

CHAPTER 5

Bruckner in Vienna: The Second Ten Years (1878-1887)

Bruckner's financial position took a turn for the better at the beginning of 1878 when, at Josef Hellmesberger's recommendation, he was appointed a salaried member of the *Hofkapelle* with an annual income of 800 florins. In his official letter to the Lord Chamberlain, Hellmesberger also made it clear that it would no longer be necessary for Bruckner to continue in the posts of assistant librarian and singing teacher of the choirboys for which he had received an annual honorarium of 300 florins 'no doubt graciously granted to him in view of his poor financial circumstances'. Furthermore, Bruckner was by no means 'impoverished' and 'in need of financial aid'. His salary at the Conservatory amounted to more than 1200 florins. Hellmesberger's recommendation was accepted and Bruckner was officially informed of his new appointment on 24 January.¹

Hellmesberger's reservations about Bruckner's alleged financial straits were not without foundation. The cost of living in Vienna c. 1880 would have enabled Bruckner to live well within his income. According to Orel:

The material struggle for existence which Bruckner allegedly had to endure in Vienna really belongs to the realm of fantasy. The mere fact that he left 10,000 florins in cash alone puts a large question mark over Bruckner's 'poverty', because this sum was the product of savings which

¹ For Hellmesberger's letter to the Lord Chamberlain, dated Vienna 3 January, 1878, the official acceptance of Hellmesberger's proposal (19 January, 1878) and the letter to Bruckner, see ABDS 1, 90-95.

Bruckner had been able to make from his regular income.²

More recently, other scholars, including Peter Urbanitsch, have confirmed that Bruckner had a reasonably comfortable life-style from the mid-1870s. His annual income from various sources exceeded that of a well-paid civil servant and he did not have any valid reason for anxiety either then or in his later years when he also received substantial financial help in securing the publication of several of his works and regular subventions from erstwhile pupils and private consortia.³

Bruckner's main concern, however, was that he should have enough 'quality time' to compose and that he should not have to rely on money from private teaching to supplement his salaries from the Conservatory and the *Hofkapelle*. He obviously had in mind a particular level of financial security which would afford him the time and space to follow the creative Muse. His 'Stundenplan' in the *Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender* for 1877 shows that his teaching commitments were two hours at the University (Monday, 17.00 - 19.00), 16 hours at the Conservatory (Tuesday, 9.00 - 14.00 and 17.00 - 19.00; Thursday, 9.00 - 14.00 and 17.00 - 19.00; Saturday, 17.00 - 19.00) and 13 hours' private teaching (Wednesday, 9.30 - 10.30, 11.00 - 13.00, 17.00 - 19.00, 19.30 - 21.30; Friday, 10.00 - 13.00; Saturday, 9.00 - 12.00), 31 hours in total. His teaching commitments for 1878 included the same hours at the University and Conservatory and ten hours' private teaching (Wednesday, 10.00 - 11.00, 16.00 - 19.00; Thursday, 15.00 - 17.00; Friday,

2 Alfred Orel, 'Bruckner und Wien', in *Hans Albrecht in memoriam* (Cassel, 1962), 228.

3 See Peter Urbanitsch, 'Anton Bruckner, das liebe Geld, die Wienergesellschaft und die Politik', in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre* (Vienna, 2009), 301-30. In discussing Bruckner's financial incomings and outgoings while he was resident in Vienna against the background of the cultural and political changes experienced by Austria in the second half of the 19th century, Urbanitsch calculates that Bruckner's liquid assets at his death amounted to nearly 17,000 florins, a much higher figure than mentioned by Orel.

17.00 - 19.00, 19.30 - 21.30), 28 hours in total.⁴ In later years Bruckner re-scheduled his teaching commitments by cramming them into two or three days each week, thereby leaving himself complete uninterrupted days for composition. Bruckner also had regular commitments at the *Hofkapelle*. As there was a weekly rota system for the organists, Bruckner was on duty one or two weeks each month. He also had to ensure that his duties would be covered by another organist during his annual vacation which he normally took from mid-August to mid-September. So that it would not be necessary to pay a deputy to fulfil their duties the *Hofkapelle* organists came to a reciprocal arrangement among themselves during the holiday period. In 1878 and 1879, for instance, Bruckner substituted for Rudolf Bibl from mid-July to mid-August and Bibl no doubt returned the favour when Bruckner was away from mid-August to mid-September.⁵ Bruckner and Pius Richter also substituted for each other several times between 1878 and 1890, not only in vacations but also during 'normal' periods of duty.⁶ In 1878 Bruckner spent part of his summer vacation at St. Florian giving harmony lessons to the new organist, Josef Gruber.

On becoming a regular rather than provisional court organist, Bruckner began to make occasional diary notes about his organ duties.⁷ At first he indicated his duties with the letter 'D [Dienst] in his diary, later he differentiated between 'Br' [Bruckner], 'B' or 'Bl' [Bibl] and 'R' [Richter]. As a result of these diary entries, one can consult the 'Austheilungen', viz. the schedules of performances determined by the court music director, to

4 According to a note in the Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1878. See MVP 1, 64 and 2, 71.

5 See ABDS 1, 99-100.

6 See nine letters from Bruckner to Pius Richter in the ÖNB - ÖNB-H 126/58-1-9.

7 For instance, there is a diary entry for 17 February 1878 marking his first appearance as a regular organist: 'Sonntag 4. Uhr Segen 1.mal in Wirklichkeit.' See MVP 1, 63 and 2, 70.

confirm the services in which he took part.⁸

There are only fleeting references to Bruckner's organ playing in the court chapel. According to Auer, Bruckner was mainly required to accompany German mass songs in simple services, as he gave too much rein to his improvisatory skills and lengthened the liturgy unnecessarily when playing organ interludes in the main services.⁹ It seems that Hellmesberger was responsible for taking this step shortly after his appointment as chief music director in 1877. Nevertheless, there were occasions when Bruckner was allowed to improvise, and the normally critical Hellmesberger was sufficiently impressed on at least one occasion to commend him on his fine playing.¹⁰

In spite of his full teaching and playing schedule, Bruckner was a past master at making maximum use of the free time that was available to him to pursue his compositional activities. During 1878 he wrote two secular choral pieces, *Abendzauber* WAB 57 and *Zur Vermählungsfeier* WAB 54, and a sacred choral piece, *Tota pulchra es* WAB 46, completed his Symphony no. 5, carried out revision work on his Symphony no. 4, including the composition of a new Scherzo, and commenced work on his String Quintet in F (WAB 12).

8 See Hildegard Herrmann-Schneider, 'Status und Funktion des Hofkapellmeisters in Wien (1848-1918)', in Walter Salmen, ed., *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (Innsbruck, 1981), 98. The celebratory High Mass which took place in the Hofburgkapelle each Sunday involved the members of the Hofkapelle and the choirboys. The court music director was expected to choose the appropriate music, ask the librarian to supply the musical material, hold rehearsals and indicate the programme and, in some cases, the conductors of the performances in the so-called 'Austheilungen'. While Herbeck was court music director he enlarged the church music repertoire by going beyond the Masses of the Viennese Classical composers and past and present court music directors and introducing several new pieces, and there are occasional references in the 'Austheilungen' to rehearsals of new works. See also Walburga Litschauer, 'Bruckner und die Wiener Kirchenmusiker', BSL 1985 (Linz, 1988), 98.

9 Max Auer, '>'Anton Bruckner, der Meister der Orgel', in *Die Musik* 16 (1923/24), 873.

10 See Chapter 6 for further information about Bruckner's diary entry in December 1890 commemorating Hellmesberger's words of praise!

The composition of *Abendzauber*, the words of which were again provided by Dr. Heinrich Wallmann (Heinrich von der Mattig), was completed on 13 January and the work was dedicated to his friend Carl Almeroth in Steyr. It is written for male voices, tenor/baritone soloist, three distant yodelling voices and four horns. The male voices are required to hum throughout until the last section where there is a proper text underlay. According to Franz Bayer, another of Bruckner's friends from Steyr, the three yodelling parts were intended for female voices and were modelled on the Rhinemaidens' music.¹¹

Bruckner's landlord, Dr. Anton Oelzelt von Newin, was married in November and Bruckner wrote an unaccompanied male-voice chorus, *Zwei Herzen haben sich gefunden (Zur Vermählungsfeier)* for the occasion. Although the original intention was to have the work performed at Klosterneuburg, Auer suggests that it was too difficult for the Klosterneuburg Male Voice Society and that the wedding did not take place at Klosterneuburg Abbey in any case as Oelzelt von Newin was a Protestant.¹²

On 5 June Franz Josef Rudigier celebrated the 25th anniversary of

11 The autograph score of the work is in the library of the Vienna Männergesangverein which gave it its first known public performance on 18 March 1911. In the first edition of the work (U.E. 2914, Vienna, 1911), Viktor Keldorfer, the editor, sought to make the earlier choral parts more secure by providing a text underlay derived from the words of the solo part. As Bruckner did not provide any specific syllabic underlay for the yodelling parts, Keldorfer also added what he considered to be 'yodelling syllables corresponding to the typical way of singing in the Austrian alpine districts.' See ABSW XXIII/2, 125-34 for a modern edition of the original version. For a general discussion of Bruckner's male-voice works, including *Abendzauber*, see Andrea Harrandt, op.cit., BSL 1987 (Linz, 1989), 93-103, Angela Pachovsky, '>Anton Bruckners weltliche Chorwerke', in *Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999* (Vienna, 2000), 35-46, and A.C. Howie, '>Bruckner and secular vocal music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge, 2004), 64-76.

12 See G-A IV/1, 520-21 for further information; but the date of composition is given wrongly here as 11 November 1878. The autograph, dated 27 November 1878, is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde library. The piece was published for the first time, ed. J. Kluger, in the *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* III (1910), 133. It was published again 11 years later, together with *Ave regina coelorum* WAB 8, by Universal Edition (U.E. 4980), edited and with a foreword by Josef V. Wöss, in the series *Kirchenmusikalische Publikationen der Schola Austriaca*. There is a modern edition in ABSW XXIII/2, 135-39.

his office as bishop of the Linz diocese. To commemorate the occasion, Bruckner, at the instigation of Johann Burgstaller, the director of music at Linz Cathedral, wrote one of his most effective short sacred pieces, the Marian antiphon *Tota pulchra es* (WAB 46). It was composed on 30 March and first performed at a special benediction service held in the Votive Chapel on the evening of 4 June. Rudigier, its dedicatee, received a signed copy of the work on 30 May.¹³

At the beginning of the year, after a long process of refining and improving, Bruckner put the finishing touches to his Symphony no. 5 in B flat major WAB 105. The first draft had occupied him from 14 February 1875 until 16 May 1876. Other dates in the autograph indicate that he refined the Finale first, completing it on 18 May 1877.¹⁴ He then worked on the first movement and completed it on 9 August before leaving for St. Florian. Finally, he turned his attention to the Adagio and worked on it until 4 January 1878.¹⁵ Liszt was in Vienna during the month of April and played through

13 See HSABB I (2nd edition, 2009), 183-84 for the text of Bruckner's congratulatory covering letter to Bishop Rudigier; the original is in the Bischöfliches Archiv, Linz. Burgstaller conducted *Tota pulchra es* as well as the first performance of a *Te Deum* by Karl Waldeck and a *Litanei* by Johann Habert. Rudigier's signed copy is now in the library of the new Cathedral. The original autograph in the ÖNB (Mus.Hs. 37.286) was used as the engraver's copy for the first edition of the work, printed by Emil Wetzler (Julius Engelmann) as no. 1 of 2 *Kirchenchöre* (Vienna, 1887). There is a modern edition in ABSW XXI/1, 107-12. For further information, see G-A IV/1, 493-96, ABSW XXI/1, viii and ABSW XXI/2, 98-101.

14 The autograph is located in the ÖNB, Mus.Hs. 19.477.

15 In his application for the post of assistant director of music at the Hofkapelle on 31 October 1877, Bruckner mentioned his compositional activities and stated that his 'Fifth Symphony would 'soon be finished'; see Chapter 4, page 141 and note 272. An entry in the January page of the *Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für 1878* reads '>'Sinfonie Nr. 5 im 4. und 5. Bogen Zeichen Br.', indicating that Bruckner had inserted changes in the time-signature in the fourth and fifth sheets of the Adagio. See MVP 1, 62 and 2, 68. There is a facsimile of bars 95-97 of the movement, fol. 45' of Mus.Hs. 19.477, in ABSW V Revisionsbericht (1985), 59. There is also a later insertion made in the first movement below bars 477-78 – '>'NB 1.2. Trompete neu' - in October 1878. Nowak describes this as the '>'last date which can be ascertained of Bruckner's involvement with the Fifth' in ABSW V Revisionsbericht, 67, footnote 1. See also Chapter 4, incl. footnote 251.

Bruckner's symphony, making favourable comments to Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, the Lord Chamberlain. In a letter to Wagner on 20 May, in which he was typically effusive in his praise of Wagner's '>immortal masterworks', Bruckner described Liszt's gesture as '>certainly my last comfort in Vienna.'¹⁶ At the turn of the year 1878/79 Liszt was in Rome where he was also generous in his praise of Bruckner. Once again Bruckner was grateful for his recognition.¹⁷ The symphony was dedicated to Karl von Stremayr and presented to him on his name-day (4 November) in a copy score with a title-page beautifully prepared by J.M. Kaiser.¹⁸ Bruckner never heard an orchestral performance of this work of epic proportions with its majestic display of contrapuntal skill in the final movement. In Nowak's words, it '>reveals the utmost technical mastery of form, structure and instrumentation. For all who have ever set foot on the mighty edifice of its polyphony, its melodic wealth and its chorale, it remains an unforgettable experience.'¹⁹

16 See HSABB 1, 183 for the text of this letter; the original can be found in the Nationalarchiv der Richard Wagner-Stiftung (IIIA 14-4). See also Peter Raabe, *Liszt's Leben* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1931; Tutzing: Schneider, 2/1968), 311; Egon Voss, '>Wagner und Bruckner', in Anton Bruckner. *Studien zu Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling. (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 230; and G-A IV/1, 481-82. concerning a possible reply to this letter which has been lost. For Liszt's visit to Vienna in 1878, see Ernst Burger, *Franz Liszt. Eine Lebenschronik in Bildern und Dokumenten* (Munich, 1986), 272.

17 Bruckner referred to this when writing to Tappert in Berlin. See HSABB 1, 187 for this letter, dated Vienna, 9 December 1878; the original is in private ownership.

18 This copy is in the ÖNB, Mus.Hs. 6064. Bruckner wrote to Kaiser on 13 October 1878, thanking him for his '>newest great masterwork' and enclosing payment of 40 florins. See ABSW V Revisionsbericht, 67 and HSABB 1, 186-187 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB.

19 From Nowak's foreword to ABSW V, transl. Richard Rickett. For informative articles about the structure of the work, see Armin Knab, '>Die thematischen Zusammenhänge in Bruckners 5. Sinfonie', in Knab: *Denken und Tun. Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik*, ed. Heinz Wegener (Berlin: Merseburger, 1959), 18-36; Leopold Nowak, '>Anton Bruckners Formwille dargestellt am Finale seiner V. Symphonie', in *Miscellanea en homenaje a Mons. Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona, 1961), 609ff., repr. in *Über Anton Bruckner*, 43-46; Gunnar Cohrs, '>Der musikalische Architekt: zur Bedeutung der Zahlen in Bruckners 5. und 9. Sinfonie', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* cli (July-August 1990), 19-26; idem,>

In his letter to Tappert in October 1877 Bruckner had already announced his intention of '>thoroughly revising' his Fourth Symphony. No sooner had he completed the Fifth than he began revising the first movement of the Fourth on 18 January. Work on this movement and on the second movement occupied him until the end of July. From the beginning of August until the end of September he pruned the Finale from 616 bars to 477 mainly through significant cuts in the development section and in the coda of the movement. The latter is, to all intents and purposes, a new composition. In the preface to his edition of the 1878 Finale, Nowak aptly uses the term '>'creative revision' in his description of Bruckner's revision work.²⁰

Bruckner's inscription '>Volksfest' in the copy of the movement in the *ÖNB* suggests that the main purpose of the revision of the Finale was not only to shorten it but to give it a lighter character. As well as revising the first, second and fourth movements, Bruckner wrote a completely new Scherzo in November. He provided details of this mixture of revision and new composition together with information concerning work on other symphonies in two letters to Tappert in October and December. In the first letter he also reminded Tappert that Bilse had still not returned the score and parts of the original version of the Fourth:

... I have now produced a new and shorter version of the 4th (>'Romantic') Symphony (1st, 2nd, 4th movements) which should be effective. All that remains to be written is the new

'Zahlenphänomene in Bruckners Symphonik. Neues zu den Strukturen der Fünften und Neunten Symphonie', in *BJ* 1989/90 (Vienna, 1992), 35-75; William Carragan, '>Structural Aspects of the Revision of Bruckner's Symphonic Finales', in *BSL* 1996 (Linz, 1998), 182-83.; Robert S. Hatten, '>The Expressive Role of Disjunction. A Semiotic Approach to Form and Meaning in the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies', in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 145-84.

20 See Leopold Nowak, '>Finale von 1878', *ABSWIV/2* (Vienna, 1981); originally published by Haas in the appendix to vol. 4 of the first Complete Edition (1936). The first sheet of the autograph score is in Kremsmünster library and the remaining sheets are in the Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Vienna. There is a copy (Mus. Hs. 3177, vol. 3) in the *ÖNB*.

Scherzo which portrays the hunt, while the Trio is a dance tune which is played to the hunters during their meal.

A large part of Symphony no. 2 in C minor has also been revised. Herbeck was very pleased with this work.

I have made some changes too in the Symphony no. 3 in D minor (dedicated to Rich. Wagner) - a work which has been maligned so much, could not be rehearsed properly and appeared on the programme at a time when the audience is accustomed to leave.²¹

Could I recommend to you for performance my 2nd Symphony in C minor which is probably the work that will be most easily understood by the public. No. 3 in D minor is also ready for performance. Professor Schelle looked through the score of this symphony, said that I had been treated most unjustly, had the most flattering things to say about its originality and contrapuntal invention and asked me to recommend it to you and request that it be performed in Berlin as soon as possible. (I do not dare offer anything for performance in Vienna until it has been played abroad.)

(Willner [sic], court music director in Dresden, has also invited me to send him a score, as has Rubinstein, director in Moscow.) But all that is of secondary importance.

It is only in Berlin that I have the good fortune to know such a celebrated and excellent critic as Professor Tappert in whom I can truly confide and from whom I most earnestly request favour and goodwill, albeit from some distance away. Otherwise I have no-one else here below!!!

(In St. Florian - an abbey with a very large organ - where your famous reviews have recently been the talking-point, everyone was delighted to learn that I had the good fortune to know you etc.)

Concerning the choice of symphony [to be performed], I have no real preference, except that the 2nd should take precedence over the 3rd.

Once again, may I make a fervent request for your assistance! Bilse, the music director, has still not returned the music of the impractical old version of the 4th Symphony. Would you be so good as to remind him of this, dear Professor, if you have the opportunity.

If Herr Bilse is no longer inclined [to perform one of my symphonies], perhaps someone else can be found. The

²¹ The symphony was in the second half of the traditional Sunday morning concert when the attention of many members of the audience would be turning towards lunch!

director of the Court Opera also knows me.²² I can guarantee that either of the symphonies can and will give pleasure, provided that they are rehearsed carefully. I trust, nevertheless, that Music Director Bilse has not written me off completely. Please be so good as to convey my respects to him. In any case I should like to send him the score [of one of these symphonies] so that he can peruse it.

Once again please do not be too annoyed with me for pestering you so much. You know the situation in Vienna well enough and what it means to be neglected.

Herr Rättig wants to have the piano scores of the symphonies which I have mentioned so that he can publish them...

P.S. My address now is 1st district, Hessgasse no. 7.²³

In his second letter, written two months later, Bruckner somewhat apologetically renewed his request for Tappert's assistance and informed him *inter alia* that he had completed his revision of the Fourth Symphony and had begun work on a String Quintet:

Please forgive me for daring (no doubt somewhat presumptuously) to repeat once again the request I made two months ago. The scores and parts of the C minor and D minor symphonies are still reserved for Berlin in spite of requests from Rubinstein in Moscow and others to send them something. I find it impossible to believe that you would abandon me although I have been pestering you continually. Perhaps I will still be able to find an opportunity of expressing and confirming my gratitude. Bilse, the court music director, has obviously not had the time to write or to have the old material returned.

22 This is a reference to Karl Eckert (1820-1879) who was opera director in Vienna from 1853 to 1860 and took up an appointment as director of the Royal Opera in Berlin in 1869.

23 See HSABB 1, 185-86. for this letter dated Vienna, 9 October 1878; the original is in private possession, but the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Vienna possesses a photocopy. For Willner read Wüllner. The German composer and conductor, Franz Wüllner (1832-1902) became court kapellmeister at Dresden in 1877. Earlier, when he was conductor of the Court Opera in Munich, he was responsible for the first performances of Wagner's *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* (in 1869 and 1870 resp.) before the production of the entire *Ring* tetralogy at Bayreuth in 1876.

In the meantime, the 4th (Romantic) Symphony has been completely finished, but the parts have not yet been written out. I hope to give you particular pleasure with this work. At present I am writing a String Quintet in F major which Hellmesberger who, as you know, is very enthusiastic about my works, has repeatedly urged me to compose. I learned recently that Liszt had made complimentary remarks about my 5th Symphony and other current works of mine not only to Hohenlohe but also to people in Rome.

