and there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 90-91. See Franz Scheder's information in the *ABIL Mitteilungen* 7 (June 2011) about a 'hitherto unknown Bruckner document' that has come to light recently, namely a contract between Bruckner and the publisher Emil Berté concerning the printing of the chorus in 1892.

210 The autograph of this chorus has been lost. See *HMSAB*, 290, *G-A III/1*, 358 and 362-65, and footnote 202. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 77-89.

men's and women's choirs during a spring outing to the Kiernberger forest on 17 May 1868. The words are by Karl Kerschbaum, a friend of Bruckner and the chairman of *Frohsinn*.²¹¹ According to Göllicher, the motto *Des Höchsten Preis* WAB 95b, with words by A. Mittermayr, was written for the *Liedertafel Sierning* near Steyr. Its simpler harmonic style suggests an earlier date.²¹² The two versions of the *Volkslied: Anheben lasst uns all zusamm'* WAB 94, the first for male voices unaccompanied and the second for voice and piano, were composed during the Vienna period.²¹³

3.3.2 Sacred choral works

From the beginning of the Linz period comes an *Ave Maria* WAB 5 for four-part mixed-voice choir, cello, and organ. It provides a good example of Bruckner's contrapuntal knowledge shortly after the beginning of his marathon course in harmony and counterpoint and, as Göllicher points out, is the last of his sacred works to contain a figured bass.²¹⁴ Towards the end of his period of study with

211 There is neither an autograph nor a copy score of this work. It is printed in *G-A III/2*, 158 and discussed in *G-A III/1*, 516 and *HMSAB*, 301. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 93.

212 There is no autograph score available. The three copy scores extant do not have specific connections with the Linz period. See *G-A III/1*, 516 and *HMSAB*, 12 and 300. The work is printed in *G-A III/2*, 159; there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 92.

213 There are facsimiles of both versions in *G-A III/2*, 191-92. Both Göllicher (*III/1*, 105-06) and Renate Grasberger, op.cit., 100) suggest a Linz date, c. 1861 in the latter case. Alfred Orel, 'Ein vergessener Preis-Chor von Anton Bruckner', in *Wiener Volkszeitung*, January 1941, 11-16, however, gives the correct date: 1882. As Paul Hawkshaw observes, 'there is nothing in the physical characteristics of the sources which would contradict this dating and there is certainly no physical evidence that *Volkslied* is a Linz composition' (*HMSAB*, 12; see also 259). In fact, it was composed for a competition sponsored by the *Deutsche Zeitung* for a 'hymn for the people of Austria' to words by Josef Winter. Bruckner was one of 1320 participants, and sent his manuscript in two versions, the first for four-part male-voice chorus, the other for voice and piano. In the event, no prize was awarded! For further information about Bruckner's secular choral works, see Angela Pachovsky, 'Bruckners weltliche Chöre', in *Bruckner-Vorträge, Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), 35-46, and A.C. Howie, 'Bruckner and secular vocal music', in John Williamson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner* (Vienna, 2004), 64-76. For a modern edition of the chorus, see *ABSW XXIII/2*, 145-47. For the voice and piano version, see *ABSW XXIII/1*, 28-29 (including further information in the Foreword, vii-viii and *Revisionsbericht*, 41).

214 *G-A III/1*, 34. The work is discussed in some detail in pp. 33-40. It was first published in

Sechter, Bruckner wrote *Am Grabe* WAB 2 for a special occasion - the funeral on 11 February 1861 of Josefine Hafferl, the mother of the chairman of *Frohsinn*. As he had to write this piece at short notice, he made use of the same text as *Vor Arneths Grabe* WAB 53, written seven years earlier, but omitted the final verse. The review of the piece in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 12 February highlighted the 'atmosphere of gentle feeling' which pervaded the work. Although Bruckner borrowed an earlier text, he avoided providing an identical musical treatment. *Am Grabe* displays a more mature handling of the text and a more expansive harmonic treatment, and Hawkshaw appositely asserts that it was 'not so much a revision designed to update an earlier work as it was a new composition using material from an older one.'²¹⁵

The *Ave Maria* WAB 6 for unaccompanied seven-part mixed-voice choir (SAATTBB) is one of Bruckner's most appealing works. It was composed in May 1861 and first performed on 12 May by *Frohsinn* as the offertory hymn during a Mass by Lotti in the cathedral as part of the choir's anniversary celebrations. Like the contemporary *Afferentur regi* WAB 1, it was frequently included in later performances of the Mass in D minor.²¹⁶ Bruckner also rehearsed the motet with the *Singakademie* in Salzburg in September 1861. Although his application for the vacant post of music director was unsuccessful, the *Ave Maria* evidently made a favourable impression - as it had done after its first performance earlier in the year when the reporter for the *Linzer Zeitung* described it as 'a strictly contrapuntal work imbued with religious feeling' that had provided 'shining proof of his intensive studies... and his particular aptitude for composing church music.'²¹⁷ *Afferentur regi*

Bruckner's lifetime by J. Groß of Innsbruck (1893). For a modern edition, see *ABSW XXI/1*, 75-81 (also foreword, xi) with critical report in *ABSW XXI/2*, 57-58.

215 *HMSAB*, pp.221-26, 223 in particular; see also 264. The work is also discussed in *G-A III/1*, 92ff. It was first published by Friedrich Eckstein in his *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1923); there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 47-48. See Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 184 for this review in the *Linzer Zeitung* 35 and Susanna Taub, 22 for a facsimile of the review.

216 Later performances of the motet in the context of the Mass in D minor include those in Linz (20 November 1864) and Vienna (10 February 1867). It was also conducted by Joseph Schalk during one of the private evenings of the *Wagner-Verein* in Vienna (8 November 1888).

217 See Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 186-87 for this report in the *Linzer Zeitung* 112 (15 May 1861)

for four-part mixed-voice choir was written in Linz on 7 November and first performed at St. Florian on 13 December 1861. It was unaccompanied originally, but Bruckner added three optional trombone parts later. The autograph sketch in Kremsmünster, which does not have trombone parts, 'looks very much like a composition score for an *a cappella* motet for four mixed voices' and possibly represents 'the earliest stages of the work's composition' rather than being 'the first of two versions of the motet.'²¹⁸

Four years elapsed before Bruckner wrote his next small-scale sacred piece. Indeed *Trauungsschor* WAB 49, set to a German text by Dr. Franz I. Proschko, is really a semi-sacred composition, an occasional work for male-voice choir and organ written in January 1865 to celebrate the wedding of Karl Kerschbaum, chairman of *Frohsinn*, and Marie Schimatschek, a concert singer and daughter of Franz Schimatschek. The *Frohsinn* choir, with Bruckner at the organ, performed it for the first time in Linz Parish Church on 6 February.²¹⁹

Just as the *Afferentur regi* and *Ave Maria* motets are closely associated with the D minor Mass, a motet written near the end of the Linz period - *Pange lingua* WAB 33 - has modal (Phrygian) and thematic connections with the E minor Mass. It was

and 184-86 for an earlier preview in the same paper as well as further reviews in the *Linzer Abendbote* (14 May 1861) and the *Katholische Blätter* (15 May 1861); see also Susanna Taub, op.cit., 22 for a facsimile of the *Linzer Zeitung* review. For Bruckner's own account (to Rudolf Weinwurm) of his Salzburg experience, see earlier and footnote 40. *Ave Maria* was first published by Emil Wetzler (Vienna, 1887). For further discussion of the motet, see *G-A III/1*, 97, *HMSAB*, 230-34, *ABSW XXI/1*, 184 and 188, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 58-63. For a modern edition, see *ABSW XXI/1*, 82-85.

218 *HMSAB*, 152; see also 267-68. There is a facsimile of the autograph in Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner als Kirchenmusiker* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1927), 64. This offertory motet was first published by Universal Edition (U.E. 4978) in 1922 as a supplement to the November / December (11/12) issue of *Musica Divina*. The editor, J.V. von Wöss, replaced the three trombones with an organ. For further discussion, see *G-A III/1*, 122-23 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 64-72. For a modern edition, see the latter's companion volume, *ABSW XXI/1*, 86-87.

219 The piece is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 309ff. and *HMSAB*, 280-81. Göllerich's discussion includes an excerpt from the review of the performance in the *Linzer Zeitung* 31, 8 February 1865; see also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 248 for the complete review and Susanna Taub, op.cit., 26 for a facsimile of this review. There is a facsimile of the autograph, which is in the archives of the Linz Singakademie, in *G-A III/2*, 219-24. A modern edition of the piece can be found in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 70-74.

composed on 31 January 1868 and Bruckner's original intention was to have it performed at the same time as the first performance of his Mass in Linz on 29 September 1869, but he had to wait twenty years before hearing it. Writing to his friend Oddo Loidol in Kremsmünster on 18 October 1892, he enclosed copies of *Iam lucis orto sidere* WAB 18 and the 1868 *Pange lingua*, referring to the latter as 'my favourite *Tantum ergo* 'that was already in print and which he had already heard three times in Steyr. Bruckner directed that it was to be performed 'very slowly and solemnly'.²²⁰ In the 1880s Franz Witt, one of the leaders of the Caecilian reform movement in Catholic church music in the second half of the 19th century, included this small motet in a collection of 'Eucharistic Songs' and, to Bruckner's great annoyance, 'corrected' the ending of the piece which presumably offended his over-sensitive ears. This 'correction' was amended in the Groß edition of 1895 and subsequent editions of the piece.²²¹

For the anniversary celebrations of *Frohsinn* in 1868, Bruckner wrote an offertory motet, *Inveni David* WAB 19, for male voices and four trombones, completing it in Linz on 21 April and directing the first performance on 10 May.²²²

The last of the small sacred pieces from the Linz period is *Iam lucis orto sidere*

220 See *HSABB* 2, 194 for the text of this letter; the original is in Kremsmünster Abbey. Franz Bayer, who was director of the church choir at Steyr Parish Church, made a copy of this work. It is now in the *ÖNB*, as is Bruckner's autograph. See also Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel, 1956), 756-57.

221 Prior to its publication in Franz X. Witt, *Eucharistische Gesänge* 5 (1888), it appeared in the supplement of Witt, ed., *Musica Sacra* 18 (1885), 44. Witt also made some rhythmical changes in bars 9-11. For an account of Bruckner's reaction, see Friedrich Eckstein, *Erinnerungen*, 13-17. There is a facsimile of the autograph of this motet in *G-A III/1*, 500. For further discussion of the work, see *G-A III/1*, 499-503, *ABSW XXI/1*, foreword (xi) and 184, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 72-76. For a modern edition, see *ABSW XXI/1*, 88-89. See also Franz Scheder, 'Ein bisher unbekannter Bruckner-Brief', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.17 (June 2016), 11-13 for a reference to a letter dated 16 January 1886 purportedly sent to Witt by Bruckner. For a discussion of Bruckner's use of Phrygian modality in this and other works, see Antony F. Carver, 'Bruckner and the Phrygian Mode', in *Music and Letters* 86/1 (February 2005), 74-99.