Please don't leave me in the lurch - I await a favourable response with anxiety...²⁴

No further correspondence between Bruckner and Tappert has survived. The two men met on several occasions thereafter at Bayreuth. Although Tappert no doubt made every effort to arouse interest in Bruckner in Berlin in the late 1870s, the first performance of a Bruckner work in the German capital did not take place until January 1887 when the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Karl Klindworth performed the Symphony no. 7.

As well as pursuing his teaching activities and his vocation as a composer, Bruckner did not entirely neglect social pleasures. A friendship with a young lady called Julie Joachim was typical of many of his short-lived '>'affairs of the heart'. In this particular instance, Miss Joachim wrote to Bruckner on 9 January 1879 and made it clear that she did not wish to take the brief friendship any further. At the same time she was bold enough to ask him for some free concert tickets!²⁵ Bruckner's 1879 diary - the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879* - also contains references to other activities. At the end of a carnival ball on 15 February he danced with a Baroness Scala and at the end of another ball three days later he danced with Fräulein Waldheim, noting her address in brackets - '>'Pharmacist, Himmelpfortgasse'. An entry on the March page -

²⁴ See HSABB 1, 187 for this letter, dated Vienna, 9 December 1878; also see footnote 17.

²⁵ See G-A IV/1, 569 for details of this letter.

>'Orgel-Concert, Improvisation in Akademischen' - refers to his participation as an organ soloist in a concert given by the *Akademischer Gesangverein* in the large *Musikverein* hall on 15 March. Bruckner played for half an hour and ended his recital with an improvised four-part fugue. On 11 May he also played the organ at a benefit concert for the pension fund of *Concordia*, a society for journalists and writers. The concert was advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 7 May and there was a short but favourable review in the same paper on 12 May.²⁶

There are also some references to Bruckner's state of health in the 1879 diary. Bad migraine headaches are recorded on 21 and 22 October and again in December. The early onset of winter must have surprised him - the first snowfall during the evening of 16 October is duly noted. As usual the names, and in some cases, the addresses, of his private pupils are written down. Among the names for 1879 are Hans Rott, Rudolf Krzyzanowski and >'Dietrich', probably Rudolf Dittrich who had organ lessons in Bruckner's flat as well as studying at the Conservatory from 1878 to 1882.²⁷

Although Bruckner had little sympathy with the ideals of the Caecilian Catholic church music reform movement, he responded to an invitation from Ignaz Traumihler, choir director at St. Florian and a keen supporter of the movement, to write a motet for the feast of St. Augustine on 28 August by composing *Os justi* WAB 30 for four-eight part choir *a cappella*. A week after

26 See HSABB I, 188 for an official letter of thanks to Bruckner from Edgar von Spiegel, a member of the committee, and Zacharias K. Lecher, the president of Concordia. It is dated Vienna, 13 May 1879; the original is in St. Florian.

27 Rudolf Dittrich (1861-1919) spent seven years in Japan (1888-1894) as the artistic director of the Imperial Music Academy in Tokyo. He was appointed court organist in Vienna in 1901 and succeeded Vockner as Professor of Organ at the Conservatory (1906-1909). See MVP 1, 77-137 and 2, 85-125 for the contents of the 1879 diary. More relaxed occasions recorded in the diary include not only the balls Bruckner attended during the Carnival season but a holiday excursion which he made to the Schneeberg together with some of his students in early August. Evidently he severely tried the patience of his young friends, including Joseph Schalk, by testing the particularly fine echo effects many times! See Friedrich Klose, *Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner*, 138-39.

completing the motet he sent it, with an accompanying letter, to its dedicatee and went out of his way to stress the deliberately archaic style of the piece:

I convey my heartiest congratulations to you on your name day with all speed before you go to Linz. May God bless you, keep you in the best of health and preserve your customary mental alertness for years to come. May He also grant you the same zeal and undiminished energy in your artistic and religious activities!

Many thanks for remembering my own name day in such a friendly way.

If I am not mistaken, you wanted me to write an 'Os justi'. I take the liberty of sending it to you and have been so bold as to dedicate it to you (that is, if you accept).

Is this the complete text? I would be delighted if you liked it. There are no sharps or flats, no seventh chords, no 6/4 chords and no chordal combinations using four and five different notes simultaneously. I propose to have it sung in the *Hofkapelle* at the end of October when my D minor Mass is being performed.²⁸ My Quintet is finished. Hellmesberger, the court music director, is quite beside himself with joy and intends to perform it. He is completely changed and makes a huge fuss of me. My holidays begin on 17 August. If Herr Bibl returns a few days earlier, however, I can come to St. Florian immediately. My thanks also for the invitation - I hope to find you in excellent spirits. My respects to the abbot and to the dean...²⁹

According to Franz Wiesner, who was a choirboy at St. Florian at the time, Traumihler was not completely satisfied with the piece after the first

28 It was sung as the gradual on 9 November 1879. The 1861 *Ave Maria* was the offertory hymn. Traumihler was a firm supporter of the more conservative German wing of the Caecilian movement led by Franz Xaver Witt. He did not see eye to eye with his Austrian compatriot Johannes Evangelist Habert who, as leader of the more liberal *Österreichische Cäcilien-Verein*, recognised the validity of instrumentally accompanied church music. For further information, see Barbara Boisits, '... "die Geistlichkeit ist nich wert, daß sich jemand um die Verbesserung der Kirchenmusik annimmt". Die Kontroverse um die Kirchenmusikreform in Oberösterreich zwischen Johannes Evangelist Habert und Ignaz Traumihler', in *BJ* 1997-2000 (Linz, 2002), 279-88.

29 See *HSABB* 1, 188-89 for this letter, dated Vienna, 25 July 1879; the original is in St. Florian.

rehearsal and asked Bruckner to make some changes, particularly in the middle section.³⁰ Bruckner complied with Traumihler's request and, on 28 July, added the organ-accompanied versicle 'Inveni David' which follows the closing 'Alleluia' of the gradual. In response to Bruckner's query 'Is this the complete text?' in his letter to Traumihler, the latter no doubt reminded him that the 'Inveni David' verse was used both at the feast of Silvester on 31 December and the feast of Augustine on 28 August as well as pointing out that there were some differences between the *Os justi* text which Bruckner set and the appropriate text for the feast day of St. Augustine.³¹

During his summer vacation at St. Florian Bruckner was asked to play the organ for some high-ranking officers in the army. Wishing to use a military theme as the basis for improvisation but not knowing any, he asked one of the priests, Matthias Lehner, for his advice. It is possible that this theme inspired the main theme of Symphony no. 6 which Bruckner began shortly after his return to Vienna. Mahler's use of military signals in some of his works provides an interesting comparison here.

Bruckner's major compositional activity in the first half of the year was the String Quintet in F WAB 112 which was begun towards the end of 1878 and, according to dates in the autograph, completed with the Scherzo on 12 July 1879.³² Hellmesberger, who commissioned the work, evidently found the Scherzo too difficult and Bruckner wrote an alternative third movement - an

30 See G-A II/1, 269.

31 The autographs of the first and second versions are located in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 3158 and Mus. Hs. 37.284 respectively. There is a facsimile of the autograph of the first version between pages 568 and 569 in G-A IV/1. The autograph of the concluding 'Inveni David' is also in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 6069. Traumihler's dedication copy is located in St. Florian, Bruckner-Archiv no. 19/12. The work was first published by Theodor Rättig as no. 3 of *Vier Graduale* (Vienna, 1886). For a modern edition, see *ABSW XXI/1*, 113-17. For further information, see *G-A IV/1*, 563-68, *ABSW XXI/1*, 188, *ABSW XXI/2*, 102-17 and Leopold Nowak, 'Die Motette "Os justi" und ihre Handschriften', in *Mitteilungsblatt der IBG* 22 (Vienna, 1983), 5-8; repr. in idem, *Über Anton Bruckner*, 246-49.

32 The autograph is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 19.482. See also Bruckner's letters to Tappert and Traumihler (footnotes 24 and 29) in which he mentions work on the Quintet.

Intermezzo WAB 113 - which he completed on 21 December.³³ No alternative Trio was written. In the first edition of the work, however, the original Scherzo was reinstated, and the *Intermezzo* was not published until after Bruckner's death.³⁴ In the original autograph, the copy used for engraving and the parts used by the Hellmesberger Quartet, the slow movement is placed second. But a more satisfactory order of movements in which the slow movement is placed third was eventually adopted both in the engraver's copy and the parts, almost certainly with Bruckner's approval. Bruckner made some alterations and additions in the engraver's copy but did not copy these into the autograph. After the first printing, however, he made some alterations in the autograph, particularly at the end of the *Finale*.³⁵

Hellmesberger and his quartet did not perform the work until January 1885. In the meantime, one of Bruckner's most dedicated pupils, Josef Schalk, arranged a private performance in the Bösendorfer hall in November 1881. On this occasion, a quintet of young enthusiasts played the first three movements only. The first performance of the complete Quintet was given

33 The autograph of the *Intermezzo* is also in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 6080.

34 First edition of the Quintet with the original Scherzo - Vienna: Gutmann, 1884 (A.J.G. 500). First edition of *Intermezzo* - Vienna: U.E., 1913 (U.E. 2922).

35 For further details, see G-A IV/1, 535-63 and Leopold Nowak, foreword to ABSW XIII/2 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1963). Nowak has also provided an informative article about the structure of the first movement in his 'Form und Rhythmus im ersten Satz des Streichquintetts von Anton Bruckner', in *Festschrift für Hans Engel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Horst Heussner, (Cassel, 1964), 260-73; repr. in *Über Anton Bruckner*, 60-70. A perceptive comparison of Bruckner's Quintet and Brahms's Quintet in F op. 88 (1882) for the same grouping of two violins, two violas and cello has been made by Wilhelm Seidel: 'Das Streichquintett in F-Dur im Oeuvre von Anton Bruckner und Johannes Brahms', in BSL 1983 (Linz, 1985), 183-89. There is a comprehensive survey of the documentation of the Quintet (including references in letters and concert reviews) in Gerold W. Gruber, 'Anton Bruckner, Streichquintett in F-Dur (WAB 112)', BJ 1994/95/96 (Linz, 1997), 99-133. In a recent article, 'Late-Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music and the Cult of the Classical Adagio', in *19th-Century Music* 23/1 (Summer 1999), 33-61, Margaret Notley discusses the slow movement in the context of other chamber-music slow movements of the period, particularly those of Brahms. Torsten Blaich's *Anton Bruckner: Das Streichquintett in F-Dur. Studien zur Differenz zwischen Kammermusik und Symphonik Bruckners* (Hildesheim/Zurich/New York, 2009) is a comprehensive study of the Quintet, its historical context, its source material and its musical structure. See also *CarraganRB*, 135-39.

by the Winkler Quartet, with Franz Schalk playing the first viola part, at another musical evening arranged by the Wagner Society in the Bösendorfer hall on 7 May 1883. Josef Schalk also arranged the work for piano duet. It took some time for the Quintet to become established in the chamber music repertory. Perhaps the fact that it shares several compositional features with the symphonies, for instance the 'massive' octave-unison gestures and rich textures, militated against this. But it cannot be denied that there are many passages in which Bruckner displays a lively awareness of the chamber medium and creates a more intimate sound world.

In the latter part of 1879 Bruckner also carried out some revision work on his Symphony no.2 and began writing the third Finale of his Symphony no. 4. One of his favourite pupils, Felix Mottl, joined forces with Hans Paumgartner to play the second and third movements of the Third Symphony in Mahler's arrangement at a *Wagner Society* concert in the Bösendorfer hall in Vienna on November 12. The critic for *Die Presse* reported that there was 'no more reliable indicator of the worth of a musical work than the effect it has when heard more often, and this work made a thrilling and electrifying impression'.³⁶ Mottl and Paumgartner also played an arrangement of the Andante and Scherzo movements of the Fourth Symphony at a *Wagner Society* concert in Vienna on 4 February 1880 and a piano arrangement of the first movement of the symphony later in the year just before Mottl left Vienna to take up the position of musical director of the court theatre in Karlsruhe.³⁷

36 From a report which appeared in *Die Presse*, 19 November 1879. There was a review of the same concert in the *Neue Wiener Zeitschrift für Musik* 1/6 (20 November 1879). See also Andrea Harrandt, 'Die Bruckner Klavieraufführungen im Wiener Akademischen Wagner-Verein', in *BJ* 1994/95/96 (Linz, 1997), 223-34, for an account of the two-piano performances of movements from Bruckner's symphonies in meetings of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society. There is an up-dated English translation of this article in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot, 2001), 317-27.

37 This second concert was on 7 October 1880. Theodor Helm wrote an enthusiastic review of the first concert in the *Neue Wiener Zeitschrift für Musik* 14 (10 February), 110. Mottl (1856-1911) remained at Karlsruhe until 1903 when he moved to Munich to become musical director at the Opera House and the Akademie der Tonkunst. He conducted at Bayreuth for the first time in 1886. For further information, see Oskar Kaul, 'Felix Mottl', *MGG* 9 (1961),

On the same day as the first of these concerts, an article entitled 'Anton Bruckner. Porträt eines Wiener Musikers' and signed 'C.B.', obviously someone who knew Bruckner well, appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung*. It touched on various aspects of his personality - his appearance which would lead one to suspect that he was either 'a younger relative of our present archbishop or a monastery cellarer travelling incognito' but certainly not 'one of the most richly endowed sons of St. Cecilia', his large appetite, his shyness which the writer attributed partly to the fact that he had spent many of his formative years 'in the seclusion of a monastery' and which came to light, for instance, when Bruckner was rehearsing his Third Symphony - and on his relationship with Wagner who had apparently promised to perform this particular work.³⁸ Recognition was slow in coming

col. 670, and Malcom Miller, 'Felix Mottl', *The New Grove*, Second Edition 17 (2001), 231-32. Hans Paumgartner (1844-1896) worked as a lawyer until 1880 but then embarked on a musical career. He was a répétiteur at the Vienna Opera and music critic for the *Wiener Zeitung* and its evening edition, the *Wiener Abendpost* from October 1880 until his death in May 1896, choosing to remain anonymous but using the musical signature *ff* during the first two years of his activities as a journalist. . In 1882 he married the famous opera singer, Rosa Papier. Paumgartner was a keen supporter of Bruckner but also had a high regard for Brahms and Hans Richter and was one of the few Viennese critics to retain an impartial critical stance during this period. See Clemens Höslinger, 'Kontroversen um Brahms, Richter und Bruckner. Zu den frühen (anonymen) Musikkritiken Hans Paumgartners (1880-1882)', in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre* (Vienna, 2009), 129-43 for a discussion of Paumgartner's role in the musical reception of Bruckner during the early 1880s.

38 Article in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, 4 February 1880. See Manfred Wagner, 'Bruckner in Wien', in *ABDS 2* (Graz, 1980), 41-44. Franz Scheder, *ABCtext*, 350 suggests that C.B. could be the initials for Cursch-Bühren, a Leipzig lawyer and music journalist who also wrote for the *Leipziger Tageblatt*.

but at least there were signs now that his work was being taken more seriously. Franz Liszt wrote to him at the end of March, saying that he had 'read the score of the D minor symphony with interest' and 'would not hesitate to recommend it enthusiastically to conductors of my

39 From Liszt's letter to Bruckner, dated Vienna, 30 March 1880. See HSABB I, 189; the original is in St. Florian. On 20 August Liszt wrote to Ludwig Bösendorfer (probably from Weimar), enclosing copies of the score and four-hand piano arrangement of Bruckner's Third Symphony, and asking him to return them to Bruckner and to reassure him that he had recommended the symphony to several conductors. See HSABB I, 191-92; the original is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde library.

40 On Sunday 6 June and Sunday 24 October. Bruckner recorded a 'very good performance' of the Mass, the gradual *Locus iste* and the offertory *Os justi* under his direction on 6 June in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1880*. See MVP I, 150 and 2, 133.

acquaintance'.³⁹

During 1880 there were two performances of the D minor Mass, with *Locus iste* as gradual and *Os justi* as offertory hymn, in the *Hofkapelle*.⁴⁰ Oddo Loidol, a young priest from Kremsmünster who was studying in Vienna at the time and attended Bruckner's lectures at the University, recalled that Hellmesberger was greatly impressed with the Mass. This is corroborated by the following testimonial which Hellmesberger supplied at Bruckner's request:

The great Mass (in D) written by Professor Anton Bruckner, the imperial court organist, can be described as a true masterwork. It is an inspired composition and a superb musical realisation of the text, and has never failed to make a great impression on all connoisseurs of music when it has been performed in the court chapel.⁴¹

Before the second performance in the *Hofkapelle* Bruckner wrote to Loidol, congratulating him on being received into holy orders in Kremsmünster and requesting that he ask the music director of the abbey to return the score of the Mass:

41 This testimonial is dated Vienna, 16 July 1880. See G-A IV/1, p.603. There is a copy (but not the original) in the ÖNB. For further information about Bruckner, Oddo Loidol (1858-1893) and Kremsmünster, see Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel/Basel, 1956), 734ff, 746-62; Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Rafael Loidols Theoriekolleg bei Bruckner 1879/80', in Othmar Wessely (ed), *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1975), 379-431; and P. Altman Pösch, 'Marginalien zum Thema Bruckner und Stift Kremsmünster', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.11 (June 2013), 6-8.

42 See *HSABB* 1,194 for this letter, dated Vienna, 17 October 1880; the original is in Kremsmünster abbey.

Be so good as to forward it to me yourself. This Mass is being performed more frequently now and is beginning to become unusually popular.⁴²

As in the previous year Bruckner's duties at the *Hofkapelle* kept him in Vienna until the middle of August. He stayed at St. Florian from 13 to 20 August. On 22 and 23 August he saw the Passion Play at Oberammergau. He then travelled to Switzerland, visiting Zurich and playing the organ in Zurich cathedral on 28 August. His itinerary took him next to Geneva (29 August), Chamonix (30 August - 4 September; including a trip to La Fléchère), back to Geneva where he played the organ in the cathedral (5 September), Lausanne (6 September), Freiburg where he played in the cathedral after a concert given by Eduard Vogt, the resident organist (7 September), Bern where he made a great impression on Dr. Jakob Mendel, the cathedral organist (8 September) and Lucerne (8-10 September). He returned to Linz by way of Munich and Salzburg on 11 September and spent the few remaining days of his vacation at St. Florian. In his diary he noted down some details of his journey, including the names of several young ladies who had attracted him. In Oberammergau he made the acquaintance of a 17-year-old girl called Maria Bartl who was one of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in the Passion Play and, on his return to Vienna he wrote to Maria several times. According to information given to Göllicherich by Henry Wright, these letters contained information about 'many of his musical works, his successes, ideas and projects'. Unfortunately, they have been lost, 'some of them as a result of fire damage, the rest destroyed by their recipient after her marriage.' Maria's husband, Josef Albrecht, who read all the letters before they were destroyed, confirmed that Bruckner was passionately in love!⁴³

43 See G-A IV/1, 611 for further information. Marie Bartl's name appears after Bruckner's reminiscences of his Swiss tour and just before the prayer entries (25 September 1880 - 9 April 1881) in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das*

Four of Maria's letters to Bruckner have survived, however. On 9 September 1880 she sent a photograph of herself with an accompanying postcard which included the following note from her mother, Lina Bartl, who apparently wanted something more permanent to result from the relationship:

It would be very fine... to have the good fortune to see my daughter at the side of such a worthy man. Youth and shyness on their own make life gloomy. Now, however [she will] have much better prospects as she is convinced that she is loved by such a man. A girl who has only attended the village school and lacks experience until she reaches maturity is not disposed to abandon herself and her love to the big wide world...⁴⁴

In a letter written two months later, on 7 November 1880, Maria thanked Bruckner for sending her his photograph and regretted that he had been ill. She was glad that his trip had been so successful and hoped to visit him in Vienna with her mother. One suspects that it was the mother who prompted some of the following words:

It gives me increasing pleasure and honour to be acquainted with, indeed to be admired by, such an important person, and the more I read your esteemed words, the more I am amazed. I reflect thoughtfully on the work with which the bride-to-be is occupied today as she has always been. I always have your dear picture very close to me...⁴⁵

The relationship came to a sudden end the following year. On 5 April 1881, Maria thanked Bruckner for the gift of a prayer-book and for sending

Studienjahr 1880. See MVP 1, 162 and 2, 138.

44 See HSABB 1, 192 for the texts of both letters; the originals are in St. Florian.

45 See HSABB I, 194-95 for the complete text of this letter; the original is in St. Florian. The illness referred to was a foot complaint which had confined Bruckner to bed for a few days at the end of September.

her a page from a newspaper which included an article about him. Although she would be happy for him to visit her in Oberammergau, she and her mother would prefer to come to Vienna.⁴⁶ In this letter, the final one to have survived, Maria also mentioned another play – ‘>Philippe Welser’ - in which she played a leading part.⁴⁷ While it would appear that Bruckner was genuinely very fond of Maria, both must have realised that marriage was out of the question. If Bruckner often felt out of place socially in the Austrian capital, what would an 18-year-old girl from a village in Germany have felt? And life with a 56-year-old man, now firmly set in his ways, would not have been a bed of roses!