222 The work is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 441ff. and *ABSW XXI/2*, 76-80. A facsimile of the autograph, located in the archives of the Linz *Singakademie*, can be found after page 64 in Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner als Kirchenmusiker* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1927), and in *G-A III/2*, 239-44. There is a modern edition of the work in *ABSW XXI/1*, 90-93.

WAB 18, a hymn for mixed-voice choir *a cappella* probably written during the summer months of 1868. It is a simple, modally inspired piece and homophonic throughout. Its dedicatee, Professor Adolf Dorfer, was the abbot of Wilhering abbey, and Robert Riepl, one of the priests working at the abbey, supplied the text. On October 15, 1867, Riepl wrote to the bishop's office in Linz requesting approval for the text to be kept in the Wilhering monastery library. Riepl also paid the costs of the first edition in 1868.²²³ When Bruckner was asked in 1892 to play the organ in the student chapel for a school service in Kremsmünster, he had to decline because of a badly swollen foot, but he remembered this hymn and sent it, together with a copy of the contemporary *Pange lingua*, to Father Oddo Loidol.²²⁴ A rather intriguing transposed version of the hymn was published in the Viennese magazine *An der schönen blauen Donau* in May 1886.²²⁵

One small sacred piece which was lost until recently and was hitherto attributed to Bruckner is a *Litanei* [WAB 132]. Our sole source of knowledge about it is the beginning of a letter from Sechter to Bruckner in September 1858:

... Yesterday I received your letter of the 22nd, together with the parcel containing the *Litanei*, and I am pleased that it has been successful. Please convey my respects to music director Zappe...²²⁶

223 G.K. Mitterschiffthaler refers to this work in his article, 'Die Beziehungen Anton Bruckners zum Stift Wilhering', in *Bruckner Studien* (Vienna, 1975), 128. There is no autograph extant and the probable engraver's copy differs in some respects from the first edition (Linz: Feichtingers Erben, 1868). See *G-A III/1*, 496-99 and, for more accurate information, *ABSW XXI/1*, 184, *ABSW XXI/2*, 80-85, and *HMSAB*, 292-93. For the musical text of this first version, see *G-A III/2*, 142-43 and *ABSW XXI/1*, 94-97 (including arrangement with organ accompaniment).

224 See footnote 220.

225 It was transposed up a minor third to G minor, and verses 3-6 of the original eight verses were omitted. See *ABSW XXI/1*, 185 and 188, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 134-35 for further information. The most recent editions of the piece are (a) G.K. Mitterschiffthaler, ed., music supplement of *Singende Kirche* 21/4 (1973-74); (b) *ABSW XXI/1*, 146-47. For further information about Bruckner's smaller sacred works, see A.C. Howie, 'Bruckner and the motet', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner* (Cambridge, 2004), 54-63.

226 See *HSABB* 1, 17-18 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 26 September 1858; it was first printed in *ABB*, 350-51. The originals of both Bruckner's letter of 22 September and Sechter's reply

From this we can deduce that the piece was performed in Linz in 1858, probably conducted by Karl Zappe, the cathedral music director, during a church service. However, it has now been identified as Sechter's work – Bruckner's teacher had evidently sent the work to Linz to be performed there.²²⁷

The first of the larger sacred works and one which may well have been written in St. Florian before 1856 is a setting of *Psalm 146* WAB 37 for soloists, double choir and an orchestra consisting of one flute, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, four horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani and strings. Paul Hawkshaw asserts correctly that there is 'no documentary evidence that it was composed in Linz' and adds that there is 'every reason to believe Bruckner would have shied away from writing such a large piece while he was studying with Sechter.' Max Graf's dating of 1860 is almost certainly wrong.²²⁸

Bishop Rudigier asked Bruckner to write a festival cantata for the special ceremony on 1 May 1862 at which the foundation stone of the new Linz Cathedral was laid. The *Fest-Cantate "Preiset den Herrn"* WAB 16 was written between 26 March and 25 April and was scored for four-part male-voice choir, male solo quartet, bass soloist, wind band and timpani. It was performed by *Frohsinn* and

are not extant.

227 See Ikarus Kaiser, 'Wiederentdeckte musikalische Raritäten in kirchlichen', in *Querstand II. Beiträge zu Kunst und Kultur* (Regensburg: Anton Bruckner Privatuniversität Linz, 2006), 30-31; cited by Franz Scheder in his 'Bruckner-Incerta', *Bruckner-Symposion Linz 2004 Bericht* (Linz: Anton Bruckner Institut, 2008), 143, footnote 71.

228 See *HMSAB* 82, footnote 1 for Hawkshaw's comments; see also 298 and 323-24 for further information about the sources, including a copy with autograph entries in the *ÖNB*. The original autograph in the Austrian National Library (Mus.Hs. 40.500) is undated. For Graf's dating, see his article, 'Anton Bruckner: der Entwicklungsgang' in *Die Musik* 1 (January 1902), 581. Göllerich's view was that the piece was begun in St. Florian and completed in Linz, but he also suggested a completion date of 1860 - see *G-A* III/1, 71 and 658. Renate Grasberger gives the place and period of composition as 'St. Florian oder Linz, Juli 1860' in her *Werkzeichnis*, 41. The first modern edition, edited Paul Hawkshaw, is in *ABSW* XX/4 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996). The text of Psalm 146, in Allioli's German translation, is equivalent to verses 1-11 of Psalm 147 in the Lutheran translation and in the Authorized Version.

invited guest singers accompanied by a military band conducted by Engelbert Lanz. The event was widely publicised and reported in the religious and secular Upper Austrian press and Bruckner received a fee of 50 florins for his efforts.²²⁹

Bruckner's setting of *Psalm 112* WAB 35, scored for double choir and an orchestra comprising double woodwind, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, and strings, was composed in Linz in 1863 shortly after the completion of the Symphony in F minor and the termination of his course of studies with Kitzler. Dates in the autograph score suggest that the work was begun in June and completed on 5 July but there is also an annotation in Bruckner's hand in the *Kitzler Studienbuch* – 'Ouverture - dann Symphonie u Psalm beschlossen / 10. Juli 1863' - which provides a slightly later finishing date. According to Gräflinger, the Psalm was originally conceived for the laying of the foundation stone of the General Hospital in Linz on 15 September 1863, but there is no report of its performance. In fact the first recorded performance of the work did not take place until 14 March 1926 when it was conducted by Max Auer in Vöcklabruck.²³⁰

229 The text of the cantata was supplied by Dr. Maximilian Pammesberger (1820-1864), a priest, theologian, and editor of the *Christliche Kunstblätter* in Linz. The work is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 135-39. The autograph score, in which Schimatschek copied all the voice parts and Bruckner wrote all the instrumental parts, and the autograph vocal score are in the Linz Cathedral archives. There are also autograph sketches in the *ÖNB*. See *HMSAB* 167, 189-92 and 269-70. There is a facsimile of the autograph score in *G-A III/2*, 197-216. The first edition of the full score, edited by Karl Etti, was published by Doblinger in 1955. The cantata has also been published in both full score and study score format, ed. Franz Burkhart, Rudolf H. Führer and Leopold Nowak, in *ABSW XXII/2* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1987), 148-77; *ABSW XXII/6* (Vienna, 1998). The two reports in the *Linzer Zeitung* (2 and 3 May), two reports in the *Katholische Blätter* (3 and 7 May), one report in the *Linzer Abendbote* (2 May 1862) and one report in the *Theologisch-praktische Quartalsschrift* 15 (1862) can be found in Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 198-212; see Susanna Taub, op.cit., 25 for a facsimile of the second report in the *Linzer Zeitung*.

230 For Gräflinger's comments, see *GrBL*, 34. In the report of the laying of the foundation stone in the *Welser Anzeiger* (23 September 1863) there is certainly no indication that the Psalm was performed. Evidently both *Frohsinn* and a girls' choir were involved in the performance of a Mass by Lotti, a gradual by Lanz and Bruckner's *Ave Maria*; see Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 218-19 for this report. The autograph score of the Psalm is in the *ÖNB*. It was first published in 1926, edited J.V. Wöss, by U.E. Vienna (full score U.E. 6685). The work is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 190-203 and there is a facsimile of a page from the score between pages 200 and 201. There is a facsimile of another page from the score in Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner* (Potsdam, 1934), 47. See also *HMSAB*, 275. The first modern edition, edited Paul Hawkshaw, is in *ABSW XX/5* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996). See Paul Hawkshaw's article, 'Bruckners Psalmen', in *Bruckner-Vorträge* (Vienna, 2000) for a

Psalm 112 was the final preparation for the three great Mass settings - in D minor, E minor and F minor. Bruckner's increasing confidence in writing for large choral and orchestral forces is seen in the elaborate motivic texture, rich harmonic colouring and impressive symphonic technique of these works. These are derived from Beethoven and the early Romantics and there are only a few echoes of the late eighteenth-century sacred style which he consciously cultivated in his early works, and which are still present, albeit not so noticeably, in the B flat minor Mass and Psalm settings.

The first information about Bruckner's *Mass in D minor* WAB 26, scored for soloists, chorus and an orchestra comprising double woodwind, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings and organ, was provided by the *Linzer Zeitung* on 4 June 1864:

... Mr. Anton Bruckner is working most assiduously on the composition of a Mass which is to receive its first performance in Ischl during this summer.

According to the autograph score, the *Kyrie* of the Mass was finished on 4 July, the *Credo*, begun during July, was completed on 1 September, and the *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, and *Benedictus* were also completed in September - on the 6th, 22nd and 29th ("at 7 o'clock in the evening") respectively. The *Gloria* is not dated but, in view of the dates on which the other movements were commenced, it is probable that Bruckner began work on it in June or July. Bruckner's copyist, Schimatschek, wrote the parts, and the Mass was performed for the first time, not in Ischl, but in the old Linz Cathedral, on 20 November 1864.²³¹ It found favour with the critics, the *Linzer*

facsimile of a page from the autograph. The text of Psalm 112, in Allioli's German translation, is equivalent to that of Psalm 113 in the Lutheran translation and in the Authorized Version. For a general discussion of the Psalms and the Masses, see Paul Hawkshaw, 'Bruckner's Larger Sacred Compositions', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, 41-53.

231 See *HMSAB*, 168 and 278ff. for details of autograph sketches in Kremsmünster and other material, including the autograph score (Mus.Hs. 19.483) in the *ÖNB*. See Maier, *ABDS* 15, 90, for a

Abendbote reporting the following day that 'Bruckner's Mass in D major (sic) performed yesterday in the Cathedral is the finest of its kind which has been produced for a long time, according to the judgment of our most worthy connoisseurs'.²³²

It obviously made sufficient impression for Moritz von Mayfeld, who had written a poem to commemorate the occasion, to feel justified in organizing a repeat of the performance at a 'Concert spirituel' in the *Redoutensaal* on 18 December. In a letter to Rudolf Weinwurm on 26 December, Bruckner gave details of both performances:

... Through the good offices of several music patrons my Mass was performed in the Cathedral on 20 November and at a 'Concert spirituel' in the Linz Redoutensaal on 18 December. The fact that the attendance at the latter was exceptional, even to overflowing, will prove to you just what an effect it had in church; and this surprises me even more as the mood of the work is very serious and its form very free.²³³

A further detail of the second performance in the *Redoutensaal* is provided by Bruckner in his letter to Weinwurm on 21 January 1865. As there was no organ in the hall and because 'the organs are usually too deep', the organ solo before 'Et resurrexit' in the *Credo* was transferred to the woodwind (two clarinets and two

facsimile of a page (end of *Benedictus*) from the autograph. The Mass is also fully discussed in *G-A III/1*, pp.259-306 and there is a facsimile of a page from the autograph of the *Credo* between pages 264 and 265. It was first published by Groß of Innsbruck in 1892. The first modern edition is *ABSW XVI* (Vienna, 1957; 2/1996; supplementary *Revisionsbericht* supplied by Rüdiger Bornhöft in 1999), which includes an informative foreword by Leopold Nowak. See also Dermot Gault, *The New Bruckner. Compositional Development and the Dynamics of Revision (GaultNB)*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2011, 32-33. A new edition for the *Neue Bruckner Ausgabe (HowieNBA)*, edited and with a full editorial report and source commentary by A.C. Howie, is currently in preparation.

232 From the review in the *Linzer Abendbote* (21 November 1864); see also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 229ff. for various previews and reviews of both this performance and the subsequent performance in the *Redoutensaal*.

233 See earlier and footnote 97.

bassoons) probably by the composer himself. Bruckner mentioned to Weinwurm, who had expressed an interest in performing the work in Vienna, that he would pay for any expense involved in altering the parts.²³⁴

In the *Linzer Zeitung* Franz Gamon contributed a series in five weekly instalments on the development of the Mass from the end of the fifteenth century until Bruckner's time and, in the fourth and fifth instalments, he discussed the D minor Mass, describing it as 'the most important modern work in the realm of church music', drawing attention to Bruckner's 'predilection for the polyphonic style' which he certainly did not employ:

so as to appear competent or out of mere pleasure in overcoming self-imposed difficulties but because it alone is worthy of the highest thoughts. The realization of the artistic ideal is seen at its most admirable in the strict forms of complex counterpoint, as these facilitate depth and strength of characterisation in a flexible framework.

Gamon concluded his discussion by giving special mention to the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements:

... it is particularly the *Gloria* and *Credo* that testify to Bruckner's great talent insofar as the instrumental writing, while conditioned by the nature of the vocal writing, nonetheless leads an independent existence. These two movements can be ranked justifiably among the best in the domain of church music. The other movements are not on the same high level, although the *Benedictus* and the *Dona nobis pacem* are outstanding, the former in its voice-leading, the latter in its soothing translucence.²³⁵

234 See earlier and footnote 100.

235 Gamon's five articles appeared weekly in the *Linzer Zeitung* from 30 November to 29 December. See *GrBL*, 36-37 for the complete text of Gamon's discussion of the D minor Mass, which constituted the fourth and fifth articles, 20 and 29 December respectively; facsimiles of substantial parts of the articles can be found in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 47-58 and all five articles can be found in Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 232-36 and 239-43.

Bruckner's unconcealed delight at the prospect of Weinwurm performing the Mass during the 500th-anniversary celebrations of Vienna University is revealed in a letter to his friend at the beginning of 1865 in which he advised him of the difficulties of the work and the need to set aside adequate rehearsal time. Bruckner sent the score to Weinwurm on 21 January and, in an accompanying letter, mooted the possibility of his 'showing it to Dr. Hanslick and perhaps other people in the same profession'.²³⁶ Weinwurm's plan did not materialise, but Hanslick provided a sympathetic second-hand account of the Linz performance of the Mass in the *Neue freie Presse* on 1 April 1865. It was Herbeck who was responsible for the first Viennese performance of the D minor Mass in the Court Chapel on 10 February 1867 and, as we have seen, this triggered a whole series of events which culminated in Bruckner's eventual move to Vienna in the autumn of 1868.

In performances of the Mass before 1876, which included another Linz performance on 6 January 1868,²³⁷ a performance in Salzburg Cathedral on 11 September 1870 and another Vienna performance on 18 July 1875, the work was given in its original form. During the summer of 1876, however, Bruckner worked on all three of his mature Masses and, after scrutinizing their periodic structure, made 'rhythmical' adjustments. A few places in the D minor Mass were altered in this way, and the orchestration also underwent some revision. Further corrections, particularly in the *Credo*, were made in 1881 and 1882.²³⁸ The first complete performance of the Mass outside Austria was conducted by Mahler in Hamburg on

236 See earlier and footnotes 98 and 99 for these two letters. The possibility of a performance in Vienna in 1865 was reported in the *Linzer Abendbote* on 4 January 1865. See Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 243.

237 See Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 297-304 for previews and reviews of the January 1868 Linz performance.

238 See *HMSAB*, 278-79 and *HowieNBA* for details of Bruckner's later annotations in the autograph score (in the *ÖNB*), Schimatschek's copy score (also in the *ÖNB*) and Schimatschek's four assistant copyists who were involved in preparing the instrumental and vocal parts.

31 March 1893. Franz Bayer, who conducted two performances of the work in Steyr in April 1893 and April 1896, was one of Bruckner's most enthusiastic devotees and gave tangible expression to his support by directing performances of the composer's works in the town. Bruckner himself played the organ in the 1893 performance and paid tribute to the performers at a reception in his honour held afterwards. In a letter to Bayer, he remarked that the Mass had been 'performed astonishingly well.'²³⁹ Keen interest in the work was also shown by Father Georg Huemer, director of music at Kremsmünster abbey. Oddo Loidol, a pupil in Bruckner's Harmony and Counterpoint class at the Vienna Conservatory during the 1879/1880 session, became a Benedictine priest at the abbey. Writing to Loidol on 17 October 1880, Bruckner congratulated his ex-pupil on his move to Kremsmünster and asked him to procure the score of the Mass, which he had evidently lent to Huemer, and return it to Vienna 'as this Mass is now being performed more often again and is beginning to find exceptional favour.'²⁴⁰

The *Mass in E minor* WAB 27, scored for eight-part choir and a wind band consisting of two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, four horns, two trumpets, and three trombones, was composed in Linz between August / September and November 1866.²⁴¹ The work was dedicated to Bishop Rudigier who had

239 This letter is dated Vienna, 22 April 1893, and its text can be found in *HSABB* 2, 218. The original of the letter is in the *ÖNB*; there is a facsimile in *GrBL*, after page 58.

240 The text of this letter can be found in Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (1956), 751ff. and in *HSABB* 1, 194; the original is in Kremsmünster Abbey. See footnote 49 in Chapter 2 for details of the correspondence between Simon Ledermüller in St. Florian and Loidol in Kremsmünster. There are two autograph sketches of the Mass, viz. a continuity draft of part of the *Credo* (bars 225 - end) and a score sketch of five bars of the *Credo* (bars 176-80), in the Kremsmünster abbey library.

241 The autograph score, with some entries by an anonymous hand, in the Linz Dom-Musikarchiv has dates at the end of the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus*, but no dates at the end of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. See *HMSAB*, 268-69 for details of the autograph score, autograph sketches, copy scores and parts. Information concerning further source material for the E minor Mass, the earlier *Festkantate* WAB 16 and other smaller sacred pieces written in Linz and Vienna and housed in the Linz Dom-Musikarchiv can be found in Robert Klugseder and Ikarus Kaiser, 'Wiederentdeckung eines umfangreichen Korpus an Abschriften des Linzer Dom-Musikarchivs', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.17 (June 2016), 4-10. A facsimile of the dedication page appears between pages 552 and 553 in *G-A III/1* and after the foreword in *ABSW XVII/2* (Vienna, 1959). The work was first published by Doblinger

commissioned it earlier in the year for the consecration ceremony of the *Votivkapelle*. It was completed on 25 November, and Bruckner wrote to Weinwurm a week later:

... The Mass for voices in eight parts with wind accompaniment [written] for the dedication of the *Votivkapelle*, is finished.²⁴²

As the consecration ceremony did not take place until 29 September 1869, Bruckner had to wait almost three years for the first performance of the Mass. By then he was in Vienna, and he had to ask Johann Schiedermayr, the dean of the Cathedral, to arrange preliminary rehearsals of the work. In a letter dated 20 May 1869 he suggested that the *Frohsinn* and *Musikverein* choirs would have to start rehearsing immediately because of the great difficulty of the Mass. A further letter of 19 June was more urgent in tone:

... Weilnböck wrote to me that Waldeck had said that if the Mass was not studied now with the *Musikverein* students, its performance was out of the question; and they cannot postpone rehearsal until later, as it is difficult.²⁴³

Bruckner was so concerned about the performance of the Mass that he spent a good part of his summer vacation in Linz, rehearsing the work no fewer than 28 times during the months of August and September. On 9 August he received a letter of thanks from the bishop for his sterling efforts. Rudigier was able to tell Bruckner that the entire *Sängerbund*, some members of *Frohsinn* and other

(Vienna, 1896). There are modern editions of the original 1866 version in *ABSW XVII/1* (ed. Nowak, Vienna, 1977) and of the 1882/83 revised version in *ABSW XVII/2* (ed. Nowak, Vienna, 1959). See also *GaultNB*, 35.

242 See earlier and footnote 119.

243 See *G-A III/1*, p.545-46 and footnote 181 earlier in this chapter.

individuals in the town had offered their services.²⁴⁴ Bruckner had to obtain official permission for a few days' leave from his Conservatory duties so that he could direct the final rehearsals of the work. He made this request indirectly through Herbeck when he wrote to him to acknowledge receipt of an honorarium from the Lord Chancellor and to convey Rudigier's invitation to attend the consecration ceremony and the official dinner afterwards.²⁴⁵ At the open-air performance conducted by Bruckner on 29 September, a choir made up of members of *Frohsinn, Sängerbund* and the *Musikverein* was accompanied by the military band of the Austro-Hungarian infantry regiment *Ernst Ludwig, Grossherzog von Hessen und bei Rhein Nr. 14*. The press reviews were largely favourable. In his review of the Mass, which appeared in three issues of the *Linzer Volksblatt*, J.E. Habert discussed the work and its performance in some detail, extolling its many fine points but finding fault with what he considered to be oppressive chromaticism in the *Benedictus*. He also observed that there were some difficulties of ensemble and balance at times, noticeably in the *Sanctus*.²⁴⁶ The reviewer for the *Linzer Zeitung*, probably Moritz von Mayfeld, also provided a detailed account of the work, singling out many fine details of word-setting in the *Credo* movement - the "quiet, sorrowful tones" of the 'Et incarnatus est' and the "whispered 'passus et sepultus est' vividly expressing the soul expiring with contrition", and drawing particular attention to the "enchanting beauty" of the *Benedictus*. He also praised the execution of the work:

244 See *HSABB* 1, 116 for this letter from Rudigier to Bruckner; the original is in the *ÖNB*.

245 See *HSABB* 1, 116-17 for this letter, dated Linz, 13 September 1869; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Bruckner said he was 'terribly harassed' by the rehearsals. We do not know if Herbeck took up the invitation.