Before embarking on his vacation trip, Bruckner learned that the Vienna *Männergesangverein* required a new assistant conductor. He wrote to Eduard Kremser, the chief conductor, offering his services:

I have learned that the assistant choirmaster of the Vienna Male Voice Society is to be appointed in October. You are probably not aware that I was director of the *Frohsinn* choir in Linz at one time. When I conducted the choir in a performance of Kücken’s >*Wachet auf* at a special festival in Nuremberg in 1862 I received the highest praise from Herbeck among others. Although I have never sought to push myself at any time in my life, I am making this approach to you now as I know that you are well disposed towards me and an important supporter of my music. Should there be a possibility of obtaining the position of second choirmaster, I ask you sincerely to give serious consideration to this request and application for the post. If there is no possibility, please treat this letter with confidentiality so that it does not become public knowledge needlessly. In a few days I am going to Upper Austria, St. Florian and then Switzerland...⁴⁸

46 See HSABB 1, 198 for the text of this letter; the original is in St. Florian.

47 See G-A IV/1, 613 and Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 195 for information about another letter written in June. This does not appear in HSABB 1 and is presumably lost.

48 See HSABB 1, 190-91 for the full text of this letter, dated Vienna, 9 August 1880; the

Bruckner was unsuccessful in his rather unorthodox application for the post. To his dismay, what he had hoped would remain private became public. His request for discretion was not heeded. In October he wrote again to Kremser, asking if at least he could be allowed to rehearse *Germanenzug* with the choir as a guest conductor:

Since the beginning of the school year I have been suffering from a foot complaint and have had to spend a week in bed already. I heard on several occasions that, unfortunately, I have no hope at all of obtaining the position in your Society - you are the best judge of that. If Herbeck was alive he would say what kind of choir director I am; (it is well known in Linz and in the *Akademischer Gesangverein*, with which I rehearsed *Germanenzug* four years ago, how thoroughly I prepare a piece.)

I have already let it be known what Herbeck said to me about this a few weeks before his death and on many other occasions.

In order to salvage some honour, I beg you to agree to this request that I be allowed to rehearse my *Germanenzug* just on one occasion. It would never enter my head (as I said in my previous letter) to push myself, and I do not begrudge anyone the position. But as my name has been mentioned in the papers and I have to put up with a lot of vexation, I would like at least, with your influential help, to regain some self-respect by being allowed to rehearse my *Germanenzug* once. I wish to reiterate my original request that my name be never mentioned on any future occasion if there is absolutely no hope for me.

You know very well that I have little success in Vienna. As God wills! Depending on and trusting in you...⁴⁹

Nothing came of Bruckner's request. Kremser and his male voice choir

original is in private possession. Eduard Kremser (1838-1914) succeeded Johann Herbeck as choirmaster of the Vienna Männergesangverein in 1869 and was director of the Gesellschaft concerts from 1878 to 1880.

49 See HSABB 1, 193 for this letter, dated Vienna, 2 October 1880; the original is in the ÖNB.

were among the composer's staunchest advocates throughout the 1880s and 1890s, however.

In 1880 Bruckner began to receive a regular income for his Harmony and Counterpoint lectures at the University. Initially he was given a special payment of 800 florins by the Ministry of Education on 30 June as a remuneration for the 1879-80 lectures.⁵⁰ Five months later, on 28 November, he was informed by Dr. Conrad Eybesfeld, Minister of Education and Culture, that his formal request on 13 November for a fixed annual salary had been approved and that he would receive henceforth 800 florins per annum, to be paid in two six-monthly instalments. This was confirmed by the board of the Faculty of Philosophy on 16 December.⁵¹

Bruckner's diary entries for the year - in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1880* - contain more frequent references to migraine headaches. He attended several balls in the Carnival season (February/March) and, as usual, noted down the names of ladies with whom he had danced. In August, the entries '8000 Meilen von der 1ten Menschen' and 'Tegetthoff' refer to the Austrian expedition to the North Pole in the years 1872-74, Tegetthoff being the name of the expedition ship. There are the names of private pupils, including a new one, Christian Ehrenfels,⁵² and, under January, Gustav Mahler's address: '4. Bez. Floragasse N 7 Florabad 4. Stiege 3. Stock.'⁵³

50 This was in response to a request formally made by Bruckner on 23 June. The original of the letter from the Ministry of Culture and Education is in the ÖNB.

51 See G-A IV/1, 619 and Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner* (Mainz, 1983), 142-43.

52 See MVP 1, 149-52 and MVP 2, 132-34. For further details of Christian Ehrenfels (1859-1932) who later became a distinguished psychologist, particularly in the area of Gestalt psychology, see Erich Wolfgang Partsch, 'Christian von Ehrenfels – Ein Schüler Bruckners', in *Studien & Berichte* 70 (June 2008), 13-18.

53 On 27 April, Bruckner wrote to Mahler, saying that he had something important to discuss with him and Krzyzanowski and asking them to meet him at the Conservatory in the early evening or later at the Zum roten Igel inn. The original is not available, but there is a copy in

Bruckner's compositional activities during the year included further work on Symphony no. 6 and a third Finale for Symphony no. 4. Dates in the autograph of Symphony no. 6 indicate that Bruckner began work on the first movement on 24 September 1879, was still working on it on 9 June 1880 and completed it on 27 September while 'lying in bed with a foot complaint'; the second movement was also completed in sketch form two months later - at the University on 22 November - and composition of the Scherzo / Trio was finished in mid-December.⁵⁴ The revised Finale of Symphony no. 4 was begun on 19 November 1879 and completed on 5 June 1880. The first three movements of the symphony were performed at the end of 1880 / beginning of 1881 at two rehearsal evenings of the Conservatory student orchestra, the first conducted by Hellmesberger, the second by Bruckner himself. Josef Venantius von Wöss was present at both rehearsals and related that Hellmesberger, who led the viola section in the second rehearsal, played the viola theme in the Andante movement so beautifully that Bruckner embraced him afterwards.⁵⁵

A comparison between the first (1874) and second (1878-80) versions of Symphony no. 4 reveals several changes in details of scoring and a more rigorous handling of structure in the latter. Reduction in length goes hand in hand with a much more concise presentation of material. While the Finale is longer than the '>'1878' version, it is still 75 bars shorter than the original Finale. The most striking addition is the quotation of the main theme of the Scherzo at the beginning which establishes an obvious connection with the previous movement.

the Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft, Sammlung Ernst Rosé. Bruckner was a subscriber to the *Nordpolfahrer* magazine and was extremely interested in the Austrian polar expedition. See MVP 1, 144-64 and MVP 2, 122-39.

54 The autograph of Symphony no. 6 is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 19.478.

55 See G-A IV/1, 631. Wöss (1863-1943) later worked for Universal Edition and was responsible for editing several of Bruckner's compositions.

1881 began well for Bruckner. On 2 February his D minor Mass was sung once again in the *Hofkapelle*, with the 1861 *Ave Maria* and *Locus iste* as the gradual and offertory motets respectively. A few days before this, on 27 January, Bruckner was elected an honorary member of the *Akademischer Wagner-Verein*,⁵⁶ and his Fourth Symphony was performed by the Vienna Philharmonic on 20 February as part of a benefit concert sponsored by the *Wagner-Verein* on behalf of the recently founded *Deutscher Schulverein* (German School Association). The concert began with Beethoven's *King Stephen* overture and also included Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 4, in which Hans von Bülow was the soloist, and von Bülow's own symphonic poem, *Des Sängers Fluch*.⁵⁷ While von Bülow was well known to the Viennese concertgoers as a fine pianist and his interpretation of Beethoven's concerto was admired, his symphonic poem made little impression. Bruckner's symphony, on the other hand, elicited an enthusiastic response from the audience. The critical response was mixed, ranging from Eduard Kremser's warm appreciation of Bruckner's compositional skill in *Vaterland* to Max Kalbeck's scathing review in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*.

56 This is the date given in G-A IV/1, 630 and Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner*, 144; but 22 January 1885 is probably a more reliable date. See Hellmut Kowar, '>Vereine für die Neudeutschen in Wien', in *BSL* 1984 (Linz, 1986), 83 and 89; Andrea Harrandt, '>Bruckner und das Erlebnis Wagner', in *Mitteilungsblatt der IBG* 38 (1992), 12.

57 In a letter to an unnamed person (possibly a reviewer for the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*), however, Richter made it clear that his '>fellow musicians' in the Philharmonic had not rejected the Fourth (implied in a report in the paper on 13 February). There had simply been a difference of opinion between those who argued that it would be better to perform only part of the symphony and those who considered that it should be played in its entirety. The text of this letter, which is in the *Wiener Philharmoniker Archiv*, ÖNB, can be found in Imogen Fellinger, '>Brahms' und Bruckners Verhältnis zu ihren Interpreten', in *BSL* 1983 (Linz, 1985), 86, Otto Biba, '>Eine Miscelle zur Uraufführung von Bruckners 4. Symphonie', in *Mitteilungsblatt der IBG* 26 (1985), 27 and HSABB I, 195-96. The paper printed a correction of the original report on 15 February. It was five years later, on the occasion of a rehearsal of Bruckner's Fourth in the summer of 1886, that von Bülow allegedly described Bruckner as '>half genius, half imbecile.' See Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, '>Halb Genie, halb Trottel', in *Mitteilungsblatt der IBG* 55 (December 2000), 21-24.

Kremser's review must have been particularly gratifying to read, and Bruckner was no doubt reassured that lack of success in his application for an assistant choirmaster's post the previous year was not the result of any animosity on Kremser's part. Bruckner was so delighted with the review that he mentioned it, as well as another review in the *Vorstadt-Zeitung* which had been sent to him, when writing to Father Ernst Klinger in Taufkirchen on 11 March.⁵⁸

In his review, which is not specifically about the Fourth Symphony, Kremser makes a distinction between Bruckner the unremarkable, unassuming person and Bruckner the outstanding organist and composer:

... There is nothing outwardly brilliant about Bruckner, nothing charismatic, hardly anything winsome; on the contrary, he is not only an unassuming but also a very humble person. He is an outstanding organist - one of the best there is - but attaches very little importance to this fact. With all his modesty and humility, however, he is filled with a great self-assurance. It has been related to me that, on being asked why he did not give any organ concerts, his reply was '>my fingers will be buried, but what they write will not be buried!' That is a profound remark, but not unjustified. And while it presupposes rather strongly that there will be a future response, there is no doubt that Bruckner has the right to give greater prominence to his activities in the area of composition than many other more famous people.

Bruckner is the Schubert of our time. There is such a flow of invention in his works and one idea follows another in such a way as to cause one truly to marvel at their abundance; one ought not to be in the least surprised, however, that he has not yet found the most suitable setting for such a great number of precious stones. The excellent organist, a product of the old contrapuntal school, would not find it difficult to move just as

58 See HSABB 1, 197; location of original unknown. First printed in ABB, 154. See also HSABB 1, 196 for a letter to Josef Thiard-Laforest (1841-1897), conductor of the Linz Musikverein at the time, in which he asks him to make sure that his friends in Linz are informed of the success of the performance of the symphony and recommends certain reviews. The letter is dated Vienna, 2 March 1881; location of original unknown; first published in the *Preßburger Zeitung*, 18 March 1897.

easily within the conventional forms and express himself just as precisely in them as many other composers for whom technical mastery of these very forms is the be all and end all. Bruckner is simply struggling for a new form, but as yet the struggler by no means gives the impression of being victorious. The one who strives never produces the pleasant picture of something finished and complete. He always appears to be in a state of continual development, and the bold pioneer is regarded all too frequently as a mere student in the eyes of the faint-hearted who have no understanding of the excellence of such a process. This is why many treat him as a mere imitator of Wagner. There is little truth in this, and it is perhaps even less true of him than it is of the composer who believes that he is completely free and independent of Richard Wagner's direction. What is important when it is a question of the independence of an artist? Pride of place is probably given to the originality of ideas. Now I would like to get to know any contemporary composer who possesses more inventive directness or originality of ideas than Anton Bruckner! I hope that such a composer will be born soon. Today at least he is not yet moving among us, preaching his wisdom in the streets. Bruckner is a Wagnerian but just in the same way as Wagner is a Beethovenian or Beethoven a Mozartian, and certainly not in any other sense. He works with themes and motives of his own invention and, at the same time, avails himself of all those developments in the areas of modulation, motivic combination and thematic organization as well as instrumentation which have been promoted in music of our time. Is one, therefore, a mere imitator because one makes use of what has been handed down and inherited from earlier? It is only a question of how this happens, whether one employs the material which has been handed down in an original manner. And Bruckner has assuredly done the latter more than any other contemporary composer; he sings his own song, he plays on his own instrument. He has something of his own to impart to the world, and it is only to be wished that he would have more frequent opportunities of doing so than has been the case up to now. If only Herbeck was alive! But Bruckner can wait. There are already a few who are able to appreciate him, and what he writes will not be buried with him.⁵⁹

59 From the review in *Vaterland*, 3 March 1881; see G-A IV/1, 637-40 for the original German text.

Contrast the above with Kalbeck's review. Kalbeck begins by describing the symphony as '>the work of a child with the powers of a giant.' He continues:

... A young Hercules who strangles two snakes in his cradle would perhaps compose music in a similar fashion. Unfortunately, however, this boisterous child is a professional musician of mature years who is universally admired as an experienced theoretician and excellent organist. Indeed, if the innocent old man was still an inexperienced youth who, in his natural naivety and touching ignorance of human affairs, was blindly following the impulse of his impetuous will and was making music come what may, unconcerned about God and the world, we would add our voices to the enthusiastic cries of his admirers and rejoice, '>Behold, a new Beethoven. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!' There is no doubt about Bruckner's musical talent; he demonstrates it brilliantly in many places in the symphony. But he does not organize or control this precious possession in the correct manner. He thinks it is inexhaustible and throws it out of the window with both hands; consequently he starves afterwards. He also lacks the ability to judge size and measure distance; he reaches for the sun in order to kindle the little fire in his hearth and hurls a spear at a mosquito. The four movements of his work are a veritable symphony-tetralogy and each on its own is sufficient to kill off an unprepared orchestra. The disorder of a study, in which everything is in a muddle and only the head of the house can just about feel his way, governs the musical physiognomy of the work. It is precisely those ideas that are the most feeble and ordinary which are spun out endlessly and repeated *ad nauseam*, while those that are truly original and worthwhile are shunted on one side without any attention being paid to them. A Richard Wagner in reverse who does not know the limit of his capabilities and searches for them most eagerly in those places where they are least likely to be found! Bruckner over-values his inventive powers one moment and his creative ability the next. He likes to make good his weaknesses not with strengths but with new weaknesses. If he were to understand, like Wagner, how to make virtues out of his deficiencies, he would perhaps be a great symphonist and it would not be necessary for us today to

describe his work as a failure for the most part. Bruckner either pays no attention to or is unaware of the important rule which applies just as much to artists as to diplomats - to remain silent at the right time. He has so much to say to us and would rather say it all at the one time. As this is out of the question in spite of timpani, trombones, horns and trumpets, he goes as far afield as possible, makes continual digressions, repeats himself countless times, gets entangled in muddled contradictions and just cannot stop. These characteristics are combined with an aura of mystical profundity which Bruckner has in common with many gifted people. It is noticeable that there is nothing false or pretentious about this, and that he has even at times provided a visionary glimpse into the heavenly heights and oceanic depths of music. And this gives his music an undeniable power over the public who will always prefer the most extravagant and intricate work of the visionary to the clear, comprehensible work of the many normal artists. We do not need to affirm that such a phenomenon is also of far greater interest to us than a dozen dull Kapellmeisters but, at the same time, we must not forget that one's interest in the pathological and personal outstrips one's interest in the aesthetic and technical.

It would be very tempting to discuss details of the work, insofar as it offers us abundance of material for critical comment and detailed study. As we must beware of making the same mistake as Bruckner and of not knowing when to stop, we will content ourselves with a few observations and add the following details - that the symphony gives the impression of being a music drama without text, that the first movement is by far the most substantial and significant, and that the overall structure as regards instrumentation, atmosphere and mood, as well as individual phrases and details, is clearly reminiscent of Wagner. >'Lohengrin', >'Dutchman', >'Valkyrie' and >'Twilight of the Gods' have all been actively involved although there is no recognizable thematic influence. The Philharmonic under Hans Richter really worked wonders in performing the symphony which lasted a whole hour and kept everyone in suspense. They were largely responsible for the extraordinary success enjoyed by the composer who was applauded several times after each movement.⁶⁰

60 From the review in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 February 1881; see G-A IV/1, 641-45 for text.

Writing in the *Neue freie Presse*, Hanslick mentioned the successful performance of the symphony very briefly in the edition of the paper for 22 February. Five days later, he provided a more thorough review of von Bülow's symphonic poem, but had very little to say about Bruckner's work:

Today we can only add that we are truly pleased that this work which we do not totally understand has been successful, if only for the sake of the composer, a worthy and pleasant man.⁶¹

An article written by Wilhelm Frey and entitled '>'Musical Exception' was much more positive. With hindsight, however, we realise that Bruckner was not as '>'helpless' and '>'uncommonly naïve' as Frey suggested:

Anton Bruckner, whose E flat major symphony was presented or, rather, played to a large unprejudiced audience for their judgment the day before yesterday, is a very strange phenomenon. As a productive artist he does not belong to any clique and has absolutely no idea of all the external procedures of what might be called social structure. As helpless as a child and uncommonly naïve, he does not care what the world thinks and says about him but always has a pencil ready to put his ideas down on paper. This man has to compose and everything else must take second place. Like Schubert he has an inner creative urge. He also shares with this prince in the realm of music, however, the fatal characteristic of not knowing when to stop. In spite of this, namely a certain lack of moderation in the outpouring of his musical feelings, his achievements both as a composer and as a performer are astonishing. On one occasion several years ago when an organ competition was arranged in the Josefstadt church to find the artist who most deserved to go to the International Organ Contest [sic] in London, Bruckner was given a theme - only five bars' long - on which he was expected to improvise variations and a fugue. He began without delay to develop the short theme given to him by Gottfried Preyer. The piece

61 From the review in the *Neue freie Presse*, 27 February 1881; see G-A IV/1, 646.

grew and grew to undreamt-of proportions and all the listeners were enthralled. Each player was allotted a certain time, but Bruckner had already played twice or three times longer than he should have. The adjudicators approached the organ and reminded him, at first quietly and then more and more insistently, that the time had come to finish but, lost in the labyrinth of his world of sound, he was deaf to all their exhortations. He knew that he should not play any longer and he knew that he was jeopardising his chances of success by exceeding the time limit in this manner, but there was no way of persuading him to vacate the organ bench. He had made the theme his own and it had to be thoroughly explored. And when he had well and truly exhausted the thematic and fugal possibilities after about twenty-five minutes, he got up without speaking. His face expressed only one thing: '>'I have nothing more to say. Now do with me what you will.'

Bruckner the composer is exactly the same. He writes a four-movement symphony... and is not concerned whether the work will ever be performed or even be published. He writes this symphony and thinks to himself, '>'Now you can do with me what you will.' The Symphony in E flat is a work whose importance should not be under-estimated. Bruckner is not always able to keep within the bounds of absolute beauty and he frequently sins against the capability of instruments, wind instruments in particular. He often offends our sense of instrumental colour and commits the more reprehensible mistake of not being able to stop at the right time. But this musical heart contains such an abundance of new ideas and this mind effervesces with so many new combinations that one never tires of following them and continually laments that this wealth is so prodigal. The first movement, which begins so auspiciously with the horn motive, seems to me to be the most unified and the most richly endowed. Although one could fill an entire symphony with the numerous ideas which are accumulated in this movement, it is the only one to fuse everything together pliantly into a whole and to lead to a satisfying artistic and musical conclusion. The second movement is already somewhat weaker in its organization of individual motives and there is a disturbing amount of surface glitter. The same could be said of the third movement, a kind of portrayal of a hunt scene, and the fourth movement which is probably the weakest. Nevertheless, there is no denying the abundance of brilliant ideas. But one is aware of a certain lack of feeling for a healthy organism, and if

it was conceivable that a type of anthology could be made from this mass of pictures, one could then really begin to enjoy the work.⁶²

In an article in the *Wiener Abendpost*, Dr. Hans Paumgartner made the surprising statement, in view of the thematic link between the third and fourth movements, that the final movement 'does not appear to us to belong organically to the preceding three. It is a symphonic poem in itself to which we would give the name "The Last Judgment"'. Paumgartner concluded that, as a result of Bruckner's success, he was now 'one of our most important composers' and 'part of our artistic common property.'⁶³

An unsigned article in the *Signale für die musikalische Welt* made further reference to the prodigality of musical ideas in the symphony:

... The concert... ended with a new unpublished symphony by Anton Bruckner. It is the sixth symphony written by this very gifted and highly esteemed court organist in whom the compulsion to write for large forces has a volcanic effect and frequently prevents him from achieving the necessary consistent and logical structure. Another composer would have sufficient material for innumerable symphonies with half of these brilliant ideas. In Bruckner's case it does not need to be underlined that the instrumentation is full of interesting details and can be both powerful and gentle. The first and third movements, the latter a type of hunt rhapsody, proved to be the most comprehensible.⁶⁴

Although the critical reviews were mixed,⁶⁵ Bruckner received a great

62 From article entitled 'Musikalischer Ausnahmefall' in the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*, 22 February 1881.

63 This article appeared in the *Wiener Abendpost* on 23 February. It is quoted in part in G-A IV/1, 650 and more fully in Rolf Keller, 'Das "amerikanische Ehrendoktorat" für Anton Bruckner', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 90.

64 From *Signale für die musikalische Welt* (March 1881), 341. Mentioned in G-A IV/1, 650-51 and quoted more fully in Rudolf Louis, *Anton Bruckner* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1918), 311.

65 See also G.W. Gruber, 'Brahms und Bruckner in der zeitgenössischen Wiener

deal of encouragement and support from his pupils, present and past, and from genuine admirers of his work, among whom were no doubt some of the Philharmonic players who were his colleagues on the Conservatory staff.⁶⁶ One particular admirer was Marie Lorenz, Krzyzanowski's sister-in-law, who presented him with some flowers after the concert and received a belated letter of thanks from the composer in April. Frau Lorenz later recalled Bruckner's 'touchingly beautiful and charming letter', her own enthusiasm for his music at a time when it was still largely misunderstood, and her impressions of a man who found it difficult to trust others but, when his guard was down, would talk at length about his early experiences.⁶⁷

The tentative beginnings of Bruckner's recognition as a composer outside Austria were made with his Fourth Symphony later in the year. In the autumn Franz Schalk, who had just finished his studies at the Conservatory, began his distinguished career as a violinist in the Karlsruhe orchestra.⁶⁸

Musikkritik', in *BSL* 1983 (Linz, 1985), 204 and 215 for reference to Theodor Helm's review in the *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 8,55 (20 February); Ingrid Fuchs, 'Bruckner und die österreichische Presse', in *BSL* 1991 (Linz, 1994), 92, note 46 for reference to Franz Gehring's review in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (22 February); Rolf Keller, loc.cit., 90 for text of Ludwig Speidel's review in *Fremdenblatt* (26 February). On 18 February Bruckner wrote to Gehring, who was a lecturer in Mathematics at Vienna University as well as being a music critic, asking for a 'favourable' and 'lenient' reaction to the symphony! Gehring was not usually well-disposed towards the composer. See *HSABB* 1, 196; the original of this letter is in Bonn University Library.

66 See Andreas Lindner, 'Die Uraufführung der Vierten Symphonie Anton Bruckner aus dem Blickwinkel der Blechbläser der Wiener Philharmoniker', in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre* (Vienna, 2009), 187-218. Lindner fills in some important historical background – an overview of brass performance practice in 19th-century Vienna, details of the instruments used and the characteristic sound they produced – and supplies some brief biographies of the brass players who were or may have been involved in the 1881 performance and of the Conservatory teachers who would have taught them.

67 For Bruckner's letter to Marie Lorenz, dated Vienna, 23 April 1881, see *HSABB* 1, 199; the location of the original is unknown; it was first published in *ABB*, 153-54. See *G-A IV/1*, 654-56 for her reminiscences of Bruckner.

68 Franz Schalk (1863-1931) was music director in Reichenberg (1888-1890), Graz (1890-95), Prague (1895-98) and Berlin (1898-1900) before returning to Vienna in 1900 where he was involved with the Opera until his death. See Hans Jancik, 'Franz Schalk', *MGG* 11 (1963), cols. 1546-47, Deryck Cooke, 'Franz Schalk', *The New Grove*, Second Edition, 22 (2001), 436, and Thomas Leibnitz, 'Franz Schalk – ein Brucknerjünger der ersten Stunde', in

Correspondence between the Schalk brothers towards the end of the year indicates that Franz had persuaded Felix Mottl to perform Bruckner's Fourth Symphony in Karlsruhe. On 31 October, Franz renewed an earlier request to Josef to '>send the E flat major symphony as soon as possible.'⁶⁹

The following day Franz wrote again to Josef, expressing his surprise that Bruckner seemed to be reluctant to part with the work:

I am surprised that Bruckner will not let the symphony out of his sight, as we were entrusted with it in the first place and I certainly knew what I was looking after. You can tell him that the performance was fixed originally for 14 December. Perhaps that will persuade him.

Mottl is certainly thinking seriously about performing it. See what you can do...⁷⁰

Later in the month Franz told his brother that he had suggested to Mottl that he make a personal approach to Bruckner and that the symphony had now arrived.⁷¹ Bruckner wrote to Mottl on 23 November, enclosing a score of the symphony and advising him of a change he had made, presumably since the Vienna performance:

IBG Mitteilungsblatt 'Studien& Berichte' 96 (July 2021), 5-12.

69 Josef Schalk (1857-1900), Franz's brother, was a piano professor in the Vienna Conservatory from 1884 until his death. He was artistic director of the Wagner Society from 1877 and was extremely active in arousing public awareness of both Bruckner's and Hugo Wolf's music. Wolf's *Eichendorff-Lieder* were dedicated to the Schalk brothers. See Hans Jancik, 'Josef Schalk', *MGG* 11 (1963), col. 1547. The Schalk correspondence is located in the ÖNB. The shelf no. of the letter dated 31 October is F18 Schalk 158/3/2. Some of the correspondence is printed in Lili Schalk, Franz Schalk. *Briefe und Betrachtungen mit einem Lebensabriss von Viktor Junk (FSBB)* (Vienna-Leipzig: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1935). For a more comprehensive study of the correspondence, see Thomas Leibnitz, *Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner (LBSAB)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988).

70 From letter dated Karlsruhe, 1 November 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/3 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 44.

71 From letter dated Karlsruhe, 28 November 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/4 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 44.

Here it is. The Finale is new. Please observe the cut (that is, in the Finale). I have enclosed an obligatory new period (in the full score only, at letter O in the Finale). If you should so wish, have it written in the parts at my expense.

Be so good as to ensure that the page is not lost. I will have it inserted in the parts later if you do not do it yourself.

Send it back soon *post festum*.

I am delighted; you are a genuinely true and great German artist! If the symphony is performed well, please send a report to Dr. Hans Kleser, Köln am Rhein, Zeughausstrasse 12, the editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. My love to Herr Schalk.

My Quintet in the *Wagner-Verein* had a huge success. Dr Schönaich sends you his greetings. Please take care of my poor child!...⁷²

At the beginning of the following month Josef enquired about the symphony, also mentioning that Bruckner had begun to write his Seventh Symphony >'which, according to what I have heard, will be one of his most splendid works.'⁷³ In his reply Franz informed his brother that the Fourth would be performed the following Saturday in the third subscription concert and that he and Mottl would provide Bruckner with a full report of what they hoped would be a successful performance.⁷⁴ But this was not to be. Franz began writing his next letter to Josef after the first inadequate rehearsal of the symphony on 6 December when Mottl had difficulties with the orchestra. He continued his letter on 10 December, the day of the performance. Franz was now convinced that the symphony would make no

72 See *HSABB* 1, 202-03 for this letter, dated Vienna, 23 November 1881; the original is in private possession. It was first published in *ABB*, 155. Hans Kleser had written a short article on Bruckner in the *Neue Musikzeitung*, Cologne, 1880/ 2, but was not able to persuade Ferdinand Hiller, the conductor of the Cologne orchestra, to perform the symphony; see *G-A* IV/1, 652-53.

73 Letter from Josef to Franz, dated Vienna, 2 December 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/9 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 45-6.

74 Letter from Franz to Josef, dated Karlsruhe, 5 December 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/6 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 44-45.

impact. Even Mottl seemed to have lost interest:

In the meantime I have become so convinced that today's performance of Bruckner's symphony will be a failure that I do not know how we can break this news to Bruckner. The orchestra is not able to meet his requirements. Unfortunately it does not want to either... Mottl conducts nonchalantly and is really only performing the symphony because he is afraid to send it back unplayed. He is of the opinion that the symphony has great weaknesses. I countered briefly, '>'but much greater strengths!' May God be with Bruckner. His time has not yet come...⁷⁵

Unfortunately, Franz's worst fears were realised:

...Bruckner's symphony was a complete flop... Much sadder is the fact that Mottl did not even begin to understand Bruckner's genius. He conducted with a smug expression. His tempi caused the gentle motives to become banal. The very intricate thematic working was unclearly executed and eluded the listeners. It pains me to write any more about it and I am bitterly disappointed that I should have encouraged Mottl to give a performance which has done more harm than good... You must conceal the failure of the symphony from Bruckner as well as you can; it would only depress him to hear that one of his most easily understood works had been unanimously given the thumbs down. Hardly a pair of hands moved in the entire hall...⁷⁶

The symphony was the final work to be performed in a typically varied programme. It was preceded by Cherubini's overture to *The Water Carriers*, an aria by Haydn, songs by Schubert and Schumann and Gade's Violin Concerto. The critical reviews in the local press were mixed. The reviewer

75 Letter from Franz to Josef, begun 6 December and completed 10 December 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/5 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 46-47.

76 Letter from Franz to Josef, dated Karlsruhe, 13 December 1881; F18 Schalk 158/3/7 in the ÖNB. See also *LBSAB*, 48-49.

for the *Badische Landeszeitung* had very little of a positive nature to say about the work, lamenting its '>lack of inspiration', '>dearth of ideas' and '>scanty intellectual content', and asking Mottl, '>the tireless, highly talented and skilful conductor' to consider seriously how dangerous it was to make unreasonable demands on the '>good taste of the public' by performing *Die Meistersinger* one day and the '>post-mortem of a musical corpse' the next. The reviewer for the *Karlsruher Zeitung* was more constructive in his criticism, recognizing Bruckner's reputation as an organist and theoretician and his great talent as a composer. While Bruckner's '>feeling for instrumental colour' and '>understanding of large-scale symphonic style' were evident in the work, there was a lack of overall clarity and unity and '>some clumsiness in structure and instrumentation.' If he harnessed his inventive powers and technical resources correctly, he would be able to produce a '>quite outstanding work' in the future.⁷⁷

There is no indication that Bruckner was unduly perturbed about the reception of his symphony. The Schalk brothers were apparently successful in their attempts to '>conceal the failure of the symphony' from him. In addition, he was probably still recovering from the shock of being dangerously close to the fire which destroyed the Ring Theatre on 8 December and threatened his apartment in the Hessgasse.

Earlier in the year Bruckner was involved in a concert with the *Akademischer Gesangverein*, sharing the rostrum with his friend Weinwurm and possibly appearing as an organ soloist as well. In a letter to an unnamed Kapellmeister he asked if it would be possible to hold a short

⁷⁷ From reviews in the *Badische Landeszeitung* (17 December) and *Karlsruher Zeitung* (16 December). See G-A IV/1, 681ff. for extracts from reviews. See also Andrea Harrandt, '>@'Ausgezeichneter Hofkapellmeister@ - Anton Bruckner an Felix Mottl. Zu Neuerwerbungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (Tutzing, 1993), 336 concerning a report of the performance in the *Linzer Tagespost* (20 December 1881).

rehearsal on the morning or afternoon of the concert.⁷⁸ Later in the year he had another opportunity of conducting the same choir in the first Viennese performance of *Mitternacht* on 7 December, the evening before the Ring fire. Just over a fortnight later, Bruckner improvised on the organ in the *Musikvereinssaal* as part of a special Christmas charity concert for orphan relief.⁷⁹

In May Bruckner began to write a choral work - the *Te Deum* WAB 45 - which would later help to establish his reputation as a composer both nationally and internationally. Early sketches of the work in Kremsmünster indicate that he completed preliminary work on 3 May and did further work on the choral parts until 17 May. Amand Loidol, the brother of Bruckner's former pupil Oddo who was now a priest in Kremsmünster, wrote to the latter on 19 May and mentioned that he had met Bruckner on several occasions:

... In his apartment he played through the new '>Te Deum', which has still to be written out in fair copy. Bruckner made use of its thematic material for the prelude which he played during the Easter Sunday service in Linz Cathedral. The Linz people, Brava etc., were astonished by his playing. Bruckner is still not able to send you the '>London music piece' because he still does not have it in his possession. Be patient.

As Bruckner has very little free time, you should excuse any delay in his writing to you or, perhaps, any failure to do so. He sends his best wishes and is delighted that things are going well for you.⁸⁰

78 See *HSABB* 1, 197 for this letter, dated Vienna, 18 March 1881; the original is owned privately. The '>Hochwohlgeborener H. Kapellmeister' is possibly Josef Hellmesberger. According to several sources, Bruckner's organ improvisation took place four days earlier. See Scheder, *ABC*Text, 370.

79 A report of this concert appeared in *Vaterland* on 24 December; see G-A IV/1, 687.

80 From letter quoted in G-A IV/1, 658-59. Max Brava (1845-1883) was director of the Linz Musikverein from 1874 and Alois Weinwurm's successor as chorus master of *Sängerbund* from 1879. The '>London music piece' is probably the Intermezzo from the String Quintet which Bruckner gave Hans Richter to take to London.

Bruckner spent a good part of his summer vacation at St. Florian. As usual it was a 'working holiday'. After attending the 7.30 am Mass he would work until midday. After a rest and, often, a walk in the abbey grounds, he would work again until the late afternoon. The Sixth Symphony was his main concern, but the Seventh Symphony was also taking shape in his mind. Indeed, the sketches of the Seventh were begun in Vienna on 23 September not long after his return from St. Florian.

At the beginning of a new Conservatory and University term, a group of young musicians organized by Josef Schalk rehearsed Bruckner's String Quintet at Schalk's apartment in the Jordangasse.⁸¹ Bruckner was invited to the final rehearsals and, after suggesting some tempo changes and other small alterations, declared himself to be very satisfied with their preparation. Both the final rehearsal, which was attended by a few invited critics including Hanslick, and the performance itself - part of a *Wagner Society* musical evening on 17 November - took place in the *Bösendorfersaal*. It has been suggested that the Finale was not performed because Bruckner had given the score of the Quintet, without having a copy made beforehand, to Hans Richter so that he could have it performed and/or printed in England, that Josef Schalk had to reconstruct the parts from his own piano-duet transcription in which only the first three movements were available, and that Bruckner had to reconstruct the Finale later from the original sketches. A letter from Bruckner to Josef Schalk a week after the performance rules this out, however:

Dear friend!

Please be good as to send me the score of the Quintet, the Finale in particular, as soon as possible. (I would

⁸¹ The musicians were Julius Winkler (1st violin), Carl Lillich (2nd violin), Hans Kreuzinger (1st viola), Franz Schalk (2nd viola) [later replaced by Desing] and Theodor Lucca (cello).

like to have made some alterations today.)⁸²

Leibnitz suggests that the Finale was not played because it made too many demands on both players and listeners and might have jeopardised the undertaking.⁸³ It is also possible (and the letter above would support this view) that Bruckner, after hearing the work at rehearsals, wished to make changes in the Finale and so held it back from performance. Five days later Josef Schalk received another letter from Bruckner, in which he was informed that the Finale was now ready.⁸⁴ Josef wrote to Franz about the performance and said that, while it left something to be desired, the dedication of the players had more than made up for any deficiencies.⁸⁵ As the performance was only a private one, there were practically no reviews. Eduard Kremser, writing in *Vaterland*, however, described it as an important piece, the Adagio being a movement '>'of the deepest feeling.' The reviewer was particularly gratified to observe how Bruckner's reputation as a composer was gradually increasing and was certain that he would finally attain the more widespread recognition that he deserved.⁸⁶

It was in an attempt to secure this more widespread recognition that Bruckner put the finishing touches to his Symphony no. 6 WAB 106 during the course of the year. The main sources of the work are the autograph score in the ÖNB and a copy of the score made by Franz Hlawaczek and with a dedication to Dr. Oelzelt von Newin and his wife Amy which can be

82 See *HSABB* 1, 202 for this letter, dated Vienna, 23 November 1881; the original is in the ÖNB. See also G-A IV/1, 678, footnote 2.

83 See *LBSAB*, 42.

84 See *LBSAB*, 42 for this letter dated Vienna, 28 November 1881; F18 Schalk 151/ 2 in the ÖNB.

85 See *FSBB*, 39-40 for this letter dated Vienna, 24 November 1881.

86 Review dated 25 December 1881; reprinted in G-A IV/1, 679-80.

found in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* library.⁸⁷

Dates in the autograph indicate different stages of completion - the first movement was finished in Vienna on 27 September 1880 while Bruckner was in bed suffering from a foot complaint (>'im Bette fusskr. liegend'), the second movement was finished at the University on 22 November 1880, the third movement was finished at the University on 17 January 1881, and the sketches of the Finale were completed on 28 June, the string parts were written out by 4 July and the whole was finished in St. Florian on 3 September. 60 years ago Nowak wrote that the symphony undeservedly >'lagged behind the others in popularity', no doubt because of various alterations which were made in the first edition without Bruckner's sanction.⁸⁸ Today, in spite of its '>verve, happy melodiousness and majestic rhythms',⁸⁹ the work has still not attained the popularity of,

87 The shelf nos. of the autograph score in the ÖNB and the copy score in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde are Mus. Hs. 19.478 and XIII 37.730 respectively. See also Leopold Nowak, *ABSW VI Revisionsbericht* (1986), 49-50 for a complete list of sources, including two which came to light since the Haas (1935) edition of the score, namely another copy of the score (Mus. Hs. 34.612) and the proofs (Mus. Hs. 29.131) in the ÖNB. Nowak also had an opportunity of consulting the copy used for engraving when preparing his edition of Symphony no. 6 (*ABSW VI*) in 1952. This is no longer extant. There is a facsimile of two pages from the Scherzo in the autograph between pages 664 and 665 in G-A IV/1, and of a page from the Finale in the autograph in *ABSW VI Revisionsbericht*, 53. See also *HSABB* 1 1, 205 and 207 for two letters from Bruckner to Josef Maria Kaiser in Linz, dated Vienna, 6 February and 3 May 1882 respectively. Bruckner asked Kaiser to engrave the dedication page of the score and was delighted with the result. The originals of both letters are in the ÖNB.

88 Leopold Nowak, *ABSW VI* (1952), foreword. The symphony was first printed by Doblinger (D. 2300) in 1899. See also Georg Göhler, '>Wichtige Aufgaben der Musikwissenschaft gegenüber Anton Bruckner', in *ZfMw* 1(1919), 293, in which the Sixth Symphony is described as a typical example of inaccuracies and inconsistencies which had crept into the scores of Bruckner's works. For more recent discussion, see Harry Halbreich, '>Bruckners Sechste: kein Stiefkind mehr', in *BSL* 1982 (Linz, 1983), 85-92; Rudolf Stephan, '>In und Jenseits der Tradition', in *ÖMZ* li/1 (January 1996), 27-32; Benjamin M. Korstvedt, '>@'Harmonic Daring@ and Symphonic Design in Anton Bruckner's Sixth Symphony (An Essay in Historical Analysis)', in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot, 2001), 185-205; Timothy L. Jackson, '>The Adagio of the Sixth Symphony and the Anticipatory Tonic Recapitulation in Bruckner, Brahms and Dvorák', *ibid.*, 206-27; Julian Horton, '>Bruckner and the Symphony Orchestra', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner* (Cambridge, 2004), 141-55, *GaultNB*, 106-07, and *CarraganRB*, 141-45.

89 Leopold Nowak, *loc.cit.*

say, the Third, Fourth and Seventh Symphonies, but it certainly makes more frequent appearances in concert programmes than hitherto. It is both shorter and much more compact structurally than the works on either side of it, namely the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, but there is no corresponding decrease in the wealth of thematic invention.

As Nowak points out in his foreword to the '>2nd revised edition' of the F minor Mass, Bruckner made some changes in the autograph of the *Credo* movement in 1881 which '>stand out very well against the brown of the original handwriting' because they were inserted in black ink.⁹⁰ Some bars were cut but others were added or doubled by repetition. These changes are part of Bruckner's own re-thinking of the work between 1868 and 1893 which included 'structural >scrutinization' in 1876, a few instrumental changes in 1877 and further small but significant alterations in the early 1890s. It was Bruckner's young champion, Josef Schalk, who was largely responsible for the more extensive changes which were later incorporated in the first edition and which, in Hawkshaw's words, constitute an '>arrangement' of the work rather than an officially sanctioned revision.⁹¹

Bruckner's *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1882* contains a reference to the fire which burned down the Ring Theatre and killed 386 people on 8 December 1881.⁹² Bruckner had a ticket for the opera but, when the programme was changed at the last minute to Offenbach's *Tales from Hoffmann*, he returned his ticket and went

90 See Nowak, foreword to *ABSW XVI* (1980), as well as Paul Hawkshaw's comments in his '>An anatomy of change: Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F minor', in *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), 19ff. The autograph of the Mass is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 2106.

91 See Hawkshaw, loc.cit., 31. Schalk's '>arrangement' was published by Doblinger (D.1866) in 1894. Schalk made use of Johann Noll's copy of the Mass (Mus. Hs. 29.302 in the ÖNB) which was specially prepared for performances of the work in the Hofkapelle during the 1880s. For further information about the Mass in F minor, see chapter 3, 108-116 and accompanying footnotes.

92 See *MVP 1*, 182 and *MVP 2*, 158. The diary contains entries for both 1881 and 1882.

to an evening service in the Schottenkirche instead. As his own apartment was very close to the theatre, he rushed back in a state of shock, fearing that his manuscripts - piled up high - would be burned. But the fire abated and Bruckner did not need to vacate his rooms. From that time onwards, however, he decided to discontinue using oil lamps, preferring candles. He wrote to his brother-in-law Johann Hueber in Vöcklabruck a few days later, no doubt to reassure him and his sister Rosalie that he was safe. He was still deeply affected, however, by the 'unspeakable suffering of so many people.'⁹³ Abbot Moser suggested that Bruckner spend Christmas at St. Florian to help him recover from the shock.⁹⁴

Still impelled by a desire to obtain recognition not only in Austria but beyond, Bruckner, no doubt recalling that Cambridge University and Breslau University had conferred an honorary doctorate upon Brahms in 1876 and 1879 respectively, decided to make a formal approach to the same university at the beginning of 1882 and asked Julius Wiesner, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Vienna University, to provide him with a reference:

In accordance with the wish of Mr. Anton Bruckner, imperial court organist, professor at the Conservatory of Music and lecturer at the University, the deanship testifies that the degree of Doctor of Music is not conferred by the University of Vienna or by any other Austrian university.