246 The full text of this review, which appeared in the *Linzer Volksblatt* on 6, 7 and 9 October 1869, is printed in *G-A III/1*, 551-57; there are facsimiles in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 85ff. Göllerich surmises that a report of the first performance by Josef Seiberl (*G-A III/1*, 549ff.), which was not published at the time, was probably intended for the *Volksblatt* but was superseded by Habert's review. Also see Karl Pfannhauser, 'Zu Anton Bruckners Mess-Vertonungen (2. Teil)', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 26 (October 1985), 16-17 for extracts from another article by Habert - 'Die Aufführung der Bruckner'schen Fest-Messe bei der feierlichen Einweihung der Votivkapelle des Mariä-Empfängnis-Domes in Linz am 29. September d. J.' - in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik* 2 /11 and 12 (November and December 1869), 98-100.

... Naturally, and with justification, we dismiss several small points occasioned by difficulties arising from the nature of the place, and this would make us all even more eager to hear this work in a suitable hall so that its rich beauties could be more fully displayed.²⁴⁷

Bruckner received fees amounting to 225 florins after the performance and, in letters to Bishop Rudigier and Schiedermayr, expressed his gratitude in moving terms.²⁴⁸ One of the singers at the first performance, Linda Schönbeck, later recalled the event and the rehearsals preceding it. Bruckner was evidently so pleased with the Linz performance that he conceived the idea of hiring a special train to take all the performers to Vienna so that the Mass could be heard there. This somewhat over-ambitious project did not materialize!²⁴⁹

The E minor Mass did not escape the inevitable revision process! Bruckner used a copy of the work made by Schimatschek to carry out his 'rhythmical modifications' in 1876 and to enter further changes in 1882. At the end of September 1882, at Bruckner's request, Johann Noll, the copyist of the Vienna Court Chapel, began to prepare a new score; he completed it on 24 January 1883.²⁵⁰ In 1885 Bruckner was asked to write a setting of *Ecce sacerdos magnus* WAB 13 for the centennial

247 From the review in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 6 October 1869. For full text, see *G-A III/1*, 557ff.; there is a facsimile in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 88-89.

248 See *HSABB 1*, 117-19 for the texts of these letters, dated Vienna, 19 October and 18 October 1869 respectively; the location of the original of the former, first printed in *ABB*, 109-10, is unknown, and the original of the latter, first printed in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (16 June 1916) is owned privately.

249 See *GrBL*, 94. For the subsequent publication of the Mass (Vienna: Groß, 1892), see later (Chapter 6).

250 See *HMSAB*, 288-89 for further details of Schimatschek's and Noll's copies, both in the *ÖNB*. For more detailed information about the changes, see *G-A III/1*, 366-71, the forewords to *ABSW XVII/1* and *XVII/2* and the appendix to the latter. The Mass was not performed in the *Hofkapelle* until October 1907, however. Its earliest recorded Vienna performance is 17 March 1899 at a concert of the *Akademisches Gesangverein* conducted by Josef Neubauer.

celebrations of Linz diocese (26 September - 4 October). The musical highlight of the festival, however, was to be a performance in the cathedral of Bruckner's E minor Mass. On 18 May 1885, Bruckner sent a copy of the *Ecce sacerdos* to Johann Burgstaller, the Linz Cathedral choir director, referred to some revisions he had made to the Mass and recalled the first performance of the work:

... The Mass is dedicated to the late Right Reverend Bishop and is the property of the Cathedral Chapter. I have made alterations, and perhaps these should be copied into the parts now that we have a new bishop. The Mass is for a choir with woodwind and brass accompaniment but without strings. In 1869 I rehearsed it and then conducted it on the greatest day of my life at the consecration of the Votive Chapel. The bishop and the Emperor's representative drank a toast to me at the episcopal banquet.²⁵¹

Adalbert Schreyer, director of the Linz *Musikverein*, was responsible for the second Linz performance of the Mass on 4 October 1885, Emperor Franz Josef's name-day. Göllerich reports that Bruckner not only provided an organ prelude and postlude but also accompanied the Mass at times.²⁵² One of the handwritten annotations which Bruckner added to the Noll copy was 'NB Sanctus 4/4 Tact' at the beginning of the *Sanctus* which suggests that the composer wanted the movement to be sung slowly regardless of intonation difficulties. Adalbert Schreyer's report to Gräflinger of the 1885 performance throws some light on this:

... Bruckner would have liked the *Sanctus*, which begins *a cappella* but in strict polyphony according to the Palestrinian style, even slower still. However, he certainly understood that for important reasons, specifically to avoid a vacillating intonation, I could not

251 See *HSABB* 1, 283-84 for the text of this letter; the original is in the possession of the *Dombauverein*, Linz. Johann Baptist Burgstaller (1840-1925) was choir director at the new cathedral in Linz from 1869 to 1909.

252 See *G-A* III/1, 591. There is no autograph organ part, however. See also the foreword to *ABSW* XVII/1.

reduce the tempo any further. Bruckner appeared particularly pleased not only with the precise execution of the Mass but also with the expressive rendering in which the performers displayed their understanding and inner feeling for the work.²⁵³

Writing to Schreyer from Vienna on 28 October 1885, Bruckner expressed his delight at the 'heroic performance' and asked Schreyer to pass on his grateful thanks to all the participants.²⁵⁴ On the same day he wrote a letter of thanks to Burgstaller and asked him if he would become the dedicatee of the motet *Afferentur regi*. He also enclosed the score of the Mass with a note containing some alterations he had made to performance directions. He gave Burgstaller about three weeks to mark up his own score and then return both Bruckner's score and the note to Vienna.²⁵⁵

The original version of the *Mass in F minor* WAB 28, scored for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, was written between 14 September 1867 and 9 September 1868, shortly before Bruckner's move to Vienna. The existence of two bifolios of sketches containing a continuity draft for the first 296 bars of the *Credo* as well as some E minor Mass sketches might suggest an earlier conception of the movement, but it is more likely that Bruckner, having begun to sketch the *Kyrie in* September 1867 after the treatment of his illness at Bad Kreuzen, sketched the other movements in order.²⁵⁶ Annotations in the autograph score reveal that the sketches for the *Kyrie*

253 See *GrBL*, 98-99.

254 See *HSABB* 1, 301 for the text of this letter; the original is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*, Linz.

255 See *HSABB* 1, 300-01 for the text of this letter. The original, which contains details of Bruckner's alterations in another hand, is in the *ÖNB*. Information about the involvement of Josef and Franz Schalk in the first edition of the Mass (Vienna: Doblinger, 1896; pl.no. D.2087) can be found later, in Chapter 6.

256 See *HMSAB*, 294-97, Paul Hawkshaw, 'Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F minor', in *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 3-31, 'Revision und Bearbeitung in den Quellen der f-moll Messe', in *Bruckner-Vorträge: Anton Bruckner zwischen Idolatrie und Ideologie*, ed. Andrea Harrandt et al. (Vienna, 2004), 131-44, and *Anton Bruckner, Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht, zu ABSW XVIII* (Vienna, 2004) for full details of all extant source material and changes in the score and parts made

were completed on 19 October 1867 and those for the *Gloria* were begun on 6 November. On 30 December, Bruckner wrote to Herbeck in Vienna, sending greetings for the New Year and referring to current progress in composing the Mass:

... The *Credo* of my new Mass will soon be ready. *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are sketched. I am gathering my strength.²⁵⁷

Bruckner conveyed the same information to his friend Weinwurm a week later.²⁵⁸ Moritz von Mayfeld's second report of the Linz performance of the D minor Mass in January 1868 contained a reference to the new Mass:

... According to reports Mr. Bruckner, the cathedral organist, is fully occupied at present with a new Mass which has already progressed as far as the *Credo*, and upon which we place our highest hopes.²⁵⁹

The events of 1868 prevented Bruckner from working intensively on the Mass again until his future employment at Vienna had been secured. Almost certainly wishing to finish the work before moving from Linz, he spent August and the early part of September completing the *Benedictus* and writing the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*

between 1868 and 1893. There is a facsimile of the *Credo* continuity draft, with commentary, between pages 114 and 115 of *GrBL*. Facsimiles of other sketches can be found in (1) *G-A III/1* (*Gloria* sketches, between pages 480 and 481; fragment of the autograph score of the end of the *Credo*, 465-69; (2) foreword to H.F. Redlich's edition of the work [Eulenburg E.E. 961, 1968] (fragment of the autograph score at the end of the *Credo*); (3) Paul Hawkshaw's article in *Bruckner Studies* (sketches of the *Credo*: 6f. and 14f., *Kyrie*: 11, *Gloria*, 12f.); (4) Hawkshaw, *Revisionsbericht*, pp.259-326 (facsimiles of various pages from the sources). See also *GaultNB*, 35-37 and, for a thorough investigation of the reception of Bruckner's church music in the 19th century and beyond, Dominik Höink, *Die Rezeption der Kirchenmusik Anton Bruckners (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte vol. 22)*, V&R Unipress: Göttingen, 2011.

257 See earlier and footnote 141.

258 See earlier and footnote 142.

259 From Mayfeld's article in the *Linzer Zeitung* 9, 12 January 1868. See *G-A III/1*, 421-22.; there is a facsimile in Susanna Taub, op.cit., 69. See also Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 303.

Dei.

As soon as he had completed the Mass, Bruckner arranged for a copy score to be made for Imhof von Geißlinghof, the dedicatee, and for parts to be prepared for performance. His original intention, no doubt encouraged by Herbeck, was to establish his position in Vienna by having the work performed as early as possible. According to Mayfeld's letter to Bruckner of 14 November 1868 a performance of the Mass was scheduled for either the 22nd or 29th of November.²⁶⁰ The performance was postponed initially until January 1869 and a rehearsal took place on 16 January. It was further postponed and there was another rehearsal on 18 June. Although Bruckner made several changes, Herbeck considered the Mass to be too long and unsingable in places and performed a Mass by Gänsbacher in its place on the Sunday for which it was scheduled.²⁶¹ Its first performance was not in the *Hofkapelle* but in the *Augustinerkirche* on 16 June 1872. Bruckner wrote to Mayfeld a few days before the performance, informing him that he himself would be conducting the Court Opera chorus and orchestra led by Hellmesberger, and inviting him to be present.²⁶² The first performance in the *Hofkapelle*, also conducted by Bruckner, took place on 8 December 1873, and Bruckner conducted other performances of the work in the same venue during the 1870s and 1880s, making use of the parts copied in 1868, albeit subsequently changed from time to time. The Mass appears to have made a powerful impression, and there were reports in the

²⁶⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 104-05 for the text of this letter. There was a rehearsal of the Mass on 20 November but the planned November performance in the *Hofkapelle* did not take place.

²⁶¹ See Bruckner's letters to Schiedermayr, dated Vienna, 8 December 1868, and Mayfeld, dated Vienna, 13 July 1869, in *HSABB* 1, 105-06 and 115-16. The Gänsbacher Mass was sung in the *Hofkapelle* on 17 January 1869. While it is possible that the performances of the Mass initially scheduled for November 1868 and then postponed until January refer to the D minor Mass, there is no doubt that the Mass mentioned in Bruckner's letter to Mayfeld is the F minor Mass. The rehearsal had evidently pleased Herbeck and a performance was now scheduled for the autumn of 1869. See also Bruckner's own version of events, in a statement to Göllerich in later years, in *G-A* IV/1, 77ff.