With reference to his application for the conferment of a Doctorate in Music by the University of Cambridge, it gives the

93 See *HSABB* I, 205 for the text of this postcard, dated Vienna, 11 December 1881; the original is in the Archiv der Stadt Linz. For more details of Bruckner's reaction, see his sister's comments as related to Göllerich in G-A IV/1, 684ff. Evidently he would have been at the theatre himself had it not been for a change to the programme. Richard Schönberger, the brother-in-law of Josef Vockner, one of his private pupils, stayed with him overnight. On 9 December, the day after the fire, he visited the police morgue to see the bodies.

94 See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster. Aufzeichnungen von Simon Ledermüller und Oddo (Rafael) Loidol', in *BJ* 2001-2005 (Vienna, 2006), 186-87 for the text of and commentary on a letter card sent by Simon Ledermüller, a novitiate priest at St. Florian, to Oddo Loidol, a former student of Bruckner's but by then a novitiate priest at Kremsmünster.. The card is dated 28 December 1881.

deanship at this university particular pleasure to be able to confirm herewith that Mr. Anton Bruckner, equally well known as a performer, composer and musical theorist, has been a lecturer in Harmony at the University of Vienna since 1875 and has taught a large number of students each semester with a success that has been universally acknowledged.⁹⁵

There is no indication that Bruckner took this any further at the time..⁹⁶ Three years later, however, Bruckner made a similar application, with the help of a Dr. E. Vincent, who translated it into English, to the rector of the University of Philadelphia and then changed the destination to the >'University of Cincinnati'.⁹⁷ That Bruckner took his application very seriously is shown by the meticulous way in which he ensured that the English translations of his baptismal certificate, seven certificates from the years 1855-1867, documents regarding his appointments as lecturer at the Conservatory, lecturer at the University and member of the *Hofkapelle*, the confirmation by the deanship of Vienna University that a doctorate of Music could not be conferred in Austria, an evaluation of the D minor Mass by Hellmesberger and several newspaper reviews were verified by Gustav Nathan, the British consul in Vienna.⁹⁸ Entries in the *Neuer Krakauer*

95 This reference is dated Vienna, 12 January 1882. See G-A IV/2, 10-11 for the text. According to Friedrich Klose (*Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner*, 113), Bruckner envied Brahms's doctorate more than anything else!

96 See Rolf Keller, >'Das amerikanische Ehrendoktorat@ für Anton Bruckner', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 73-92. Keller contacted Mrs. E.S. Leedham-Green, the Assistant Keeper of the University Archives, and received the information that there is no record of Bruckner's application ever having been received.

97 The original copy of the application which, with its various appendices, runs to 76 pages, can be found in the ÖNB (Suppl. Mus. Hs. 6009 A/Bru 252). A letter from Michael Ruckengruber to Bruckner in 1882, however, indicates that Bruckner had also explored the possibility of a doctorate from an American university as early as 1881/82. Ruckengruber (1844-1902) was an Austrian priest who had emigrated to America and received American citizenship. He met Bruckner at St. Florian during a four-month European tour in 1881. See *HSABB* 2, 344 for this letter which is undated but, from its content, was clearly written during the course of 1882; the original is in St. Florian.

98 The appendix of Keller's article (see footnote 96) consists of a comprehensive description

Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1883 indicate that he paid Vincent more than seventy shillings for his assistance.⁹⁹

Bruckner made another appearance as an organ soloist at an *Akademischer Gesangverein* concert in Vienna on 15 March. Nine days later the Schalk brothers gave a concert in the *Bösendorfersaal* which included Josef's arrangement for piano of the Scherzo from Bruckner's Third Symphony.¹⁰⁰

Bruckner spent Easter at St. Florian and played the organ on several occasions. Interesting details of his playing, including some of the themes on which he improvised, can be found in three letter cards sent by Simon Ledermüller at St. Florian to Oddo Loidol at Kremsmünster.¹⁰¹ At the end of April, Bruckner's F minor Mass was sung in the *Hofkapelle* together with the gradual and offertory motets *Locus iste* and *Os justi*.¹⁰² Albert von Hermann's review of the performance appeared in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*:

of Bruckner's application and the accompanying enclosures. All the translations, with the exception of the Hellmesberger report which was undertaken by Dr. Vincent, were carried out by Dr. Carl Kohn, an official legal interpreter. According to Mark Frazier Lloyd, Director of the Archives and Records Center of the University of Pennsylvania, however, there is no record of any letters 'to or from Anton Bruckner' in the years 1885 and 1886.

99 '>Dr Vincent 1882 - 60 fl für London. d[ett]o 21. Febr[uar] 10 fl d[ett]o Im Sommer 1882 einige Gulden überdies.' See *MVP* 1, 213 and *MVP* 2, 189.

100 Franz Schalk had left his job in the Karlsruhe orchestra shortly after the unsuccessful performance of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony. He also played works by Goetz, Mozart and Beethoven with his brother.

101 See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 188-94 for the texts of and commentaries on these letter-cards, dated 4, 5 and 12 April 1882; also 221-223 for Ledermüller's notation of the themes used by Bruckner during his improvisations at the Easter Sunday services (High Mass and Vespers) on 9 April.

102 According to Antonicek in *ABDS* 1, Appendix 1, 142. This does not tally with the clearly erroneous information provided in G-A IV/2, 32, however - '>as enclaves he performed the a cappella chorus *Locus iste* and, for the first time, the fine seven-part Ave Maria.' The performance of the Mass and motets was on Sunday 30 April.

It is not surprising that a type of civil war commenced. It would be easy to give a humorous description of the different groups who made up the audience in the chapel and their reaction to the performance, but factual details will suffice. The adversaries of the inspired composer looked at him grimly and, after the *Gloria*, left the church ostentatiously like parliamentary dissidents; the regular attenders shook their heads and gesticulated in all kinds of ways to express their amazement at the 'storm and stress' of the music, while even the court police, who were standing like living pillars, cast anxious glances at the buttresses and had reservations about the mighty brass fanfares proceeding from the choir. The friends of the singers looked at them with equal anxiety, fearing that their voices would not hold out. And that would have been most unfortunate because it would have rendered impossible the performance of a work which must be recognised as important in spite of all faults and misgivings.

Bruckner's work is a large dramatic tone picture. There is dramatic movement in this Mass as in very few compositions of this type. This is most valid in the truly colossal 'Et resurrexit'. It is reminiscent of a famous painting by Führich of the day of resurrection. Similarly in Bruckner's 'Resurrexit' thousand upon thousand of the dead seem to rise from their graves after the usual resurrection sounds. There is no end to the awakening and rising up, and the uniformity of a continually recurring insistent accompaniment pattern produces an aura of immensity. All those who ever lived appear to awaken to a new and better life - now they are all together, and their overwhelming hymn of praise, expressing unshakeable confidence, thunders forth to the Lord who awakens them all. It would be difficult to find a more powerfully effective musical portrayal. The *Benedictus* has an equally large-scale structure. The character of the music produces an atmosphere of blissful peace and delightful happiness. The movement is beautiful from beginning to end and a shimmer of transfiguration hovers over it. The two-part *Agnus* also offers many surprisingly splendid moments. A folk-like motive reminiscent of one of our *Landmesse* song melodies is artistically developed.

The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are less satisfying than the movements which have already been mentioned in this excellently orchestrated Mass. There are many reminiscences of Wagner, incomprehensible passages and, unfortunately, the ever popular contrast effects such as the alternation of

voices. This is particularly true of the *Gloria* where there are musical figures which recall Beckmesser's hopping, fidgeting motive when he first appears. The *Amen* also has something very imposing about it, but the composer is frequently his own worst enemy in allowing a movement which has begun so well to fall away...

Hermann was convinced, however, that the Mass would only achieve its full effect with a large choir in the concert hall. The Viennese public would then appreciate what Bruckner was capable of writing.¹⁰³

On 24 July Bruckner left Vienna to spend a fortnight at Bayreuth, during which time he attended the final rehearsals and the first performance of Wagner's *Parsifal*. On arriving at Bayreuth he suffered the misfortune of having more than 300 shillings stolen from his travelling bag. Bruckner was in great distress but fortunately some of his friends rallied round and provided him with enough money to see him through. 24 years later Wilhelm Tappert, with whom Bruckner had corresponded on several occasions at the end of the 1870s, recalled meeting the composer again:

In *Parsifal* year (1882) I met the Viennese composer Anton Bruckner on the festival hill on the day of the first performance of the '>festival play'. The composer, a fine man, good-humoured, childlike and unworldly, with whom I maintained a fairly lively correspondence for some time, greeted me at first (in the Viennese manner) as if I was a member of the nobility, continually pronounced the vowel >'a' in my name as an '>o', and gave an animated account of the success achieved by one of his symphonies [the Fourth], conducted by Hans Richter in Vienna. >'There has been nothing like it since Beethoven', Richter said as he embraced the happy composer.]>He got me here, Mr. von Tappert', Bruckner said, pointing to a place on his left shoulder. It was then I learned for the first time that a pickpocket had taken >'300 shillings in

103 See Hawkshaw, 'Messe in F Moll Revisionsbericht', 246-47 for complete review.

change' from the outer pocket of the summer coat hung loosely over his shoulders. Bruckner had to borrow some money.¹⁰⁴

Nine years later Bruckner wrote to Hans von Wolzogen, recalling his 1882 visit to Bayreuth which was the last time he saw and talked to Wagner:

In 1882 the Master, who was already ill, took me by the hand and said, '>You can be sure that I myself will perform the symphony and all your works.' '>O Master!', I replied. The Master then responded, '>Have you been to Parsifal? How do you like it?' While he held me by the hand, I got down on one knee, pressed his hand to my mouth, kissed it and said, '>O Master, I worship you!' The Master replied, '>Calm yourself, Bruckner - good night!' These were his last words to me. On another occasion I was reproached by the Master, who was sitting beside me at *Parsifal*, because I was applauding so enthusiastically...¹⁰⁵

A handwritten entry at the end of the *Benedictus* movement in Schimatschek's copy of the E minor Mass indicates that Bruckner stopped off at Linz and Wilhering on his way to Bayreuth; the entry reads '>Restauriert: Wilhering 26 Juli 1882. A.Br.' As Nowak observes, '>it is difficult to say with certainty when exactly Bruckner made his emendations' to the work as there is no noticeable difference in the handwriting between the structural or '>metrical' changes made in 1876 and the alterations made in 1882.¹⁰⁶ Having completed his revision which almost certainly involved

101 From *Neue Musikzeitung* 20 (1906); quoted in G-A IV/2, 39-40.

105 See HSABB 2, 118-20 for the texts of Wolzogen's letter to Bruckner (dated Bayreuth, 11 February 1891) and Bruckner's reply (undated, but presumably later in February 1891). The original of Wolzogen's letter is in St. Florian, but the original of Bruckner's is no longer extant; it was first printed in *ABB*, 166ff where it is dated '>probably 1884' because Auer obviously considered it to date from around the same time as another letter to Wolzogen, dated 13 September 1884 - see *HSABB* I, 235. See also Franz Scheder, '>Zur Datierung von Bruckners Brief an Wolzogen (Auer no. 137)', in *BJ* 1984/85/86 (Linz, 1988), 65ff.

106 Leopold Nowak, foreword to *ABSW* 17/2, 'Messe E-Moll Fassung von 1882' (Vienna,

the other movements as well as the *Benedictus*, Bruckner asked Johann Noll, the Viennese copyist, to prepare a new score and parts.¹⁰⁷ There is no known reason why Bruckner should have made alterations to the Mass in 1882, as there is no recorded performance of the work in the *Hofkapelle* at this time. The first performance of the revised version was conducted by Adalbert Schreyer in the old cathedral on 4 October 1885 at the end of the centenary celebrations of the Linz diocese.¹⁰⁸

On his return from Bayreuth, Bruckner spent some weeks in St. Florian as usual, interrupted by a few days in Vienna when he had to play at the *Hofkapelle*. He gave several concerts, including one on St. Augustine's day (28 August) at the request of several high-ranking prelates who were visiting the abbey. One of his improvisations was based on a theme from *Parsifal*.¹⁰⁹ Another event was a sort of organ contest in the abbey which involved Bruckner and an organ virtuoso from Budapest, Johann Lohr, who had also participated in the organ recital series in London in 1871. Lohr's playing was masterly but Bruckner's even better, according to Josef Gruber's account.¹¹⁰

During his St. Florian sojourn, Bruckner worked on the Scherzo of his

1959). Schimatschek's copy is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 29.301.

107 The date at the end of the first oboe part - 29 September 1882 - indicates that Noll began the process of correcting the original parts, which had been copied by Schimatschek, shortly after Bruckner's return to Vienna from St. Florian. The revised score, Mus. Hs. 6014 in the ÖNB, was completed on 24 January 1883.

108 For Schreyer's account of this performance and Bruckner's reaction, as related to Gräßlinger, see GrBL, 98-99.

109 See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', for the text of and commentary on Ledermüller's letter card to Loidol, dated 16 August 1882, but begun on 8 August.. It is possible that Bruckner visited Ansfelden occasionally during his stays in Upper Austria. On 21 June 1882 he wrote a letter of reference for Ferdinand Albrecht, a schoolteacher in Ansfelden who lived in the house where Bruckner was born. See Rolf Keller, '>'Anton Bruckner und die Familie Albrecht', in *BJ* 1984/85/86 (Linz, 1988), 53-56, in which the text of this letter and of another letter of reference from Bruckner, dated Vienna, 29 October 1892, can be found.

110 As related to Göllerich, G-A II/1, 280-81.

Symphony no. 7, the autograph of which bears the date >'12 August 1882, St. Florian'. This movement was completed in Vienna on 16 October. Part of his vacation was spent in Steyr where he gave an organ recital in the Parish Church and enjoyed the company of two keen amateur musicians - Georg Armingier, the parish priest, and Leopold Hofmeyer, a civil servant.¹¹¹ Three other friends from Steyr - Carl Almeroth, Isidor Dierkes and Karl Reder - used to meet Bruckner three times a week in Vienna in the 1880s for an evening drink at the *Gause* restaurant in the Johannesgasse.¹¹²

When Bruckner returned to Vienna there were hopeful signs that the Sixth Symphony would be performed by the Philharmonic in the forthcoming concert season. On 9 September he wrote to his young friend, Josef Schalk, asking him to contact one of his copyists, Friedrich Spigl, to whom he had already contacted but whose address he had mislaid:

Mr. Spigl has promised me that he would procure the score of my 6th Symphony from Hans Richter, the Court Music Director, and insert the new alterations. As I cannot find his address, I ask you, dear old friend, to be so good as to convey my request to Mr. Spigl. If he is able to fulfil my request, I will be pleased to see him tomorrow between 9 and 1 or from 5 or 6 to 8 pm in the evening.¹¹³

111 Bruckner wrote to Leopold Hofmeyer (1855-1900) on 6 August 1878 to give him advice about his music theory studies; See *HSABB* I, 184; this letter is in private possession in Wels. Hofmeyer was a reliable copyist and later copied the second version of Bruckner's Symphony no. 8.

112 Karl Reder's account of these occasions, which often went on to very late at night because of Bruckner's fondness for freshly-tapped Pilsner beer, can be found in G-A IV/2, 62ff. The review of the organ recital in the *Steyrer Zeitung* (21 September 1882) can be found in E.W. Partsch, *Anton Bruckner und Steyr*, ABDS 13 (Vienna, 2003), 225.

113 See *HSABB* 1, 207-08.; the original is F18 Schalk 151/4/1 in the ÖNB. Friedrich Spigl (born 1860, Vienna) was one of Bruckner's students at the Conservatory. See also *HSABB* 1, 207, for Bruckner's letter to Spigl, dated 6 September 1882. The original is privately owned, but there is a copy in the ÖNB.

During the 1882/83 season, Wilhelm Jahn stood in for Hans Richter as conductor of the Philharmonic concert series. An entry in the 1882 diary - >'Jahn (4.alte)' - suggests that Bruckner showed Jahn the original version of his Fourth Symphony perhaps with a view to performance, but it was the Sixth which Jahn chose. After the preliminary run-through, Bruckner wrote to Hofmeyer on St. Theresia's day which, he reminded his friend, was the name-day of his deceased mother and of a young lady friend of his, Therese von Jäger, who lived in Steyr. He continued:

The Philharmonic have now accepted my 6th Symphony and rejected the rest of the symphonies by other composers. When I introduced myself to the conductor (director of the Court Opera), he said that he was one of my greatest admirers. What do you say to that? (The Philharmonic were so pleased with the work that they applauded vigorously and played a fanfare).¹¹⁴

It was thanks to Josef Schalk and other young friends and devoted students like Ferdinand Löwe, August Stradal and Cyrill Hynais that Bruckner's name was kept before the public to some extent in the early 1880s, albeit in solo piano or piano-duet arrangements of his symphonies performed at '>private musical evenings' of the *Wagner Society* in Vienna. In December 1882 Bruckner planned to have the piano-duet arrangement of his Symphony no. 5 played specially for its dedicatee, Karl von Stremayr. The performers were to be Franz Zottmann and Josef Schalk. Bruckner asked Schalk to inform Zottmann that Stremayr had suggested Saturday evening. But the performance had to be postponed because of the illness of Stremayr's daughter, and Schalk was asked to pass on this new information

¹¹⁴ See *HSABB* 1, 208 for this letter dated Vienna, 13 October 1882. It was first published in *ABB*, 156; the location of the original is unknown.

to Zottmann.¹¹⁵

At the end of the year Bruckner participated as usual in a charity concert for the *Catholic Orphan Relief Society* held in the large *Musikverein* hall on 22 December. The first movement of his Symphony no. 7 was completed a week later, on 29 December. Apart from ongoing work on the symphony, Bruckner composed only two short occasional pieces during the year, namely a setting of *Ave Maria* WAB 7 for alto and piano/organ/harmonium accompaniment, and *Sängerbund* WAB 82 for unaccompanied male-voice choir.

Bruckner's third setting of the *Ave Maria* text differs from the other two in its combination of solo voice and instrumental (piano /organ / harmonium) accompaniment. It was written on 5 February 1882 and dedicated to Luise Hochleitner, a young contralto from Wels who had attracted the composer's attention when he visited the town probably during his summer vacation in 1881.¹¹⁶ The most striking feature of this highly chromatic Marian hymn is the wide range of dynamics employed.

Sängerbund WAB 82 also has a Wels connection. It was composed on 3 February and sent to its dedicatee, August Göllerich sen., on 17 February. Its first performance was at a choral festival held in Wels on 10 June 1883.¹¹⁷

115 Franz Zottmann (1855-1909) was a piano professor at the Conservatory. See *HSABB* 1, 209 for Bruckner's original letter to Schalk, dated Vienna, 12 December 1882 and later postcard, dated 15 December 1882; the originals are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/6 and 151/7 respectively.

116 The original manuscript of the work was formerly in the possession of Mrs. Till-Ginzkey, Vienna, but is no longer extant. There is a copy with some insertions by Bruckner in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 3185. The work appeared in print for the first time in 1902 as a music supplement to the *Neue Musikzeitung* 23. For further information about the work, see G-A IV/2, 50-53 and *ABSW* XXI/2, 118-19. There is a modern edition of the work in *ABSW* XXI/1, 118-21.

117 Göllerich was chairman of the Upper Austrian and Salzburg Choral Union. See *HSABB* 1, 205-06 for Bruckner's letter to Göllerich, dated Vienna, 17 February 1882; the original was formerly in the possession of Franziska Göllerich, Hildesheim, and a facsimile was published in the *OÖ. Heimatsblätter* 28 (1974). According to Franz Bayer, Bruckner's friend in Steyr, the original words were provided by Heinrich Wallmann. The work was later furnished with another text by Karl Kerschbaum, edited by Viktor Keldorfer, and first published by Universal Edition (U.E. 3296) in 1911. There is a modern edition in *ABSW* XXIII/2, 140-44.

When it was performed again at the 41st anniversary concert of the Steyr *Liedertafel* in 1891, the reviewer of the *Alpenbote* commented on Bruckner's treatment of the patriotic words:

... The first piece, 'Sängerbund' by Bruckner, sounded like their artistic and political creed and in its powerful chords sealed the vow of everlasting faithfulness to German song in every phase of the destiny of the German people.¹¹⁸

February 1883 was a momentous month for Bruckner. On Saturday the 10th Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann performed Schalk's piano-duet arrangement of the first and third movements of his Seventh Symphony in the *Bösendorfer* hall. On Sunday the 11th the Vienna Philharmonic conducted by Jahn played the two middle movements of his Symphony no. 6 in the large *Musikverein* hall. And, two days later, on Tuesday the 13th, Richard Wagner died in Venice.

Emil Lamberg, one of Bruckner's organ students at the time, remembered the week before the performance when there was a noticeable tension in Bruckner's classes. On the day of the performance Lamberg arrived at Bruckner's apartment at 8.00 am and found the composer in an agitated state because his housekeeper Kathi had evidently misplaced the clothes he was going to wear. These were eventually found and Lamberg and Bruckner left for the *Musikverein*:

... On the way I noticed to my dismay that the Master was wearing shoes which did not match; this was all the more noticeable as one of the shoes had a shining toe cap of patent leather. Very wisely I took great care not to draw his attention to this in order to avoid a scene and spoil the festival day. The concert was to take place at midday, but we were already in

118 Review dated 26 July 1891. Quoted by Andrea Harrantdt, 'Bruckner und das bürgerliche Musiziergut seiner Jugendzeit', in *BSL* 1987 (Linz, 1989), 97. See also *G-A IV/2*, 54ff. for further discussion of the piece.

the concert hall before 9 o'clock and found it empty, of course. This appeared to quell his excitement and, with the words '>apprehension ought not spoil our appetite', we retired to a restaurant nearby where he gave me his instructions for the day. The most important was the close observation of Councillor Hanslick whose criticism Bruckner feared. I was to observe Hanslick's facial expression so that I could conclude whether he was favourably or unfavourably disposed towards the work. Then I was to observe the audience closely and report to him what impression his work made.

As far as Professor Hanslick was concerned, it was quite impossible for me to provide satisfactory information as I could see only the back of his large head from where I was sitting and I was unable to draw any conclusion whatsoever. I was able to observe one thing only, namely that he remained seated and was as still, calm and cold as a sphinx during the huge applause. I had no other opportunity of speaking to the Master during the day. He was too preoccupied with his friends. The next day I was able to sweeten the bitter tidings with the information that Brahms had joined in the applause. '>Children, it was truly magnificent yesterday', he said in the class, casting a wicked glance at me.¹¹⁹

Auer observes that Jahn >cleverly placed the two movements in the middle of the programme so that they would receive the maximum attention from the audience.¹²⁰ The reviews of the symphony were mixed. Writing in the *Neue freie Presse*, Hanslick maintained his sphinx-like attitude and commented in particular on what he regarded as the transference of the Wagnerian style to the symphony:

... This composer, who works only on the large scale, has

119 From Lamberg's account, as related to G llerich/Auer in G-A IV/2, 75ff. Emil Lamberg was a student of Bruckner's at the Conservatory and also came to him for private lessons. See *HSABB* 1, 210 for Bruckner's letter to Lamberg's father in Brazil, dated Vienna 5 April 1883, concerning late payment of fees; the original is in the Ober sterreichisches Landesarchiv, Linz.

120 See G-A IV/2, 74. The two movements were preceded by Beethoven's *Leonora* overture no. 2 and followed by Eckert's Cello Concerto and Spohr's Symphony no. 5.

already written six or seven symphonies, one or other of which, at least in part, have been performed. I find it increasingly difficult to form a proper rapport with these unusual compositions in which ingenious, original and even brilliant details alternate with others which are commonplace and difficult to understand and with empty and dull passages, often without any recognisable connection. Moreover, they are so mercilessly prolonged that there is a danger of both players and listeners running out of breath. In spite of its tiring repetition of the same figures and its immeasurably spun-out *rosalias* which are particularly reminiscent of *Meistersinger* motives, the Adagio was able to win us over because of a certain majestic mood of gentleness. On the other hand, I was completely nonplussed by the grotesque humour of the Scherzo which staggers about wearily and moves from one inexplicable contrast to another. Fortunately, this did not seem to bother others, as one section of the audience applauded the composer tumultuously and called him back innumerable times. Bruckner attracts general goodwill as a result of his integrity and sympathetic personality, the love of his pupils as a result of his teaching activities, and the most powerful support of the >'Wagner faction' on account of his fanatical worship of the composer. The latter would be more beneficial to Bruckner's cause, however, if they could express their support less brusquely.¹²¹

Max Kalbeck was no kinder in his assessment of the two movements:

... The problems with which we are confronted in the Adagio and Scherzo of Bruckner's Sixth Symphony are as dark as a passage from Jakob Böhme's >'Mysterium magnum'. We are aware that the creative force which seeks to be revealed in this abundance of intricate harmonies is by no means insignificant, and a few flashes of light, which flare up from the chaos and seem to promise the birth of a star, give notice of an original intellect secretly at work. The processes employed in this symphony are similar to those that we have often experienced at times of unusual internal psycho-physical activity, either when we have been in a state of physical or

121 *Neue freie Presse* 6632, 13 February 1883. See Leopold Nowak, *VI Symphonie A-Dur Revisionsbericht* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1986), 66.

spiritual ecstasy, when we have been asleep or just waking up, or in unusual circumstances when our consciousness is momentarily frozen and paralysed as the result of an unforeseen event. And in this way we have some idea of the mind-set of a man who confuses the pre-conditions of the creative act with the act itself, the ecstasy of inspiration with the energy of presentation, the subjective will with the objective ability. Anton Bruckner has a dubious propensity towards this. A Jakob Böhme of music, he uses his own terminology of musical mysticism, a concoction of profundity and perversity. Just as Böhme identifies certain minerals with human emotions and divine personalities, so with Bruckner certain chord sequences and series of notes are given a significance which they do not naturally possess. If he were to carry this to its logical conclusion, he ought to provide his symphonies with programmes so that he can make himself clear to his listeners in another language. The god of music seldom causes him to express what he is thinking and feeling, but rather how he would think and feel if he was able to express the inexpressible. As we know, everyone is a little Shakespeare in his dreams; but we also require a poet to write poetry when he is awake. Bruckner would be one of our leading composers if he was able to give musical realization to his inventive powers and creative energy. His imagination is lacking in logic and his inspiration is not controlled by the inner law according to which the process of artistic creation is accomplished, unaffected by the constraint of external forms. His Adagio in F major sounds like a dream which some composer, the >'Master' himself if you wish, has had of the final duet in '>Siegfried' and '>The Mastersingers'. It is replete with excellent ideas, characteristic phrases, harmonic and instrumental refinements, and we feel that, although one cannot be completely at ease, one can turn a blind eye to its deficiencies. We have not succeeded in obtaining a closer understanding of the Scherzo in A minor. The spectral notes which rush around in it make it far too frantic. There is a wild jumble of stamping, storming, roaring and neighing as if there had been a meeting together of the Wolf's Glen and Walpurgis Night. We wish to keep our distance from the future which is able to enjoy such a distorted piece of music reverberating from a hundred ravines...¹²²

122 *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 1063, 13 February 1883, 1-2. See Leopold Nowak, op.cit., 66-67.

In the *Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung*, the reviewer had as much to say about the audience reaction as he had about the work itself:

If a really great spectacle was the standard of value for a work of art, A. Bruckner would have thoroughly outstripped good old Spohr musically with the Adagio and Scherzo from his Symphony no. 6 and would no longer have any rivals to fear apart from Richard Wagner. However, the different phrases and motives which Bruckner permitted himself to borrow from Wagner without asking his permission virtually guaranteed that the work would be a success with the public and produced the same effect on a '>small but energetic' faction as the proverbial red rag to a bull. There is no denying that the Adagio has many beauties and is a movement of great breadth characterised by interesting motivic development and striking instrumental effects. Although it suffers in places from over-rich orchestration and excessive longueurs, it undoubtedly bears eloquent witness to the presence of a real compositional talent. It is impossible, however, to treat the Scherzo seriously. The public was flabbergasted and when finally, after a critical pause, the '>alpine party' saw danger in the offing, they began to make a very painful howling noise which made those who were impartial think that they were in the presence of schoolchildren playing an unseemly prank on their teacher. We learned afterwards from a reliable source that this was not a prank but in earnest, and the schoolchildren were Wagnerians.¹²³

Writing in *Die Presse*, Ludwig Hahn regretted what he perceived to be a lack of originality and natural energy in the work:

The two movements from Bruckner's Sixth Symphony, with which the Philharmonic soothed its conscience as far as contemporary music is concerned, demonstrated a decrease

123 From an article signed '>Florestan' (the pseudonym for Johann von Woerz) which appeared in the *Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung* 9, 18 February 1883, 3. See Nowak, op.cit., 68.

not only in the composer's faults but also, unfortunately, in his virtues. What he has gained in discipline and style on the one hand, he has lost in originality and natural energy on the other. What he used to write rushed by unpredictably like armour-clad Valkyries on steeds which snorted fire amidst claps of thunder. Nowadays he stays closer to the ground and certainly perseveres with a fixed goal in his mind's eye, remaining on the same course for some time - but the effervescent energy, the fascinating impetuosity have been somewhat tempered. There is no doubt that Bruckner possesses both character and skill, but they seem to have departed from him for the time being; will they ever be found again?

It was possible to follow the Adagio with interest and even with pleasure at times, in spite of its peculiarities; but one could only be alienated by the uncouth humour of the Scherzo which evoked the spirit of the Stone Age and Bronze Age. There is no need for Mr. Bruckner, who has sufficient musical inspiration of his own, to live off the food of others, and he should make it his first priority to break free from the tyrannical influence of Wagnerian inspirations and ideas and purge his musical language of its polyphonic excesses. A motive never appears without another accompanying motive springing up alongside it. In a certain sense Bruckner's work has its counterpart in Dvorák's Symphony in D. In the former there is a surfeit of inspired ideas which threatens to sever the taut formal structure; in the latter the quietly felicitous and comfortable structure is able deceptively to contain the true extent of ideas. In the former [there is] an unrestrained fiery soul struggling under its own pain and that of the listener to express dark torment; in the latter an assured, serene imitative spirit making cheerful use of traditional methods with childlike pleasure and displaying an impressive talent with great facility...¹²⁴

The reviewer for the *Signale für die musikalische Welt* was a little kinder but equally lacking in perception:

124 *Die Presse* 59, 2 March 1883, 2-3. See Nowak, op.cit., 69-70. Dvorák's Symphony no. 6 in D, completed in October 1880, was given its first performance in Prague on 25 March 1881. It was performed in Vienna for the first time on 18 February 1883, exactly a week after the performance of the two movements of Bruckner's symphony, at a Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde concert conducted by Wilhelm Gericke.

.. The two symphony movements by Bruckner had the same light and dark sides as this highly valued musician's previous compositions: surprisingly inspired ideas and brilliant instrumentation on the one hand and lack of logical development and exaggerated spinning-out on the other. When this music has come to an end one feels as if one is in the middle of a deep dream, seeking in vain to disentangle the web of bright images.¹²⁵

Dr. Theodor Helm, who was later to become one of Bruckner's staunchest advocates, felt that the composer would have been better served by a performance of one of his other symphonies, either the Third in D minor or the Fourth in E flat major, as he considered the two movements of the Sixth to be unrepresentative of his 'considerable ability':

... The first of the two symphony movements heard recently, an effusive, yearning Adagio of Wagnerian inspiration and modelled on the parallel movement in Beethoven's Ninth, certainly made a predominantly favourable impression on account of its nobility, melodic breadth and colourful instrumentation, even although - as far as one can judge from a first hearing - it seemed to be deficient in well-shaped musical ideas. But the following Scherzo, which contained some typical Brucknerian drolleries and incomprehensible passages as well as conjuring up the Nibelung smiths from >'Rhinegold' and the galloping Valkyries in the concert hall, seemed to us to be far too strident and bizarre, not to say eccentric. The composer, who might have been better served if the regular Philharmonic audience had heard a complete or partial performance of one of his earlier symphonies, the Fifth (sic) in E flat for instance, also received tumultuous acclaim after the aforesaid Scherzo, but the rather too noisy applause eventually provoked opposition.¹²⁶

125 Quoted in G-A IV/2, 79.

126 *Wiener Signale* 7, 17 February 1883, 52. Helm also provided a similar review for the *Wiener Salonblatt* 8, 18 February 1883, 8. See Nowak, op.cit., 68-69.

The most favourable review came, as one might expect, from Bruckner's friend Dr. Hans Paumgartner. Paumgartner praised the conducting and orchestral playing but criticised the decision to play only two movements:

... The symphony is an organic whole from which individual limbs can never be detached without endangering the vital force of the whole. Many a movement which produces a disturbing effect when played on its own immediately attains its true significance when it is heard in the context of other movements... Can one conceive of the Scherzo from the 'Ninth' as a separate concert piece? The public would certainly not have lost out if the entire Spohr had been deleted from the programme and replaced by the entire Bruckner...

Paumgartner described the Adagio as 'a piece full of the most solemn feeling' and the Scherzo as 'a piece full of striking features, but ... frequently disturbing', the end of the movement in particular. His final assessment was that Bruckner was a composer 'of great significance' with a 'far above average' artistic personality and whose works would attract 'the undivided interest of all true lovers of art.'¹²⁷

Wagner's death on 13 February came as a hammer blow to Bruckner who, according to the accounts of G llerich and others, was almost inconsolable. Wagner had been a father-figure, someone who, it seemed, understood his symphonies and had even promised to perform them. Who could take his place? The immediate effect was evident in the elegiac concluding section of the Adagio movement in the Seventh Symphony. When Theodor Helm visited the composer 11 years later, Bruckner recalled these momentous February days, saying that the Adagio had been written partly as a

¹²⁷ *Wiener Zeitung* 36, 15 February 1883. See Nowak, op.cit., 67-68 for complete review and G-A IV/2, 78-79 for extracts. The article is also discussed by Norbert Tschulik in his 'Anton Bruckner in der Wiener Zeitung', *BJ* 1981 (Linz, 1982), 172.

>'premonition of the catastrophe' and partly as funeral music after the catastrophe. He had reached letter W in the score when he heard the grim news in the Conservatory on 14 February. The music from letter X to the end was then composed as a coda-cum-funeral music in remembrance of his 'unforgettable >Master'.¹²⁸

Bruckner spent most of his Easter break at St. Florian. According to Simon Ledermüller who wrote to Oddo Loidol as usual, providing a full account of Bruckner's activities, he played the organ on Maundy Thursday and at two services on Easter Sunday. Deubler and Traumihler were given the opportunity of hearing parts of his Seventh Symphony.¹²⁹ He intimated to Josef Gruber, the St. Florian organist, that he was interested in the vacant organist's post at St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna. His organ activities also included a recital on the new organ in the *Votivkirche*, during which he improvised on themes from Siegfried's funeral music in *Götterdämmerung*. According to August Stradal, who heard him playing on several occasions in both the *Votivkirche* and the Hofburg chapel, his finger technique was understandably not so good as it had been but his pedal technique was still astonishing and his improvisatory skill outstanding.¹³⁰

At another evening concert promoted by the *Akademischer Wagner-Verein* on 7 May, an entire programme was devoted to Bruckner, namely Symphony no. 3 in Schalk's piano-duet arrangement and the String Quintet played by the Winkler Quartet with Franz Schalk taking the first viola part.

128 See *HSABB* 1, 210 for Bruckner's undated letter of condolence to Cosima Wagner. The location of the original is unknown; it was first printed in *ABB*, 153. Bruckner also noted Wagner's death on the February calendar page of the *Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1883*; see *MVP* 1, 212 and 2, 188.

129 See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 198-202 for the texts of and commentaries on Ledermüller's two letters to Loidol, dated 24 and 26 March 1883 respectively.

130 August Stradal (1860-1930) studied with both Liszt and Bruckner. He arranged many of the latter's works for piano solo. See *G-A* IV/2, 84-85 for Stradal's account of Bruckner's organ playing.

Later in the month Dr. Hans Paumgartner wrote a biographical article in the *Wiener Zeitung*, charting Bruckner's progress as a composer to date, pointing out that he had not yet obtained the recognition he deserved, and mentioning the opposition that Hans Richter had encountered two years earlier when he performed Bruckner's Fourth Symphony in Vienna. Paumgartner described this symphony as >one of Bruckner's 'best works' and >'one of the most inspired pieces in the domain of modern symphonic music', exhibiting both a freshness of thematic invention and a clear and convincing structure. He also showed his own interest in Bruckner's music by mentioning Symphony no. 7, in particular the instrumentation of the Adagio which had only been completed the previous month. It is more than likely that Paumgartner attended the Schalk and Zottmann piano-duet performance of the first and third movements in February. In this >'preview' of the Seventh, Paumgartner also drew attention to a >'characteristic trait' of the composer, namely that in his symphonies he begins immediately with a '>main theme which is always of great significance, originality and individuality.' He ended his article by expressing a wish that Bruckner would soon complete the Finale and thereby the whole symphony and by recommending his readers to make a thorough and sympathetic study of Bruckner's works so that they could get to grips with his musical language more readily.¹³¹

A performance of Bruckner's F minor Mass, with *Locus iste* and *Os justi* as Gradual and Offertory motets, conducted by the composer in the *Hofkapelle* on 24 June elicited an extremely favourable and sympathetic review from Johann von Woerz in the *Allgemeine Wiener Zeitung*. It was certainly much more positive than Albert von Hermann's the previous year and perhaps indicated a gradual shift in the climate of opinion:

128 *Wiener Zeitung*, 27 May 1883. See Tschulik, loc.cit., 172-73.

... Today more than ever we had the impression of an unusual and - we certainly choose the right words - undoubtedly inspired work. This Mass is one of the best works that Bruckner has composed. It is written with an understanding for polyphony, an inexhaustible fund of imaginative ideas and a mastery of orchestration that only the greatest composers possess... Bruckner's work is a magnificent religious music drama of thrilling energy and inspiration. The finest part and crown of the Mass is certainly the *Credo*. The '>Incarnatus' is treated with the utmost delicacy, and the '>Passus' and '>Crucifixus' have an equally effective nobility of expression, but the '>Resurrexit' surpasses everything in this Mass with its colossal power and the impression it gives of overpowering strength. To be sure, if Bruckner had written nothing more than this '>Resurrexit' his name would last for ever! How sublimely the composer has used the first section's affirmation of faith throughout the final section. If the *Credo* is the most powerful movement of the Mass, the beautifully wrought *Benedictus* is the warmest and most tuneful. There is a continual stream of melodic invention and it is as if a thousand birds are warbling and singing! Only someone with a Croesus-like musical imagination can write like this. The *Sanctus* with its delightful '>Hosanna' should be remembered as readily as the *Agnus* which is richly endowed with beautiful things. And when the gradual, *Os justi*, solemn and rich in content, is also taken into consideration, we come to the happy conclusion that we possess in Bruckner, a son of delightful, splendid Upper Austria, a musical talent of the first order, a master whose greatness will only be completely understood by generations to come.¹³²

At the same time the Schalk brothers were doing their utmost to increase public awareness of Bruckner. This included attempts to persuade Gutmann, who had published the Third Symphony a few years earlier, to print the String Quintet. During the summer of 1883 Josef Schalk spent some time at the country house of the composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt. In return for preparing a piano score of Goldschmidt's opera *Heliantus*, Schalk received

¹³² Review in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 1197, 29 June 1883, quoted in G-A IV/2, 87-88.

free food and board. Hoping to arouse Goldschmidt's interest in Bruckner's works, he wrote to his brother Franz on 12 July, asking him to send the piano-duet version of the Third Symphony, the Adagio movements from the Fourth and Sixth Symphonies, the Scherzo from the Fifth Symphony and, as soon as it was ready, the Adagio from the Seventh. Franz replied ten days later, saying that he hoped to be able to complete 'the troublesome task of copying and correcting' the Adagio of the Seventh and send it to Josef in a week's time. Josef interrupted his stay at Grundlsee to pay a visit to Bayreuth where he saw *Parsifal*. On his return to Grundlsee he wrote to Franz, enthusing about the slow movement of the Seventh; he also encouraged his brother to put more pressure on Gutmann to have the Quintet printed.¹³³ Goldschmidt was also sufficiently impressed with what he had heard of Bruckner's Fourth to extend an invitation through Josef to the composer to spend some time at Grundlsee. Because of Court Chapel duties, however, Bruckner had to decline.¹³⁴

In his reply to Josef's letter Franz was of the opinion that Gutmann would not be prepared to proceed with the printing of the Quintet unless more money was made available.¹³⁵ On 28 August Josef wrote to Gutmann from Grundlsee, expressing disappointment that, the lack of sufficient subscription money notwithstanding, the publication of the Quintet had been

133 See *LBSAB*, 56ff. for these three letters in the Schalk correspondence, dated 12 July, 27 July and 30 July respectively; the originals are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/4/13, 158/4/5 and 158/4/17. Also see *HSABB I*, 209-10 for two letters from Bruckner to Josef Schalk, dated Vienna, 9 January and 14 May 1883 respectively. In the former he asks Schalk to lend the piano score of the Fifth Symphony to Moritz von Mayfeld but to ensure that 'the corrections are clearly written out'; in the latter he asks Schalk to send him the score of the Quintet, and mentions that Dr. Paumgartner intends to write a review - see above for Paumgartner's article in the *Wiener Zeitung*. The originals are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/7 and 151/8.

134 See *HSABB I*, 217 for Bruckner's letter to Schalk, dated St. Florian, 10 August 1883; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/9/1.