²⁶² See *HSABB* 1, 140 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 11 June 1872. It was first printed in *ABB*, 120; the location of the original is not extant.

most influential Viennese newspapers after its first performance in the *Augustinerkirche*. Writing in the *Fremdenblatt*, Ludwig Speidel considered the work to be:

... a composition which bears the most eloquent testimony to the composer's powers of invention and unusual ability. He has immersed himself with poetical understanding in the situations created by the Mass text, and his enormous grasp of counterpoint makes it easy for him to take the most difficult problems in his stride. Moreover, the excellent composer could not withstand the temptation of following the text as far as the smallest detail, a dangerous procedure which leads him all too often into longueurs and threatens the general structure of the movement (as in the *Credo*, for example). And then he allows the dramatic content of the text to seduce him into bordering on the theatrical at times, again in the *Credo* where one imagines oneself to be in a sacred 'Wolf's Glen' at one point. Viewed as a whole, however, Bruckner's Mass is a work which inspires great respect for the composer's learning and ability.²⁶³

Hanslick (or, possibly, Theodor Helm), writing in the *Neue Freie Presse*, also provided a positive and favourable review:

... [Bruckner's F minor Mass] caused a considerable stir on account of its artistic handling of contrapuntal and fugal material, as well as several strikingly original beauties. In style and conception - not only because of its great dimensions and performance difficulties - it points to the *Missa solemnis* as its model but also displays strong Wagnerian influences. It would be interesting if the Mass were to be granted a good concert performance and thereby brought to the notice of a larger public.²⁶⁴

263 See Paul Hawkshaw, 'Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht', 243-44 for the text of this review in the *Fremdenblatt*, 20 June 1872.

264 See Hawkshaw, 'Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht', 244-45 for the text of this review, which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* (29 June 1872), 8. Hawkshaw also provides the texts of Eduard Kremser's review of the first performance in *Das Vaterland* (20 June 1872) and an unsigned review of the 1873 *Hofkapelle* performance in the *Neue freie Presse* (13 December 1873) on pages 244-45.

Shortly after its first performance Bruckner wrote to J.B. Schiedermayr in Linz:

... It is only a week ago that the Mass in F no. 3, the most difficult of all Masses, was performed for the first time in the *Augustinerkirche*. (It cost more than 300 florins, as I had the forces of the court theatre at my disposal). It was written in praise of the Highest and I wanted its first performance to be in a church. The response from both performers and audience was tremendous.²⁶⁵

The Mass underwent various changes of revision before it was eventually printed in 1894.²⁶⁶ It was 'rhythmically altered' in 1876 and some changes were made in the string figuration in 1876 and 1877, particularly in the *Credo*. The original autograph score also has traces of a further revision of the *Credo* which Bruckner made in 1881, probably in preparation for a performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 30 April 1882.²⁶⁷

In 1883 Bruckner asked Johann Noll to make a copy of the Mass. ²⁶⁸ Noll completed it in November, including all the alterations Bruckner had made up to the end of 1881. Bruckner made reference to the fee he paid Noll in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879*. It can be found among the prayer entries for the period 9-28 February – '9. Febr[uar] Noll 14

²⁶⁵ See *HSABB* 1, 140-41 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 23 June 1872. It was first printed in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 16 June 1916; the location of the original is not extant.

²⁶⁶ Vienna, Doblinger (full score pl. no. D.1866). This includes the changes made by Joseph Schalk.

²⁶⁷ See also the forewords to the Robert Haas edition, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke* XIV (Leipzig: Brucknerverlag, 1944) and the Hans Ferdinand Redlich edition (London: Eulenburg, 1968) both of which are based on the autograph, Paul Hawkshaw's article in *Bruckner Studies* (1997), and Leopold Brauneiss's study of proportions and metrical numbers in the Mass: 'Skizzen und Zahlen. Überlegungen zur f-Moll-Messe von Anton Bruckner', in *BJ 1997-2000* (Linz, 2002), 47-61. Hawkshaw provides reviews of the July 1876 performance (in *Das Vaterland*), June 1877 performance (in the *Deutsche Zeitung*) and the April 1882 performance (Albert von Hermann in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*) in 'Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht', 245-47. Johann von Woerz's review of another performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 24 June 1883 (in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 1197, 29 June 1883) is also cited in *G-A* IV/2, 87-88.

²⁶⁸ Mus. Hs. 29.302 in the *ÖNB*.

fl 10 xr für Part[itur] F. Messe gezalt.’²⁶⁹ There is another diary entry in *Fromme’s Neuer Auskunfts-Kalender für Geschäft und Haus 1884* which concerns a performance of the Mass conducted by Bruckner in November 1884. On the left-hand side of the November 1884 page, the date Sunday 9 November has been underlined and marked with NB, and on the right-hand page, the composer has entered ‘Am 9 Nov[ember] meine F Messe, Christus factus, Os justi in der Hofkapelle dirigirt’.²⁷⁰ Reviewing this performance in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Theodor Helm was full of praise, commenting that ‘Bruckner’s inspired work was performed brilliantly and tastefully under the composer’s personal direction.’²⁷¹

About two months before a further performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 8 December 1885, Bruckner wrote to Loidol in Kremsmünster with the request that Father Georg Huemer, music director at the abbey, make a copy of the work and return the score as soon as possible. It is possible that he required it for rehearsal purposes.²⁷²

Between 1890 and 1893 Bruckner inserted changes in another copy of the Mass. These include the addition of both horns in the fugue of the *Gloria* (bars 292-300) and alterations in the woodwind and two solo string parts in the ‘Et incarnatus est’ section of the *Credo*. Apart from the second clarinet part in the second half of bar 138, these were incorporated in the first edition.²⁷³ But the first edition also

²⁶⁹ MVP 1, 94; MVP 2, 95. The month has been crossed out.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, Part I, 231; Part 2, 208.

²⁷¹ See G-A IV/2, 198-99 for this review. Helm also referred to the ‘surprisingly beautiful “Christus factus”’, the first performance of this new motet.

²⁷² See HSABB 1, 299 for this letter, dated Vienna, 25 September 1885; the original is in Kremsmünster abbey. Among the prayer entries for the period 1-12 December 1885 in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879* is a note which possibly refers to rehearsals of the Mass and the motet *Virga Jesse* for this *Hofkapelle* performance, conducted by Bruckner. See MVP 1, 113 and 2, 110. There was another favourable review of the Mass – by Robert Hirschfeld – in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (15 December 1885). The German text is provided by Paul Hawkshaw, ‘Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht’, 247-48.

²⁷³ This copy score (Mus. Hs. 6015 in the ÖNB) was the work of two unknown copyists. It belonged originally to the *Hofkapelle*. Nowak’s edition of the Mass, ABSW XVIII (Vienna, 1960), with its informative foreword, includes all the changes made by Bruckner himself from 1868 to 1893. Paul Hawkshaw’s edition of the Mass (ABSW XVIII, Vienna, 2005) ‘incorporates and supersedes the

contains many changes for which Bruckner was not responsible. Along with his brother Franz and Ferdinand Löwe, Joseph Schalk had been closely associated with Bruckner and his music since the late 1870s. Joseph in particular had championed the composer through the 1880s by making arrangements of the symphonies for two pianos and performing them in meetings of the *Akademischer Wagner-Verein* in Vienna.²⁷⁴ Unfortunately, in his zealous endeavours to achieve a breakthrough for Bruckner's works he did not always appreciate the dividing line between assistance and independent action when helping the composer to prepare the scores of Symphonies nos. 3 and 8 and the F minor Mass for printing in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In his work on the Mass between 1890 and 1893 he changed the instrumentation in places, adding third and fourth horns, filling out the woodwind texture, 'revising' the brass parts and altering the dynamics.²⁷⁵ Schalk's immediate intention was to conduct a performance of this revised version of the Mass in 1893. As on a previous occasion (the two-piano performance of Symphony no. 5 in the spring of 1887), he left it rather late to inform Bruckner of his intentions, with the result that there were some unpleasant scenes at the final rehearsals which the composer attended.²⁷⁶ In spite of self-doubts Joseph completed his revision of the orchestration of the Mass during February 1893 but sent his work to Franz for correction.²⁷⁷ The performance, organised by the *Wagner-Verein*, took place in the

editions published in the Bruckner *Gesamtausgabe* by Robert Haas (1944) and Leopold Nowak (1960)' and 'the 1883 and 1893 versions are included...for easy comparison' (from Hawkshaw's foreword, xi)

274 For further information, see Thomas Leibnitz, *Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner* [LBSAB hereafter] (Tutzing; Schneider, 1988) and 'Anton Bruckner and "German music": Josef Schalk and the establishment of Bruckner as a national composer', in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 328-40; also, Andrea Harrandt, 'Students and friends as "prophets" and "promoters": the reception of Bruckner's works in the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein*', in *ibid.*, 327-37.

275 These and other alterations were inserted in pencil by Schalk in a copy of the Mass which Johann Noll, the *Hofkapelle* copyist, had made in 1883 (Mus. Hs. 29.302 in the *ÖNB*).

276 See *HSABB* 2, 210 for Bruckner's letter to Göllicherich, dated Vienna, 10 March 1893 and *HSABB* 2, 215 for Joseph's letter to Franz, dated Vienna, 15 April 1893; the original of the former is privately owned and the original of the latter is in the *ÖNB*. See also Chapter 6 for further information.

277 See *HSABB* 2, 209 for Joseph's letter to Franz, dated Vienna, 1 March 1893; the original is in the *ÖNB*. Franz himself was busy working on a revised version of Bruckner's Symphony no. 5 which he

large *Musikverein* hall on 23 March and was successful, although Hanslick and Heuberger, as usual, were more critical. 278

Max von Oberleithner, one of Bruckner's private pupils, helped Schalk to prepare the printer's proof copy of the Mass in 1894 and hoped to include certain of his own revisions in the printed version. Oberleithner and Schalk had already collaborated in the preparation of the first edition of Symphony no. 8 in 1892 and certain 'corrections' had been made which had not been noticed by Bruckner. In the case of the F minor Mass, however, there was an altercation between Bruckner, Schalk and Oberleithner concerning changes in the proof copy which had been made without his knowledge. Writing to his brother Franz on 25 May 1894 and, incidentally, thanking him for sending a copy of the revised Symphony no. 5 which he had conducted with great success in Graz in April, Joseph referred to the impasse and hoped that Franz might be able to act as an intermediary.²⁷⁹ There was undoubtedly a breach in the Schalk-Bruckner relationship at this point, but certainly not the 'final breach' suggested in the Göllerich-Auer biography.²⁸⁰ Indeed the Schalk correspondence reveals that, after an interruption of a few months, relationships with Bruckner returned to a reasonably amicable level. Joseph mentions intended visits to Bruckner in two letters to his brother.²⁸¹ Bruckner himself wrote to Joseph on 6 October (albeit with the formal greeting 'Hochverehrter Herr Professor') to ask him if he would act as his representative in

intended to perform in Graz the following year.