135 See *FSBB*, 41 and *LBSAB*, 60 for this letter which is dated 1 August 1883. The original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/4/7.

unnecessarily delayed. In the meantime, however, Franz Schalk had met Gutmann; an undated letter from Franz to Josef gives an account of this meeting which appears to have ended amicably with Gutmann undertaking to print the work as well as a piano arrangement 'at a convenient time. At the beginning of September Josef wrote to Franz, thanked him for dealing firmly with Gutmann, and reminded him that the publisher had promised a fee of 100 florins for the piano arrangement.¹³⁶

Bruckner's summer vacation was spent mostly at St. Florian but there were excursions to Bayreuth where he saw *Parsifal* again and visited Wagner's grave,¹³⁷ and a longer stay at Kremsmünster. Oddo Loidol, who was staying at St. Florian at the time, recalled Bruckner's visit:

Early in the morning of 17 July 1883 Bruckner arrived in St. Florian. He went immediately through the sacristy to the gallery of the church; I [Loidol] was already standing in the sacristy and we greeted each other most heartily. At about 9 am, I went to his room (*Prälatengang*, 1st floor, no. 4) where we greeted each other again. In the afternoon he played several movements from his symphonies for me on the piano in the music room, including the Finale of his Seventh Symphony (E) which he had written down but had not yet finished. (He intended to complete it during his stay at St. Florian.) On another day at 10.30 a.m. he played at my

136 See *HSABB* 1, 218 for Josef Schalk's letter to Gutmann, dated Grundlsee, 28 August 1883. Count Fürstenberg, one of Bruckner's supporters, had made a contribution of 50 shillings towards the printing costs, but it had been necessary to use this to cover the cost of the Bruckner evening on 7 May; see *LBSAB*, 60ff. for the undated letter from Franz to Josef, and Josef's letter to Franz, dated 1 September. The originals of all three are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 147, F18 Schalk 158/4/2 and F18 Schalk 158/4/18. In her article, 'Albert J. Gutmann als Verleger Brucknerscher Werke. Aus der Korrespondenz der Bruckner-Freunde und –Interpreten', in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre* (Vienna, 2009), 87-110, Andrea Harrandt traces the career of the Bavarian-born Gutmann (1851-1915) and refers to the correspondence between the publisher and those of Bruckner's friends (the Schalk brothers) and interpreters (Hermann Levi, Felix Mottl, Franz Fischer and Hans Richter) who were involved with the publication or performance of the Gutmann editions of three of the composer's works – the String Quintet, Symphony no.7 and Symphony no.4.

137 Writing in the *Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, 31 March 1887, Paul Marsop recalled observing Bruckner standing beside the grave praying, with tears running down his face; quoted in *G-A* IV/2, 89-90.

request and 'just for me', as he said on several occasions, for more than half an hour on the great organ - a wonderful Adagio at first, then a symphony-like movement on full organ in which he incorporated an extended fugue, returning to the first section again when he had finished it. He used the double pedal (obligato) most of the time and employed full organ (10-, 9-, 8-voice). It was a totally free improvisation. He also related that he had composed the Adagio in C sharp minor (from the Symphony no. 7) a week before Wagner's death and he wept as he told me this...

Bruckner said he would go to Bayreuth this year. He stayed at St. Florian from 17 July to 11 August. Then he had to go to Vienna (he also showed me his holiday certificate from Hellmesberger); he returned to St. Florian on 24 August and remained there until 11 September. During his stay at St. Florian he had to play on the great organ on one occasion for Landgrave Vinzenz Fürstenberg.¹³⁸

Loidol apparently returned to Kremsmünster at about the same time as Bruckner returned to Vienna after 11 August. He was certainly no longer there when Bruckner visited St. Florian again towards the end of August.¹³⁹ The last few days of his vacation (11-14 September) were spent at Kremsmünster. Loidol, who had invited him, recalled his visit in some detail.

Bruckner played excerpts from his symphonies and from his *Te Deum* in the music room of the abbey, but the highlight of his stay was an organ concert on Wednesday 12 September when he played three improvisations.¹⁴⁰

Josef Schalk was invited by Goldschmidt to accompany him on a visit to Germany in the autumn. He saw in this a golden opportunity to create more

138 See G-A II/1, 283-84.

139 In a letter card to Loidol, dated 26 August 1883, Ledermüller mentions that 'Professor Bruckner is in St. Florian.' See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 203-06 for the text of and commentary on this letter.

140 See G-A IV/2, 91-95 for fuller details of this visit, including Loidol's review of the concert in the Linzer Volksblatt 214, Wednesday 19 September 1883.

interest in Bruckner's music.¹⁴¹ During a visit to Leipzig he made preliminary arrangements to give a concert later (with Ferdinand Löwe) of his piano-duet version of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony.

Bruckner's connections with Vöcklabruck, where his sister and brother-in-law lived, were strengthened when he was elected honorary member of the *Liedertafel* on 13 November. On 23 December he wrote to Dr. Alois Scherer, a lawyer and patron of the *Liedertafel*, thanking him for this signal honour.¹⁴² On the same day he wrote to his sister Rosalie, thanking her for the Christmas present she had sent and regretting that she was still ill:

Many thanks for what you sent! But don't send me anything in the future. You need to keep all that you have; give it to the children instead. I am very sorry that your illnesses always last such a long time. Be patient, God will reward you in due course! Don't expect me to write more often - I have little enough time to work.

My income is still by no means brilliant. I have debts and my students are not always prompt with their payments. I have not been able to have anything copied until now.

Accept the enclosed fifteen shillings as a small Christmas gift. I wish you all a good Christmas and New Year. I hope

141 See *LBSAB*, 63 for Josef's letter to Franz, Vienna, 16 September 1883; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/4/19. Bruckner for his part occasionally tried to do what he could to advance the careers of his former pupils. Writing to Josef on 13 November 1883, for instance, he mentioned that he had recommended him to Professor Zimmermann as a piano teacher for his wife and that he had also had a word with Otto Jahn about a possible conducting engagement for Franz. See *HSABB* 1, 219-20; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/10.

142 See *HSABB* 1, 221-22 for this letter. The Vöcklabruck *Liedertafel* was founded in 1850. Dr. Alois Scherer (1836-1894) was its president from 1866 to 1876 and 1878 to 1883. Also see Helmut Kasbauer, 'Die Anton Bruckner- und Max Auer-Sammlung in Heimathaus Vöcklabrück' in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.9 (June 2012), 23-26 for further information about Bruckner's annual visits to family and friends in Vöcklabrück from 1863 to 1892 and the Max Auer Collection in the Heimathaus (Museum of Local History) that was opened in 1937.

143 See *HSABB* 1, 220-21 for Rosalie's undated letter to Bruckner and Bruckner's reply; the originals are in the private possession of the Hueber family.

especially that you will get well soon!...¹⁴³

In September 1883 the Symphony no. 7 WAB 107, begun two years earlier, was completed at St. Florian. Bruckner put the finishing touches to the Adagio on 21 April, and dates in the autograph indicate the different stages of work on the Finale.¹⁴⁴ On 10 August, the day before he returned to Vienna to fulfil *Hofkapelle* duties, the sketch was completed at St. Florian. The other dates at the end of the manuscript are '>Wien 17.8.1883' and '>St. Florian 3 Sept. 1883, 5.9.1883'. Much of 1884 and the early part of 1885 was spent negotiating the first performance of the symphony conducted by Arthur Nikisch in Leipzig on 30 December 1884 and the more important second performance conducted by Hermann Levi in Munich on 10 March 1885, and correspondence between the Schalk brothers and between Bruckner and Nikisch help us to bridge the gap between the original manuscript and the work as it was performed on these occasions. The symphony was published by Gutmann in December 1885 and dedicated to King Ludwig II of Bavaria.¹⁴⁵ It was to become the most frequently

144 The autograph is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 19.479.

145 Plate number of first edition of full score: A.J.G. 576. The piano-duet reduction was published 11 years later in 1896 (pl. no. A.J.G. 575). The dedication reads: '>Seiner Majestät, dem Könige Ludwig II. von Bayern in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet'. For further information about the symphony, see *G-A IV/2*, 98-120; Leopold Nowak, foreword to *ABSW VII* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954); idem, '>Das Finale von Bruckners VII. Symphonie: eine Formstudie', in *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer* (Innsbruck, 1956), 143-48, repr. in *Über Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1985), 30-34; Robert Simpson, '>The 7th Symphony of Bruckner. An Analysis', in *Chord and Discord* vol. 2 no. 10 (1963), 57-67; Steffen Lieberwirth, '>Anton Bruckner und Leipzig' (LABL), in *ABDS 6* (Vienna, 1988); idem, '>Anton Bruckner und Leipzig. Einige neue Erkenntnisse und Ergänzungen' (LABEL), in *BJ 1989/90* (Linz, 1992), 277-88; Timothy L. Jackson, '>The Finale of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony and tragic reversed sonata form', in *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), 140-208; Leopold Brauneiss, '>Zahlen und Proportionen in Bruckners Siebenter Symphonie', in *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz, 1997), 33-46; Graham Phipps, '>Bruckner's free application of strict Sechterian theory with stimulation from Wagnerian sources: an assessment of the first movement of the Seventh Symphony', in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot, 2001), 228-58; Gault

performed of his symphonies and was the first of his works to confirm his growing reputation outside Austria.

Not long after completing the Seventh, Bruckner turned his attention to the *Te Deum* WAB 45 once again. He completed the first draft of the revised version of the work at the end of September and continued working on it until March of the following year, completing it on the 7th of the month. Because there was no space in the autograph full score,¹⁴⁶ Bruckner had to write a separate organ part which he finished on March 16. On 3 May 1884 Bruckner wrote to Franz Schalk, asking him to make a copy in such a way that the organ part appeared at the bottom of the page:

... Therefore, use 24-lined manuscript paper. I must also ask you to make a very exact copy and not to lose anything, as I do not possess a copy. Please ask if there are any problems.¹⁴⁷

This copy was possibly used for the engraving in 1885 but has not been traced.¹⁴⁸ In revising the work Bruckner concentrated his energy on the final part. He also made some slight changes to the instrumentation and improved the vocal declamation in the earlier sections. Nowak suggests that the cut from letter Q to V in the autograph, indicated by Bruckner himself, >'must have been made at the instigation of Hellmesberger, whose enthusiasm for the *Te Deum* led him to consider performing it in the *Hofkapelle* on the occasion of the conferring of the biretta on Cardinal Ganglbauer on November 22, 1884.' Hellmesberger evidently found the work too long and suggested omitting the >'Te ergo' section. However, '>the

NB, 107-11 and 118-26; CarraganRB, 147-55.

146 Mus.Hs. 19.486 in the ÖNB.

147 See HSABB 1, 226 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 54/1.

148 The first edition, consisting of full score and parts (T.R. 40b) and piano score arranged by Josef Schalk (T.R. 40), was published in December 1885 by Theodor Rättig.

cut suggested by Bruckner himself is more comprehensive still, and indeed it would hardly be possible to perform the *Te Deum* at all in so truncated a form.¹⁴⁹

It is not known what prompted Bruckner to write a large-scale sacred work at this stage of his life - sixteen years separate it from the F minor Mass. There is no reason, however, why we should not take at face value his statement that he wished to write it as an act of homage to his '>dear God' for bringing him through all the trials and tribulations he had experienced during his time in Vienna.¹⁵⁰ The *ostinato* character of the constantly recurring descending octave figure with in-filling fifth gives the whole work a compelling inner unity and intensifies its granite-like quality and almost primitive strength and grandeur.¹⁵¹

Josef Schalk and others maintained their efforts to increase public awareness of Bruckner's music throughout 1884. Göllerich and Stradal, who were admirers of Liszt's music, also included piano-solo and piano-duet arrangements of Bruckner's symphonies in their matinees. On 29 January, during a concert which he gave with his brother in the *Bösendorfer* hall, Josef Schalk played the first and second movements of the Fourth Symphony. A few days earlier Ferdinand Löwe gave his first recital, playing his own arrangement of the Adagio from the First Symphony. The reviewer for the

149 Leopold Nowak, foreword to *Te Deum. Fassung von 1884. 2. verbesserte Auflage, ABSW XIX* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1974). For further information, see *G-A IV/2*, 142-55; Dika Newlin, '>Bruckner's *Te Deum*', in *Chord and Discord 2/8* (1958); Leopold Nowak, '>Probleme bei der Veröffentlichung von Skizzen dargestellt an einem Beispiel aus Anton Bruckners *Te Deum*', in *Anthony von Hoboken. Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag* (Mainz, 1962), 115-21, repr. in *Über Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1985), 54-59, which also includes facsimiles of the sketches.

150 This statement was made by Bruckner in a letter to Hermann Levi, dated Vienna, 10 May 1885; see *HSABB*, 1, 279. The original is in private possession; it was first published in Franz Gräßlinger, *Anton Bruckner, Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin: Hesse, 1927), 327-28.

151 This descending figure is clearly suggested by the opening of Beethoven's Ninth and is used by Bruckner as early as the '>Et resurrexit' section in the *Credo* of the F minor Mass and the end of the development section in the first movement of Symphony no. >0'.

Deutsche Zeitung, covering both concerts, remarked that the two movements of the Fourth had made a powerful impression, although performed on the piano rather than the orchestra; what drew his attention in the Adagio was its '>surprisingly passionate upsurge after an over-long contemplative stasis.' In his later recollection of the latter performance, Theodor Helm commented very favourably on both the piano arrangement (specifically its faithfulness to the original orchestral version and Löwe's idiomatic transcription) and Löwe's interpretative powers.¹⁵²

A month later, on 27 February, Schalk and Löwe played the former's piano-duet arrangement of Bruckner's Symphony no. 7. Bruckner had written earlier to Josef Schalk:

No doubt you intend to play the two movements with Löwe on two pianos? You must know only too well (as does Löwe) that a symphony like mine cannot produce its proper effect when played with two hands only... And so I would be most grateful if I could hear it once, for the sake of the tempi...¹⁵³

Auer's suggestion that Josef Schalk had already aroused Arthur Nikisch's interest in the Seventh Symphony when he accompanied Goldschmidt to Leipzig in the autumn of 1883 is contradicted by the Schalk correspondence.¹⁵⁴ Josef had only prepared the ground for a piano-duet performance which was to be given in Leipzig at about the same time as the performance of Goldschmidt's *Heliantus*. In March 1884 he travelled to

¹⁵² The review appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, 7 February 1884. See G-A IV/1, 577 for Helm's comments. I am grateful to Dr. Andrea Harrandt, who works in the Music section of the ÖNB and is a member of the *Anton Bruckner Institut*, for information supplied in connection with her article '>Students and Friends as Prophets@ and Promoters@ - The reception of Bruckner's works in the Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein' in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot, 2001), 327-37. Dr Harrandt is the author of *Anton Bruckner in Bayreuth*, ABDS 19, (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2019).

¹⁵³ See HSABB 1, 222 for this letter, dated Vienna, 16 January 1884; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 178a.

¹⁵⁴ See G-A IV/2, 156-58.

Leipzig. Nikisch conducted Goldschmidt's opera with some success at the City Theatre, but the projected piano-duet performance of the symphony seemed at first to be doomed because Löwe was apparently unable to come.¹⁵⁵ On 30 March, however, Josef wrote enthusiastically to Franz that Löwe's non-appearance had led to an unexpectedly favourable outcome. Josef had visited Nikisch and they had played through the symphony together, with Nikisch becoming more and more enthusiastic. Nikisch's advice to Josef was that he should abandon his plans for a piano-duet performance. He (Nikisch) was planning to give a concert in the theatre on behalf of the Wagner memorial fund in April or the beginning of May, and he undertook to prepare the symphony with the utmost care and perform it then:

... >'From now on I regard it as my duty to promote Bruckner's cause', he said. After this he wrote a long letter to Bruckner which I will bring with me. We then played through the first movement for the third time!... How pleased I am to be able to convey this news to Bruckner. Under these circumstances I will be returning to Vienna early on Tuesday.¹⁵⁶

On 5 April, just before Easter, the Winkler Quartet gave another

155 See *HSABB* 1, 223 for a letter from Goldschmidt to Josef Schalk, dated Leipzig, 10 March 1884. Goldschmidt reassured Schalk on two counts: (a) that his plan to give a piano-duet performance of the Seventh would meet with no difficulty; (b) that he should be able to find a publisher for Bruckner in Leipzig. Also see *LBSAB*, 66 for a letter from Franz Schalk to his brother, dated 28 March 1884. The originals of both letters are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 152a/1 and F18 Schalk 158/5/5 respectively. Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) had a distinguished career as a conductor. He was involved with many of the leading orchestras of the time (Leipzig Gewandhaus, Berlin Philharmonic, Hamburg Philharmonic, Boston Symphony Orchestra, Budapest Opera). For further information, see Manfred Schuler, >'Arthur Nikisch', in *MGG* 9 (1961), cols. 1531ff., and Hans-Hubert Schönzeler / Joseph Horowitz, >'Arthur Nikisch', in *The New Grove*, Second Edition 17 (2001), 918-19.

156 See *HSABB* 1, 223-24 for Nikisch's letter to Bruckner, dated Leipzig, 29 March 1884, and Josef Schalk's letter to Franz, dated Leipzig, 30 March 1884; the originals of both letters are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 185a and F18 Schalk 158/5/6 respectively. In his letter to Bruckner, Nikisch confirmed that he intended to perform the Seventh in Leipzig within the next two months, adding that it was 'a >matter of honour' for him to achieve public recognition for Bruckner's works. There is a facsimile of this letter in *LABL*, 24.

performance of Bruckner's String Quintet in an *Akademischer Gesangverein* concert. Writing in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Theodor Helm described the Adagio as one of the '>noblest, most inspired, most gentle and most euphonious pieces that has been written in modern times', adding that it 'has the same effect as would a truly inspired piece dating from Beethoven's last period and only just discovered among his unpublished compositions.'¹⁵⁷ A fortnight later, Hans Paumgartner, writing in the *Wiener Abendpost*, regarded it as a '>grave injustice that this work is still not played by our established Quartets', an obvious thrust at the Hellmesberger Quartet.¹⁵⁸

In the course of the year the Winkler Quartet gave another private performance of the Adagio from the Quintet in the *Votivkirche*. This was for the benefit of Duke Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria to whom Bruckner dedicated the work. After the publication of the Quintet, Bruckner sent a dedication copy to the Duke. According to Lucca, the cellist in the Winkler Quartet, the Duke '>did not appear to be particularly musical' but he let it be known through his secretary, Count Ritterstein, that the performance in the *Votivkirche* was '>one of his most enjoyable musical experiences' and sent Bruckner a diamond pin.¹⁵⁹

As Bruckner had been invited to play the new organ in the *Rudolfinum* and to attend an organ convention in Prague, he was unable to spend Easter at St. Florian as usual.¹⁶⁰ According to Franz Marschner who happened to be staying with his parents in Prague at the same time, Bruckner met

157 Review of 8 April 1884; see G-A IV/2, 159-60

158 Review of 22 April 1884; see G-A IV/2, 159.

159 See G-A IV/2, 160ff. for Lucca's recollection of the *Votivkirche* performance, and HSABB 1, 238 for Ritterstein's letter to Bruckner, dated Schloß Biederstein (Schwabing, near Munich), 29 October 1884; the original of this letter is in the ÖNB.

160 This is confirmed by Simon Ledermüller in a letter-card to Loidol, dated St Florian, 14 April 1884 – 'Professor Bruckner has not come to St. Florian this time'. See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 207-09.

the leading church musicians in the city as well as Hermann Langer, a fine organist from Leipzig. His improvisational facility was as good as ever but he was 'less successful in his organ playing during High Mass in the cathedral on Easter Sunday.'¹⁶¹

During a year which was largely taken up with negotiations with Nikisch concerning the first performance of the Seventh Symphony, Bruckner had time to compose two short sacred pieces - *Christus factus est* WAB 11 and *Salvum fac populum* WAB 40 - as well as a *Prelude* in C major for harmonium or organ WAB 129.

Christus factus est, for four-part mixed-voice choir *a cappella*, is Bruckner's third setting of the text normally associated with the Maundy Thursday liturgy and was written in Vienna on 28 May and dedicated to his young friend Oddo Loidol in Kremsmünster. Not surprisingly, given the date of the piece, there are several motivic connections with the Seventh Symphony, the *Te Deum* and the Eighth Symphony.¹⁶²

We do not know for what purpose Bruckner wrote his *Salvum fac populum*, a setting of lines from the *Te Deum* for four-part mixed-voice choir *a cappella* composed in Vienna on 14 November. It is possible that he intended it for inclusion in a Caecilian publication or for performance at either St. Florian or Kremsmünster. Plainchant-like phrases for bass, short

161 See G-A IV/2, 165. Dr. Franz L.V. Marschner (1855-1932) was a composer, organist and music theorist. He was educated and worked in Prague and Vienna, and was one of Bruckner's students at the Vienna Conservatory from 1883 to 1885. His *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* appeared in the *Österreichisch-Ungarische Revue* (Vienna, 1903) and excerpts can be found in G-A IV/2, 129-32 and passim. His musical Nachlass was donated to the ABIL in 2018. See Andreas Lindner, 'Das ABIL erhält den musikalischen Nachlass des Bruckner-Schülers Franz Marschner', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.22 (December 2018), 9-12.