278 See Chapter 6 for further details, including critical reception.

279 See *HSABB* 2, 258-59 for the text of this letter.

280 See *G-A* IV/3, 527. However, there is a footnote which refers to several visits which Joseph Schalk paid Bruckner, as related in Lili Schalk, *Franz Schalk. Briefe und Betrachtungen mit einem Lebensabriss von Victor Junk* [hereafter *FSBB*] (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1935), 64. See also chapter 6.

281 Extracts from these letters, dated 1 August and 3 October 1894 respectively; can be found in *LBSAB*, 195.

forthcoming rehearsals of the F minor Mass and, before that, play through the work for Gericke, who was to conduct it, as he was too ill to leave his flat.²⁸² This was hardly the act of a man who had lost trust in his young colleague.

The performance of the F minor Mass at a *Gesellschaft* concert in Vienna on 4 November 1894 was intended as a 70th birthday celebration and, in fact, was one of Bruckner's last public appearances.²⁸³ His health deteriorated rapidly in mid-November and, although there was a partial recovery, the remaining months of his life were a continual swing between relapse and slight improvement. Bruckner's last words on the Mass are contained in a letter to Siegfried Ochs, the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic choir, who had directed two very successful performances of the *Te Deum* in May 1891 and January 1894 and was now contemplating a possible performance of the Mass:

... Bruckner is getting old and would really like to hear the F minor Mass again! Please, please! That would be the highpoint of my life. But there are many changes which don't appear in the score. At the D flat major passage in the *Credo* – 'Deum verum de Deo vero' - full organ, please! Spare no stops! And the cellist should be prominent with a very rich, warm tone at the beginning of the *Benedictus*. When shall I hear it? Please reply.

In humble admiration and with greetings to the excellent orchestra, the wonderful choir, and you, their great director...²⁸⁴

Anton Meißner's entries in Bruckner's *Österreichische Professoren- und Lehrerkalender* for April-June 1895 indicate that the composer was missing the

282 See *HSABB* 2, 295 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 6 October 1894; the original is in the *ÖNB*.

283 For Bruckner's own account of the performance (and his recollection of Karl Waldeck's criticism of the original 'Et incarnatus est') during his penultimate University lecture on 5 November, see *G-A* IV/3, 444-45. See also *GrBL*, 114 for Waldeck's own recollection of his criticism, and Stephen Johnson, *Bruckner Remembered* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 109 for an English translation.

284 See *HSABB* 2, 303 for this letter, dated Vienna, 14 April 1895. The original has been lost; it was first published in *ABB*, 283-84.

autograph of the Mass and the copy of the work which had been used for engraving purposes. The entry for June was more specific:

Dr. Speidel relinquished the original score of the Mass in F immediately after the performance [on 4 November 1894]; it was probably collected by the publisher.²⁸⁵

The autograph, one of many bequeathed to the *Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek* by Bruckner was finally traced to a Mrs. Winkler and purchased from her in 1922, 26 years after the composer's death!²⁸⁶

3.3.3 Solo and chamber works

The dating of all four songs Bruckner wrote during the Linz period is uncertain. On 30 October 1858, the composer wrote to Weinwurm that he had composed 'a little song.'²⁸⁷ Auer surmised that this was a reference to *Wie bist du, Frühling, gut und treu*, a setting of five verses from Oskar von Redwitz's *Amaranths Waldeslieder* WAB 58, intended for one of Abbot Mayr's musical evenings at St. Florian.²⁸⁸ But it is more likely that it was composed in 1856 as Bruckner's 'farewell present to his music-loving patron on leaving St. Florian abbey.'²⁸⁹ A handwritten note attached to the autograph in the *Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*, Vienna indicates that Josef Reiter, the son of Franz Reiter who was a friend of Bruckner's, made a gift of it to Max Morold. It was evidently this autograph score, with some slight modifications,

285 See G-A IV/3, 544.

286 The full account of the re-discovery and purchase is related in Robert Haas, 'Die Originalpartitur von Bruckners Messe in f-Moll', in *Der Auftakt* 4 (1924), 106.

287 See *HSABB* 1, 18 for the text of this letter; the original is in the *ÖNB*.

288 G-A III/1, 56.

289 Preface to Angela Pachovsky, ed., *Lieder für Gesang und Klavier*, *ABSW* XXIII/1 (Vienna, 1997), vii.

that was used as the basis for the first edition in 1902.²⁹⁰ Franz Reiter adapted the piece for soprano, ladies' choir and string orchestra / piano accompaniment and performed it in Linz on 11 April 1886.²⁹¹ Far superior in its word setting and resourceful use of piano accompaniment is *Im April* WAB 75, a setting of words by Emanuel Geibel which Bruckner conceived in the early 1860s and dedicated to Helena Hofmann, one of his piano pupils.²⁹² In his discussion of *Mein Herz und deine Stimme* WAB 79, a setting of a poem by Platen, and *Herbstkummer* WAB 72, a setting of a poem by Ernst, Auer remarks that 'both songs have only curiosity value' and casts doubts on the authenticity of the former which was dedicated to Pauline Hofmann, Helena's sister.²⁹³ The latter's date (April 1864) is supported by stylistic features such as a more mature grasp of harmony, no doubt the result of experience gained in his work with Kitzler.²⁹⁴

During the period Christmas 1861 - August 1862, Bruckner also completed

290 This first edition, ed., M. Marschalk, was printed as a supplement to *Die Musik* I/17 (1902), 1591ff. See *G-A* III/1, 56-9 and *HMSAB*, 262-63. A facsimile of the autograph is printed in *G-A* III/2, 183-88. There is a modern edition of the song in *ABSW* XXIII/1, 3-11. This volume also contains a critical report, 33ff., and a facsimile of the autograph, 44-48.

291 According to *G-A* III/1, 57, this version also appeared in print in Linz. There is no reference to his arrangement, however, in *ABSW* XXIII/1.

292 There is no autograph extant, only two copy scores, one in St. Florian and the other in the *ÖNB*; the first of these has an autograph dedication to Helena Hofmann (1846-1902). See also *G-A* III/1, 511ff., *HMSAB*, 299 and 324, and *ABSW* XXIII/1, vii and 39-40. The song was first published by Doblinger, Vienna in 1898. There is a modern edition in *ABSW* XXIII/1, 23-27. The name 'Hoffmann', sometimes abbreviated to 'Hoff', appears frequently on pages in the *Briefertaschen für das Jahr 1860*, indicating lessons given to Helena and/or Pauline Hofmann (1844-1877). Pauline and Helena had a younger brother Richard (1857-1926). See also Andrea Lindner, 'Autographes Lehrwerk Bruckners entdeckt', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no. 21 (July 2018), 5-7, concerning a recently discovered Bruckner autograph, a piano teaching aid given to Richard as a Christmas gift in December 1864.

293 There is no autograph of *Mein Herz und deine Stimme* extant, only three copy scores, one in private ownership and two in the *ÖNB* (Mus. Hs. 19.783 and Mus. Hs. 19.784). See *G-A* III/1, 514, *HMSAB*, 299-300, and *ABSW* XXIII/1, vii and 37ff. The song is printed in *G-A* III/2, 144-50. There is also a modern edition in *ABSW* XXIII/1, 18-22.

294 Again there is no autograph of *Herbstkummer* extant, but a copy score in the *ÖNB* (Mus. Hs. 19.781) has a note on the title page indicating that it was copied in 1891 from another copy dated 4 October 1867. See *G-A* III/1, 515, *HMSAB*, 291, and *ABSW* XXIII/1, vii and 35ff. The work is printed in *G-A* III/2, 152-57.

several song exercises as part of his studies in musical form with Kitzler. They range from incomplete sketches to complete compositions and are contained in the *Kitzler Studienbuch*.²⁹⁵

There is also some uncertainty about the precise dating of some of the works for piano Bruckner wrote during the Linz period. A detailed study of the autograph of the *Klavierstück* in E flat WAB 119, in particular a comparison with the exercises in the *Kitzler Studienbuch*, has led Hawkshaw to assign to it a date of 1862 or early 1863, much later than the c. 1856 given in the *Grasberger Werkverzeichnis* and repeated by Walburga Litschauer, who correctly draws attention to the piece's Mendelssohnian qualities and makes a perceptive comparison with the latter's *Song without Words* op. 53 no. 4.²⁹⁶ At the end of the autograph score of *Stille Betrachtung an einem Herbstabend* WAB 123, Bruckner added the date 10 October 1863 and the name of its dedicatee, Emma Thaner, one of his piano pupils from 1857 to 1863. There is also an autograph sketch of the work which, according to Hawkshaw,

bears a remarkable resemblance to the *Kitzler Studienbuch* exercises. It is a melody-bass continuity draft with some chordal and contrapuntal passages filled in. The melody is complete, and the bass only partially worked out. At times stemless notes are used to outline the bass.²⁹⁷

295 Brief descriptions of these twelve songs, including musical incipits, can be found in the Appendix to *ABSW XXIII/1*, pp.49-52.

296 See *HMSAB*, 75 for a discussion of the manuscript paper, the shape of the treble clef, and a comparison with one of the exercises in the *Kitzler Studienbuch*; also 272. For further discussion, see *G-A III/1*, 43, Walburga Litschauer, ed., *Anton Bruckner Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, *ABSW XII/2* (Vienna, 1988/2000), foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 37, and Litschauer, 'Bruckner und das romantische Klavierstück' in *BSL 1987* (Linz, 1989), 109. There is a facsimile of the autograph in *G-A III/2*, 182. There is also a modern edition in *ABSW XII/2*, 12.

297 *HMSAB*, 157; see also 275-76. For further discussion, see *G-A III*, 215, *ABSW XII/2*, foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 37ff., and Litschauer, op.cit., 109. There are facsimiles of the autograph in *G-A III/2*, 217-18, and of a sketch of bars 1-44 in *ABSW XII/2*, 38. There is also a modern edition in *ABSW XII/2*, 13-14.

The Mendelssohnian connection is also striking in this piece. Previous commentators have already drawn attention to its similarity in many respects with Mendelssohn's *Venetianisches Gondellied* in F sharp minor, op. 30 no. 6.²⁹⁸ Its dedicatee later recalled her years of study with Bruckner, describing him as a 'strict teacher who took a great deal of trouble with his pupils' and mentioning *inter alia* his occasional vanity and keen eye for feminine beauty. She also confessed that she was by no means a particularly talented pupil and never learned to play *Stille Betrachtung* which she found too difficult.²⁹⁹

The *Kitzler Studienbuch* includes the sketch of the first movement of a *Sonata in G minor*, dated '29 June 1862', a composition exercise begun after Bruckner had done some preparatory work on the component parts of sonata first-movement form. Only the right-hand part was notated for bars 25-28 and 134-37 and bars 148-54 were written again as an appendix in an alternative version in G major. Various entries in Bruckner's hand, such as names of keys, comments on form and remarks about compositional technique identify the sketch as no more than an exercise.³⁰⁰

At the very end of his time in Linz, on 10 September 1868, Bruckner completed a *Fantasie* WAB 118 and dedicated it to another of his pupils, Alexandrine Soika, the daughter of a high-ranking officer in the army.³⁰¹ Like Emma Thaner, Alexandrine Soika later recalled her experiences of Bruckner the man and the musician:

... one day I was taken by friends to the cathedral to see and hear Bruckner playing the organ. My interest as a child was at its most

298 See Litschauer, op.cit., and Othmar Wessely, 'Bruckners Mendelssohn-Kenntnis', in *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1975), 109.

299 See G-A III/1, 215-20 for a fuller account.

300 See HMSAB, 100, ABSW XII/2, foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 41-44, and Litschauer, op.cit., 110 for further details. The piece is printed in ABSW XII/2, 29-39.

301 Hawkshaw, in HMSAB, 297-98 describes it as two separate fantasias, but see G-A III/1, 506ff., ABSW XII/2, foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 39-40, and Litschauer, op.cit., 109. There is a facsimile in G-A III/2, 245-49. The piece is printed in ABSW XII/2, 15-20.

keen. We ascended the mysterious dark steps, and my heart was beating wildly. When I saw the plump man with his powerful shoulders and broad smiling face standing before me, however, I had an immediate desire to laugh which I could only suppress with great difficulty. But now he sat down at the organ - and there was no more laughing! I was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of solemn earnestness and silent awe because it was now giants, now angels who appeared to inhabit the instrument. I was speechless, overcome...³⁰²

The most substantial of these piano pieces is *Erinnerung* WAB 117 which almost certainly dates from the end of the Linz period despite Bruckner's alleged information to the contrary. As there is no autograph date this cannot be corroborated, but its style and harmonic texture suggest a later rather than earlier date.³⁰³

Like many skilled improvisers, Bruckner provided practically no written record of what he played. Only one organ piece - a *Fugue in D minor* WAB 125 - survives from the Linz period. It was composed at the same time as the offertory motet, *Afferentur regi* WAB 1. The sketch is dated Wednesday 6 and Thursday 7 November, and the autograph fair copy bears the date 8 November. Bruckner dedicated it to Ferdinand Kerschbaum on the occasion of the latter's ordination as a priest in Linz Cathedral on 30 July 1862. He played the organ during the ceremony and may well have performed this fugue. It is an academically 'correct' fugue, abiding by all the rules in a manner which would no doubt have brought great pleasure to Sechter, but is otherwise unexceptional.³⁰⁴

302 G-A III/1, 504-05.

303 In his foreword to the first edition of the piece (Vienna: Doblinger, 1900), August Stradal did not question Bruckner's no doubt faulty memory and surmised that it was written at the beginning of the Linz period. If this is the second of the two pieces written for Alexandrine Soika, however, it belongs to 1868. For further discussion, see G-A III/1, 508-11, HMSAB, 300, ABSW XII/2, foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 40-41, and Litschauer, op.cit., 109-10. The piece is printed in ABSW XII/2, 21-4.

304 Ferdinand Kerschbaum (1838-1901) was the brother of Karl Kerschbaum, one of Bruckner's Linz associates. For further information about Kerschbaum, see H. Zappe, 'Anton Bruckner, die Familie Zappe und die Musik', in *BJ* 1982/83 (Linz, 1984), 151. The fugue, almost certainly one of the

After completing work on the first movement of the Sonata in G minor for piano, Bruckner continued his compositional / analytical studies with Kitzler by writing a complete four-movement *String Quartet in C minor* WAB 111 as well as an alternative *Rondo* Finale. This occupied his attention during July and August 1862. The autograph includes several references to structure. On the first page of the third movement, for instance, Bruckner posed the question: ‘Would the song-form here also be in three parts if the second part up to the repetition is eight bars long?... Would it be in three parts if the unrepeated second part forms a self-sufficient whole?’ At the beginning of the succeeding Trio he wrote down the keys which he could possibly use: ‘also: G minor, E flat major, E minor, B minor, C minor, D major, C major’, and then scored out with pencil E flat major, B minor and C minor. In the event he chose G major, the same key as the Scherzo. The overall structure of the first movement was also outlined in some detail, and Bruckner paid particular attention to the part-writing in places. All four movements exhibit a clear grasp and mature handling of the forms involved, viz. sonata form (first movement), rondo form (second movement), sonata rondo form (fourth movement) and scherzo and trio (third movement). However, ninety years were to elapse before the first known performance and subsequent publication of the Quartet.³⁰⁵

compositions which Bruckner submitted to the examination panel in Vienna later in the month, is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 121-22, *HMSAB*, 128-33 and in the foreword of Erwin Horn, ed., *Werke für Orgel*, *ABSW XII/6* (Vienna, 1999), vii. There is a facsimile of the autograph (Mus. Hs. 3167 in the *ÖNB*) in *G-A III/2*, 189-90 and of part of the autograph in *HMSAB*, 126; see also *ibid.*, 266. The work was first published in *GrBL*, between pages 88 and 90. Other editions include Hans Haselböck, ed., *Anton Bruckner Orgelwerke* (Vienna / Munich: Doblinger, 1970), 14ff. and Erwin Horn, ed., *ABSW XII/6*, 9-15 (fair copy, transcription of the sketch, and the exposition with alternative countersubjects). See also Erwin Horn, ‘Zwischen Interpretation und Improvisation. Anton Bruckner als Organist’, in *BSL 1995* (Linz, 1997), 129-30; *idem*, ‘Anton Bruckner - Genie an der Orgel’, in *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz, 1997), 211-22; *idem* ‘Die Orgelstücke Bruckners’, in *Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), 21-34.

305 The four movements and alternative Finale (fols. 83r - 103v in the *Kitzler Studienbuch*) were completed on 15 August 1862. See *HMSAB*, 88, 255 and 270 for precise dating. The work, together with a short preface and copious *Revisionsbericht*, was first published, ed. Leopold Nowak, as *ABSW XIII/1* (Vienna, 1956). The alternative Rondo finale was published, ed. Nowak, as *ABSW XIII/1 Separatdruck* (Vienna, 1985). The first known performance was given by the Koeckert Quartet in Berlin on 15 February 1951. See also William Carragan, *The Red Book of Anton Bruckner Eleven Symphonies (CarraganRB)*, Windsor CT, Bruckner Society of America, 2020, 9-11.

Abendklänge WAB 110, Bruckner's only composition for violin and piano duo, was originally dated 1836 by Göllerich who believed that the words 'an P.T. Herrn Vater' added after the title in the original manuscript referred to Bruckner's own father who died in that year. Subsequent research by Auer, however, uncovered what he considered (erroneously) to be an autograph fair copy of the work, dated 7 June 1866 and dedicated to Hugo v. Grienberger (1827-1902), a civil servant in the district court, in which the title appears simply as 'Abendklänge'.³⁰⁶

3.3.4 *Orchestral music*

The next stage in Bruckner's systematic studies with Kitzler was the orchestral realization of some of the musical forms that he had already investigated, and there is a natural progression from four short pieces for orchestra to symphony by way of an overture.

The *Apollo-Marsch* WAB 115 is undoubtedly spurious. There is no direct evidence that Bruckner composed this military band piece, which is scored for two flutes, four clarinets, two flugelhorns, three euphoniums, four horns, six trumpets, three trombones, side drum and bass drum. There is no autograph score and the copy score extant was not necessarily made during the Linz years.³⁰⁷ The first authentic orchestral works are the *March* in D minor WAB 96 for double woodwind,

³⁰⁶ See *G-A I*, 106ff. for Göllerich's discussion of the piece, and 104-05 for a facsimile of the autograph (Mus. Hs. 3159 in the *ÖNB*). See *G-A II/1*, 231-32 and *III/1*, 357-58 for a discussion of the fair copy (Mus. Hs. 2121 in the *ÖNB*); also, *HMSAB*, 156-57 and 287. For a modern edition of the piece, including preface and critical commentary, see Walburga Litschauer, ed., *Abendklänge für Violine und Klavier*, *ABSW XII/7* (Vienna, 1995). Further information about this piece is provided by Andrea Harrandt and Erich Wolfgang Partsch in their joint article 'Neue Erkenntnisse zu Bruckners Kammermusikwerk "Abendklänge"', in *IBG Studien & Berichte Mitteilungsblatt* 83 (December 2014), 13-16. The fair copy has been identified by Paul Hawkshaw as the work of a copyist known as 'Anonymus 40', who may very well have been Grienberger himself.

³⁰⁷ See *HMSB*, 13 (footnote 4) and 302. The work is also discussed in *G-A III/1*, 144-45 and there is a piano arrangement in *G-A III/2*, 21-25. Max Auer, however, first cast doubts on the authenticity of the *March* in his *Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1947), 132, footnote 1, and Werner Probst identified it as Kéler Béla's *Mazzuchelli-Marsch* op.22 (1857) in his article 'Der "Apollomarsch" - wirklich von Bruckner?', in *Österreichische Blasmusik* 32 (1984). It was first published as an Appendix to the edition of the *March in E flat major*, ed., Rüdiger Bornhöft, *ABSW XII/8* (Vienna, 1996).

two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani and strings, and the *Three Orchestral Pieces* (in E flat major, E minor and F major) WAB 97 for the same forces, except that only one trombone is used. The *March* was completed on 12 October 1862 and the *Orchestral Pieces* were composed in October and November, the second and third being completed on 10 and 16 November respectively. Auer suggests that they were probably inspired by the orchestral interludes which Kitzler used in his job as a theatre conductor.³⁰⁸

Immediately after completing the third of his *Three Orchestral Pieces*, Bruckner set to work on an *Overture in G minor* WAB 98. He completed the first version of the work on 4 January 1863 and composed the second, definitive version between 6 and 22 January. The autograph sketches of this work, conceived as a symphony first movement with slow introduction, bear witness to intensive activity during the Christmas / New Year period.³⁰⁹

The logical *terminus ad quem* of all this student work was a symphony - the *Symphony in F minor* WAB 99 - which Bruckner wrote between 7 January and 26 May 1863. There is a wealth of thematic sketch material for this work, some of

308 The works are discussed in *G-A III/1*, 145-51. There is a piano arrangement of the *March* in *G-A III/2*, 29-32, but the *Three Orchestral Pieces* are published in full score in *G-A III/2*, 33-60. They were subsequently published together with the *March*, ed. Orel as a 'Sonderdruck aus dem 11. Band' of the first complete edition (Vienna, 1934) and, more recently, ed. Hans Jancik and Rüdiger Bornhöft, as *Vier Orchesterstücke*, *ABSW XII/4* (Vienna, 1996). The autograph sketches and score of the *March* occupy fols. 126r - 133r and the autograph score of the *Three Orchestral Pieces* occupies fols. 133v - 143v of the *Kitzler Studienbuch*. See *HMSAB*, 167 and 270ff. and the Preface and Revision Report to *ABSW XII/4*. According to Grasberger, *WVAB*, p.106, the first performance of all four pieces was conducted by Franz Moißl in Klosterneuburg on 12 October 1924.

309 These autograph sketches, fols. 144r - 151r of the *Kitzler Studienbuch*, are owned privately. There is an autograph score with entries by Otto Kitzler and Göllerich-Auer in Kremsmünster (KR C56.5) and a copy score in the *Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*, Vienna (MH3793). For further information, see *HMSAB*, 167 and 272-73. The work is also discussed in *G-A III/1*, 156-65. The *Overture* was first published by Universal Edition (U.E. 6570), ed. A. Orel (Vienna, 1921) - in conjunction with the study *Unbekannte Frühwerke Anton Bruckners* (U.E. 6570a). Other editions include a study score, ed. J.V. von Wöss (U.E. 7048, 1921), a miniature score, ed. A.D. Walker (E.E. 6488, 1969), and a study score (including Preface and Revision Report), ed. Jancik and Bornhöft, *ABSW XII/5* (Vienna, 1996). The first known performance of the work was conducted by Franz Moißl in Klosterneuburg on 8 September 1921. See also *CarraganRB*, 13-15.

which was discarded when Bruckner completed the autograph score.³¹⁰ The copy with autograph entries in the *Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*, Vienna has Bruckner's own annotation 'Schularbeit 863' - a clear indication that the composer considered it to be an 'exercise' rather than a fully-fledged composition. The fact that there are very few agogic, dynamic or phrase marks (although Kitzler added some of his own in the first movement) also suggests that Bruckner's main concerns were to find an adequate and convincing structure for his thematic ideas and to clothe them in appropriate orchestral colours.

Bruckner visited the Munich festival in September 1863. Before leaving Linz, he wrote to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm that he had completed his studies with Kitzler and had written both a symphony and a Psalm for double choir and orchestra.³¹¹ While in Munich he met the royal music director, Franz Lachner, and showed him some of his works which included the F minor symphony. Lachner evidently promised that he would perform it in a future concert.³¹² But it was another 50 years before there was a performance of the work, the slow movement only, not in Munich, but in Vienna on 31 October 1913. The conductor was Ferdinand Löwe and the review in the *Neue Freie Presse* commented on his affectionate interpretation but was rather lukewarm in its assessment of the movement itself.³¹³

The first performance of the work in its entirety was given by the Berlin

310 These autograph sketches, fols 152r - 159v, and continuity drafts, fols 160r - 163v in the *Kitzler Studienbuch*, are in private possession in Munich. There is an autograph score with entries by Otto Kitzler in Kremsmünster (A-KR C56-7) and a copy score with autograph entries in the *Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*, Vienna. For further information, see *HMSAB*, 167-68 and 274ff. The symphony is also discussed in *G-A III/1*, 170-90, and in the foreword to Leopold Nowak, ed., *Symphony in F minor, ABSW X* (Vienna, 1973) as well as Leopold Nowak, ed., *ABSW X Revisionsbericht* (Vienna, 1982). A score of the Andante movement only, ed. Cyrill Hynais, was published by Universal Edition, Vienna (U.E. 5255) in 1913. There is a piano score of the entire work, ed. Hynais and Auer, in *G-A III/2*, 61-124. See also Wolfgang Grandjean, 'Anton Bruckners frühe Scherzi', in *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz, 1997), 47-66, *GaultNB*, 31-32, and *CarraganRB*, 17-20.

311 Letter dated Linz, 1 September 1863. See earlier and footnote 88.

312 According to a report in the *Linzer Zeitung* 236 (8 October 1863), 1001 and Bruckner's letter to Weinwurm, dated 8 October 1863. See Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 219; see also earlier in this chapter and footnote 89.

313 *Neue Freie Presse* 17,671 (3 November 1913), 1/c in 'Music' section.

Philharmonic under the direction of Franz Moißl on 19 February 1925. In his review of the performance, Kurt Singer recognized one or two glimpses of the mature Bruckner and considered the outer movements to be more successful than the middle movements whose authenticity he would have doubted had it not been established by 'men of the calibre of Moißl, Springer and Orel'.³¹⁴

Bruckner's next orchestral work - the *Symphony no. 1 in C minor* WAB 101 - marks a significant step forward in his career as a symphonist.³¹⁵ While writing this work, he composed a *March in E flat major* WAB 116 for military band, an occasional work dedicated to the band of the *Jäger-Truppe* in Linz as a gesture of appreciation for its participation in performances of two of his works, the cantata *Preiset den Herrn* WAB 16 and *Germanenzug* WAB 70. It is an unexceptional piece but illustrates a much greater assurance and fluency in Bruckner's harmonic language.³¹⁶

Bruckner took a break in his ongoing work on the Symphony in C minor, composed between January 1865 and April 1866, to write the March. His progress on the symphony is outlined in some of his letters to Weinwurm during this period. At the end of January 1865, he wrote to his friend to tell him that he was working on a Symphony in C minor which he referred to as 'No. 2'. A year later, Bruckner informed Weinwurm that he was working on the Adagio movement of the symphony and that the other movements, including a new Scherzo which replaced the original movement composed in March 1865, were finished. In this letter and in

314 Review in the morning edition of the Berlin paper *Vorwärts* (26 February 1925), 2.

315 It has now been firmly established that Symphony no. '0' in D minor WAB 100 belongs entirely to the year 1869. The view prevailing until about 30-40 years ago (see, for instance, Nowak's foreword to *ABSW* 11) was that it was conceived between October 1863 and May 1864 and revised in 1869. It will be discussed in the next chapter.

316 The work is dated Linz, 12 August 1865. Both the autograph score (Mus. Hs. 3168) and a copy of the score made by Franz Schimatschek and signed by Bruckner (Mus. Hs. 6027) are in the *ÖNB*. See *HMSAB*, 281-82 for further information. The work is discussed briefly in *G-A* III/1, 322 and is printed in *G-A* III/2 (piano score only, pp.26ff.; facsimile of the autograph, 225-33) and in Rüdiger Bornhöft, ed., *ABSW* XII/8 (Vienna, 1996).

another letter to Rudolf, written in March 1866, Bruckner also expressed the wish that he could come to Linz and see how his work was progressing.³¹⁷ Dates on the sketches and continuity drafts of the symphony indicate that he had made sufficient progress by the end of May 1865 - he finished scoring the Trio in Munich on 25 May - to be able to show his work to Anton Rubinstein and Hans von Bülow who were also in Munich for the first performances of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. After putting the finishing touches to the work by making some extensive changes to the Adagio on 13 and 14 April 1866, Bruckner arranged for his copyist Schimatschek to prepare a copy of the score and parts and sent them to Dessoff and Herbeck in Vienna in the hope of a performance. But two years were to elapse before the première of the work conducted by Bruckner himself in Linz on 9 May 1868. Public and critical reaction was favourable. Mayfeld, writing in the *Linzer Zeitung*, had some reservations about the 'slight hint of striving for effect' but praised its many beauties and expressed the hope that the composer would soon 'find a position in Vienna commensurate with his ability and musical knowledge in order to give proper expression to his creative powers'. The reviewer in the *Tagespost* also had some reservations about the orchestration in places, detecting what he considered to be a discrepancy between Bruckner's intentions and the final realisation which sometimes obscured beautiful details in the work. He considered the first movement and the Scherzo to be the most successful movements. Hanslick's report in the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* ensured that Bruckner's name and musical accomplishments were recognised by a much wider public.³¹⁸

317 Letters dated Linz, 29 January 1865, 27 January 1866 and 25 March 1866 respectively. See earlier and footnotes 100, 105 and 106.

318 See earlier and footnotes 159-60. Source material, including the autograph score, autograph score fragments and sketches (Mus. Hs. 40.400), other autograph sketches (Mus. Hs. 6012), an autograph score fragment (Mus. Hs. 6019) and Franz Schimatschek's copy of the score with Bruckner's insertions (Mus. Hs. 3190) is in the ÖNB. An earlier version of the Adagio was composed in the latter part of 1865, and the definitive version was written between the end of January and the middle of April 1866. Auer's piano reduction of the earlier version is printed in *G-A III/2*, pp.125-35. The two versions are essentially different, although the same material is used. Mus. Hs. 6012 is the continuity draft of the first version of the Scherzo and Trio, composed between March and May 1865, and Mus. Hs. 6019 is the autograph score bifolio of the same Scherzo. There is a facsimile of

With his First Symphony Bruckner signalled to the musical world that he was a force to be reckoned with. In accepting a post in Vienna ‘commensurate with his ability and musical knowledge’, he embarked upon a journey which was to bring fulfilment, but not without misunderstanding, opposition and a long struggle for recognition. But a sure foundation had been laid in Linz. The transition from Mass to Symphony had been begun and, after years of painstaking study, an original voice was gradually emerging. There was to be no turning back.

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the former, dated 10 March 1865, in *G-A III/2*, pp.234-37, and Auer’s piano score of the latter in *G-A III/2*, pp.136ff. The second Scherzo (mentioned by Bruckner in his letter to Weinwurm) was probably begun at the end of 1865 and was completed on 23 January 1866. The original Trio was retained. See also *HMSAB*, 255, 282-87 and three articles by Wolfgang Grandjean: ‘Konzeptionen des langsamen Satzes. Zum Adagio von Anton Bruckners Erster Symphonie’, in *BJ 1991/92/93* (Linz, 1995), 13-24, ‘Zur Aufführung der ergänzten Urfassung des Adagio und des ursprünglichen Scherzo der Ersten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner’, in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 41 (1993), 34-37, and ‘Anton Bruckners frühe Scherzi’, in *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz, 1997), 47-66.

The symphony was revised in May 1877 (‘rhythmical’ revision), 1884 and 1889/90 but there was a more extensive revision between 12 March 1890 and 18 April 1891 which resulted in the writing of a new score (‘Vienna’ version) which was performed for the first time in Vienna on 13 December 1891 and first published by Doblinger in 1893 (pl.no. D.1868). The work is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 322-48 (‘Linz’ version), *G-A IV/3*, 204-17 (‘Vienna’ version) and in the forewords to the scores edited by Haas (Vienna, 1935), Nowak (*ABSW I/1*, Vienna, 1955), Brosche (*ABSW I/2*, Vienna, 1980) Grandjean (*ABSW zu Band I/1* - original versions of the Adagio and Scherzo movements, Vienna, 1995) and in the Editorial Report of Thomas Röder’s edition of the work (*Symphonie nr.1 in C-moll Linzer Fassung*, *NBA III/I/1*), Vienna:Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2016. Grandjean’s edition also includes facsimiles of two pages from Mus. Hs. 40.400 and one page from Mus. Hs. 6019 as well as an extensive *Critical Report*, 61-68, while Röder looks closely at the essential differences between the ‘Linz’ and ‘Vienna’ versions of the work. These differences are also examined by Thomas Schipperges in ‘Zur Wiener Fassung von Anton Bruckners Erster Sinfonie’, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 47 (1990), 272-85, Thomas Röder in ‘Die Erste Symphonie als Linzer Werk: eine vorläufige Bilanz’, in *Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), 47-57, Julian Horton in *Bruckner’s Symphonies. Analysis, Reception and Cultural Politics* (Cambridge, 2004), 241-47, Dermot Gault in *Gault NB*, 33-35, 65-67 and 185-88, and William Carragan in *Carragan RB*, 23-35.