162 The autograph of this motet is in the private collection of Dr. Arthur Wilhelm, Basel-Bottmingen. The engraver's copy, used for the first edition in 1886, namely no. 1 of *Vier Graduale* published by Theodor Rättig (pl. no. T.R. 41), is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 37.281, and the dedication copy is in Kremsmünster music library, D7/320. For further information, see G-A IV/2, 169-72, *ABSW XXI/2*, 119-23 and Timothy Jackson, '>'The Enharmonics of Faith: Enharmonic Symbolism in Bruckner's *Christus factus est* (1884)', in *BJ* 1987/88 (Linz, 1990), 7-20. A modern edition of the piece can be found in *ABSW XXI/1*, 22-25.

sections in a fauxbourdon-type homophony and equally short polyphonic enclaves alternate.¹⁶³

On his return from Prague after Easter, Bruckner wrote to Nikisch to thank him for his interest in the Seventh Symphony:

Having just returned from Prague (where I made the acquaintance of Professor Langer from Leipzig), I am taking this opportunity of expressing my deepest thanks for your kindness. Once again I breathe a sigh of relief at your words of approval and think: >*at last you have found a true artist*. I pray that your favourable attitude towards me will continue and that you will not abandon me - for you are certainly the only one who can and, praise God, also wants to come to my aid. Mr. Seidl has also expressed similar sentiments and will perhaps imitate your noble example in the future. If it is necessary for me to attend the final rehearsal, I will ask for a couple of days' leave of absence. I will be deeply indebted to you for as long as I live and you will have my greatest admiration for your artistry and your noble endeavour. Three cheers for an artist of real distinction!...¹⁶⁴

At the end of April and beginning of May, Bruckner wrote two letters to Anton Vergeiner in Freistadt who had asked the composer to supply him with some biographical information for an article which he intended to write

163 For further information, see *G-A IV/2*, 200-01 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 123-26. The work first appeared in print in a facsimile of the autograph, Mus. Hs. 6022 in the ÖNB, between pages 496 and 497 in *G-A IV/2* (1936). There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXI/1*, 126-28. On page 129 of the same volume is a modern edition of *Veni Creator Spiritus* (c.1884), Bruckner's harmonization of a plainchant melody for voice and organ. It was first published in *G-A IV/1*, 524.

164 See *HSABB I*, 225 for this letter, dated Vienna, 16 April 1884; the original is privately owned. Anton Seidl (1850-1898) was one of the finest Wagner conductors of his generation. He was conductor of the Leipzig Opera (1879), Bremen Opera (1883), New York Metropolitan (1885) and New York Philharmonic (1891) and gave the first American performance of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony on 4 April 1888. See *HSABB I*, 211 for Bruckner's letter to Seidl, dated Vienna, 9 July 1883, in which he congratulates his 'very dear friend' on his appointment as music director of Bremen Opera. The original is privately owned. For further information, see Reinhold Sietz, '>Anton Seidl', in *MGG 12* (1965), cols. 472-73 and Joseph Horowitz, '>Anton Seidl' in *The New Grove*, Second Edition, 23, 49-50.

for publication later in the year. In the first letter Bruckner drew Vergeiner's attention to articles which had already appeared in other newspapers and mentioned Nikisch's interest in his Seventh Symphony which he hoped to perform in May.¹⁶⁵ Vergeiner must have asked for more specific information because, in the second letter, we have answers to five questions. The most revealing is the information about Hanslick, or rather Bruckner's almost paranoid fear of the man:

... 3rd question: Apart from Herbeck, Hanslick used to be my most important and greatest supporter. He will never write about me again in the same way as he did up until 1874 (when I was appointed lecturer at the University); he had even very flattering things to say about me as a composer and conductor.

Above all, please do not criticise Hanslick on my account because he has a terrible temper; he has the power to destroy. There is no point in fighting against him. One can only plead with him. And I cannot even do that, because he always refuses...

Opposed to me are Hanslick (*freie Presse*) and his two lieutenants, Kalbeck (*Presse*) and Dömpke (*Allgemeine Zeitung*). These two have to write to order; the other papers are favourably disposed towards me.¹⁶⁶

165 See HSABB I, 225-26 for this letter, dated Vienna, 25 April 1884. The original is in the possession of the Schlossmuseum, Freistadt; it was first published in *ABB*, 159-60. Anton Vergeiner (1858-1901) was a lawyer and highly gifted amateur musician. He attended some of Bruckner's lectures while he was pursuing law studies at Vienna University. His brother, Hermann Pius Vergeiner (1859-1900), was one of Bruckner's organ students at the Conservatory and was a prizewinner in the 1880-81 semester. See also Bernhard Prammer, 'Ein musikalischer Schatz für Freistadt – Die Kompositionen der Brüder Hermann Pius und Anton Vergeiner', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* 10 (December 2012), 9-10, and Elisabeth Maier, "'Sie haben in ganz Oberösterreich nicht ihresgleichen'" (August Göllerich zu Karl Schallaböck). Die Brüder Anton und Hermann Pius Vergeiner', in *IBG Studien & Berichte Mitteilungsblatt* 80 (June 2013), 5-10.

166 See HSABB I, 227 for the complete letter, dated Vienna, 9 May 1884; the original is in the possession of the Schlossmuseum, Freistadt. See also Erich W. Partsch, 'Vergeiner, Brüder' in *Anton Bruckner. Ein Handbuch* (Salzburg, 1996), 464 and Bernhard Prammer, 'Briefe Anton Bruckners aus dem Nachlass der Brüder Anton und Hermann Pius Vergeiner', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* 12 (December 2013), 14-17.

Around the same time Bruckner wrote to his former pupil Rudolf Krzyzanowski in Starnberg, bringing him up to date about his recent compositions:

... Apologies!!! Congratulations! Where will this letter find you? My 7th Symphony is completed, as well as a large *Te Deum*. Nikisch in Leipzig is absolutely delighted with the 7th and wants to perform it soon at a concert for the Wagner memorial fund.

Here in Vienna nothing has been performed apart from the String Quintet in an *Akademischer Gesangverein* concert. Hans Richter performs nothing [of mine] anywhere. He plays the same tune as Hanslick!

As I shall probably be spending a longer time in Munich and surrounding area this year, I could see you there. It would be a great joy for me to be able to speak to my old favourite.

Send me your proper address...

My congratulations to your wife!

My compositions have not earned me a kreuzer.

The Quintet is dedicated to Max Emanuel in Bavaria.¹⁶⁷

The projected performance of the Seventh in Leipzig was postponed at first from May to June, and Bruckner wrote to Nikisch on 11 June asking him for further information:

... Above all my warmest congratulations on your engagement!
May God grant you the happiest of futures!

May I ask you once again: is the concert now going to take place? On the 21st of this month? And if so, when are the two final rehearsals which I would so very much like to attend? Perhaps I will hear this work only once in any case, as I am not having any success in Vienna. Therefore it is all the more important for me to hear it, unless you think I should not come.

If you should wish me to be present I will have to request leave of absence from my various superiors; so could I have a

¹⁶⁷ See *HSABB* 1, 226-27 for this letter, dated Vienna, 5 May 1884; the original is privately owned. The congratulations may refer to the birth of a child.

prompt reply, please!

I would be overjoyed to see my youngest child brought into the world by the leading German conductor! I am very excited already. Marvellous things have been written recently in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Bayreuther Blätter* and German papers!

I repeat my urgent request and commend myself and my child to you in the hope of a favourable response...¹⁶⁸

In his reply Nikisch said that insurmountable difficulties had caused the premiere of the work to be postponed until September:

Unfortunately, on account of serious obstacles, we have had to postpone the concert which should have been given on the 27th of this month. At first I thought that it would only be a matter of a few days, but now we see that we will have to postpone it until September. Although I am sorry that I have not yet been able to introduce the Leipzig public to this marvellous E major symphony, I am convinced that the performance is guaranteed a full attendance in September when all the Leipzig people have returned from their Summer travels and, as a result of its undoubted success, will prompt other concert-giving bodies to perform it. As you are still on holiday in September, dear Master, I am certainly reckoning on seeing you here. You will be pleased with Leipzig. I have already given you so much publicity through piano performances and have won so many friends for your marvellous symphony that the success of the performance is assured!...¹⁶⁹

Three days before the beginning of his Summer vacation Bruckner wrote

168 See HSABB 1, 228-29 for this letter; the original is privately owned.

169 See HSABB 1, 229 for this letter, dated Leipzig, 16 June 1884; the original is in the ÖNB. Notices in two Leipzig papers, the *Musikalischer Wochenblatt* (19 June) and the *Leipziger Nachrichten* (20 June), indicate a forthcoming concert for the benefit of the Bayreuth fund in which the chief work was to be a Bruckner symphony. Two days later, on 18 June, Bruckner wrote to Josef Schalk, addressing him as his '>honourable partner in the struggle' and asking him if he knew of any particular reason why the concert had been postponed until September. See HSABB 1, 230; original in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/12.

another letter to Nikisch. Expecting the conductor to be in touch with him, he gave him some idea of where he would be while away from Vienna. He had also had second thoughts about the tempo of the Finale:

At Wolzogen's request I have just become a member of the *Allgemeiner Deutsche Musikverein*.

On the 20th I go to Bayreuth, then to Munich, and later to my native Upper Austria where I will remain until 1 September. My letters will be re-directed to St. Florian abbey near Linz. Recently Messrs Schalk and Löwe played the Finale of the Seventh Symphony for me on two pianos and I realised that I must have chosen too quick a tempo. I became convinced that the tempo should be a very moderate one and frequent changes of tempo would be required. With a gifted conductor like you in charge, all of this will no doubt happen automatically. My earnest request to you, my most generous supporter, is that I should be present at the last two rehearsals so that I can hear the work three times. I will not trouble anyone here in Vienna - Hellmesberger, the court music director, is so delighted with my new *Te Deum* and wants to perform it at court...¹⁷⁰

In his next letter to Nikisch, written during his stay at St. Florian, Bruckner requested that the first performance of the Seventh be put back until the beginning of the University term:

I am now at St. Florian abbey in Upper Austria and all letters are being re-directed to me here. In Bayreuth Hans von Wolzogen and the German students recommended that I ask for the concert not to take place until the beginning of the University term, so that the German student body can also be involved. I submit this request herewith to the relevant

¹⁷⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 230-31 for this letter, dated Vienna, 17 July 1884; the original is in private possession. Bruckner had already asked Pius Richter if they could agree on some kind of division of holiday arrangements so that he could travel to Bayreuth with the Wagner Society on 20 July - see *HSABB* 1, 230 for Bruckner's letter to Richter, 2 July 1884; also *HSABB* 1, 235-36 for another letter from Bruckner to Richter, dated Vienna, 18 September 1884, in which he informs him of his return to Vienna and expresses his gratitude; the original is in the ÖNB.

authority, adding in all humility that I put myself completely at your disposal. As Hans v. Wolzogen is going to write to the German student body I expect to gain many supporters among the young people. >'Gaudeamus igitur'. I have begun my Eighth Symphony. Highly esteemed artist, do not lose patience with me and please continue to honour me with your invaluable help!...¹⁷¹

Bruckner's request was granted and the date of the performance was put back to November. On the same day he wrote to Nikisch Bruckner also informed Josef Schalk about Hermann Levi's wish to perform at least the Adagio of the Seventh in Munich the following March and asked for his assistance in sending a copy of the score to Munich:

Dear friend!

Baron Ostini, president of the *Allgemeiner Wagnerverein* in Munich, would like to obtain the score of the Seventh Symphony for H. Levi either in the near future or in the autumn. Should we not ensure that it is copied either completely or partially?

I must leave this now to your judgment. I would not be happy parting with this autograph score unless there was a very good reason. I believe you have it. Did we not want to make some improvements? Perhaps a couple of movements could be written out.

As soon as Ostini writes to me we must send them to him. His address: Baron Ostini, Munich / Burgstrasse 12/3.

And so, as soon as I write to you again please be so good as to forward the score (a copy, if possible, but without mistakes - otherwise music director Levi will send it back immediately.)

Please write to me, Mr. Schalk, and tell me if you are in Vienna and are going to remain there. If you intend to go away, please send the score to me at St. Florian near Linz as soon as possible.¹⁷²

171 See HSABB I, 231-32 for this letter, dated St. Florian, 6 August 1884; the original is privately owned.

172 See HSABB I, 232 for this letter, dated St. Florian, 6 August 1884; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/13/1. Hermann Levi (1839-1900) was court music director in Munich from 1872 to 1890 and was appointed general music director there in 1894. He conducted

During the summer of 1884 Josef Schalk was working on an article on Bruckner which was to be published in the October issue of the *Bayreuther Blätter* and, like Vergeiner's, was intended to commemorate the composer's 60th birthday in September. A few articles appeared earlier in pro-Wagnerian journals. Josef alluded to one of these by a certain Dr. Schuster, which appeared in the *Kunst-Chronik* in August, when he wrote to Franz regretting that his own article would not appear until October.¹⁷³

In his letter to Nikisch on 17 July Bruckner outlined his itinerary during the holiday months. After his annual visit to Bayreuth, he spent some time in Munich where he met Baron Ostini and, with a letter of introduction from Landgrave Fürstenberg, was received by Archduchess Gisela, daughter of Emperor Franz Josef, and Karl Freiherr von Perfall, intendant of the court theatre. He obviously regarded this as a necessary preliminary to his request that King Ludwig of Bavaria be the dedicatee of his new symphony. In a letter to Perfall in September Bruckner enclosed copies of Wagnerian keepsakes, remarking that they would be 'of >great use in achieving my purpose.'¹⁷⁴

One of Bruckner's travelling companions on his visit to Bayreuth was a leather merchant and Wagner enthusiast called Josef Diernhofer. He promised to compose a piece for harmonium and, on 20 August, wrote to

at Bayreuth several times, including the first performance of Parsifal in July 1882. He was also a fine interpreter of Brahms. For further information, see Laurence Dreyfus, '>Hermann Levi', in *The New Grove*, Second Edition 14 (2001), 606-07; Peter Jost, 'Hermann Levi', in *MGG*, Personenteil, 11 (2004), cols. 33-34.

173 See *LBSAB*, 70-71 for this letter dated Vienna, 10 August 1884; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/5/11.

174 See *HSABB* 1, 234-35 for this letter, dated St. Florian, 13 September 1884. It was first printed in *GrBLS*, 355-56; the original is privately owned. During his visits to Bayreuth from 1884 onwards Bruckner regularly visited Wagner's grave. As a memento of his visit in 1884 he took three ivy leaves and placed them in an envelope with the inscription '>1884. Drei Blätter aus Bayreuth v. des + Meisters Grabe.'

Diernhofer enclosing a short Prelude in C major WAB 129:

At present I am in Kremsmünster where I have written out the little piece composed at St. Florian. I shall be delighted if you are pleased with it.

My D minor symphony (dedicated to Richard Wagner) is published in both full score and piano score by Rättig in Vienna. And my Quintet by Gutmann in Vienna (Opera Theatre).

You deserve to be greatly honoured for your fine taste and enthusiasm for art. I imagine that you have a family? My warmest greetings to all!

In Leipzig I have requested that the concert, in which my Seventh Symphony is to be performed for the benefit of the Wagner memorial, be postponed until the beginning of the University term. Today I received a third letter from the enthusiastic music director in which my request is granted.

The symphony will probably go to Munich after Leipzig.

Duke Max Emanuel and Princess Gisela received me most graciously.¹⁷⁵

The Prelude in C major is only 27 bars' long and is essentially a microcosm of several of the techniques employed by Bruckner in his larger compositions.¹⁷⁶

Bruckner spent just over a week at Kremsmünster (17-25 August), and his friend Oddo Loidol left a written record of his movements during this time:

175 See *HSABB* 1, 233 for this letter, dated Kremsmünster 20 August 1884; the original is in private ownership in Linz.

176 The Prelude was first published by Universal Edition (U.E. 8752) as a music supplement in *Musica divina* xiv (1926). For further information, see G-A IV/2, 187ff., Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel/Basel, 1956), 762; Martin Vogel, >'Bruckner in reiner Stimmung. Eine Analyse des Orgelpräludiums in C-dur', in *BJ* 1981 (Linz, 1982), 159-66 where the piece is also printed on p.160; Kevin J. Swinden, >'Bruckner's Perger Prelude: A Dramatic Revue of Wagner?', in *Music Analysis* 18/1 (March 1999), 101-24; Erwin Horn, ed. *Werke für Orgel*, ABSW XII/6 (Vienna, 1999), vii-viii (this Complete Edition volume includes both the fair copy of 20 August [p. 16] and a transcription of an earlier sketch [p. 17]); Thomas Leibnitz, 'Bruckners "'Perger Präludium" WAB 129 – eine Wagner-Reminiszenz an der Orgel', in *IBG Studien & Berichte Mitteilungsblatt* 81 (December 2013), 5-8.

Bruckner normally spent the forenoon composing in the music room; he composed *inter alia* the second part of his Seventh [sic] Symphony (C); one evening when he was in room no. 2 he wrote the Prelude for harmonium for Diernhofer, the leather merchant from Perg, and send it to him from here. In the afternoons he went on walks with my brother Amand and me. In the evenings he always remained in the refectory with the clergy.

He showed me the letter from music director Nikisch in Leipzig and told us that the students had given him such a welcome in Munich and that he had been invited to visit Archduchess Gisela etc. etc.

On 21 August he gave a great organ concert; on 22 August we had an excursion to Wartberg accompanied by my brother Amand and Georg, the music director. On 24 August he played the organ brilliantly at High Mass...¹⁷⁷

Loidol's review of Bruckner's organ concert on 21 August appeared in the *Linzer Volksblatt* a week later. According to Loidol, Bruckner played this new Prelude as his first piece and then developed it further. He also improvised on a pedal theme which Loidol notated on the sketch of the Prelude.¹⁷⁸ Later in the year Loidol asked Bruckner to write out the complete fugue and, indeed, more of his improvised organ compositions so that the musical world would have a permanent record of works other than his symphonies. But Bruckner was unwilling to do this. Like other fine improvisers, with the possible exception of Franz Liszt, he found it difficult to recapture the inspiration of the moment on manuscript paper.

Bruckner was based at St. Florian for the rest of his summer vacation but visited Linz, Steyr and Vöcklabruck where he celebrated his 60th birthday on

¹⁷⁷ See G-A IV/2, 189-90.

¹⁷⁸ See G-A IV/2, 193 for this theme, and P. Altman Pösch, 'Marginalien zum Thema Bruckner und Stift Kremsmünster', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.11 (June 2013), 9-10 for photocopies of Bruckner's sketches for the Prelude and another theme for the pedals upon which the composer improvised at the concert (incl. Loidol's annotations).

4 September and was serenaded by the local choral society and military band.¹⁷⁹ While in Vöcklabruck he also found time to complete the sketches of the first movement of his Eighth Symphony.

The Seventh Symphony was still foremost in his mind, however. On 13 September he wrote not only to Perfall concerning the dedication of the symphony but to Hans von Wolzogen as well:

... The German students applauded me vigorously. In accordance with their wishes and my request, the concert in Leipzig on behalf of the Wagner memorial, which included the performance of my Seventh Symphony, has been postponed until the University lectures have begun. In a recent (third) enthusiastic letter, Nikisch granted my request. (The new tubas and the funeral music for our unforgettable Master are in the second movement.)

Max van de Sandt and the gentlemen from Weimar are full of enthusiasm for the D minor symphony. Baron Ostini will make every effort on behalf of my symphony in Munich...¹⁸⁰

In September Franz Schalk took up his first appointment as conductor - assistant conductor in the Moravian town of Olomouc. In one of his letters to Franz, Josef sends Bruckner's greetings, looks forward with some envy to his younger brother being in a position to conduct one of Bruckner's works, and provides up-to-date information about the Eighth Symphony:

... The first movement is complete in sketch form. There are some marvellous things in the theme and its excursions. He has played it through for Hirsch and me...¹⁸¹

179 See Franz Zamazal, 'Ein Segment aus Vöcklabrucks Musikgeschichte Franz Schalm, der Vater von Bruckners Großnichte Laura Huebers' in *BJ* 2001-2005 (Vienna, 2006), 156-57 for further details of this visit.

180 See *HSABB* 1, 235 for this letter dated St. Florian, 13 September 1884. It was first published in *ABB*, 165-66; the original is not extant. Max van de Sandt (1863-1934) was a pianist and composer and one of Liszt's pupils in Weimar.

181 See *LBSAB*, 72 for this letter dated Vienna, 23 September 1884; the original is in the

On 26 September Anton Vergeiner's article on Bruckner appeared in the *Linzer Tagespost*. Vergeiner attempted to draw a clear distinction between Brahms and Bruckner and castigated the Viennese and their most prominent music critics for their failure to give proper recognition to the composer. Hanslick was described as a '>'grumpy gatekeeper of the musical Parnassus', that is the critic who determined what was acceptable in Viennese musical life. When Bruckner sent a belated letter of thanks to Vergeiner on 5 November, he alluded to this particularly apt description of Hanslick and added some details of his current musical activities:

... So long as the gatekeeper does not lift the ban, all is lost! Truly a hard, but certain fate. While those who are in favour have received 30,000 marks and even more for a symphony, those who are not in favour are not even able to have a work printed. The Leipzig concert will take place soon. On Sunday (9 Nov.) I will be conducting my 3rd Mass in the *Hofburgkapelle*...¹⁸²

Nearly three weeks later Bruckner sent another short letter to Vergeiner who had apparently asked to see the score of one of the composer's works:

Your kindness brings me great pleasure!

The score has just been returned to me. I am usually at home until 12.00 on Wednesday and Friday mornings. I will be

ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/5/19. Richard Hirsch was a member of the Wagnerverein in Vienna and a friend of Hugo Wolf.

182 See HSABB 1, 239 for this letter dated Vienna, 5 November 1884; the original appears to have been lost, but there is a copy in the Schlossmuseum, Freistadt. See Bernhard Prammer, 'Briefe Anton Bruckners aus dem Nachlass der Brüder Anton und Hermann Pius Vergeiner', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.12 (December, 2013), 16. Vergeiner's article in the *Linzer Tagespost* on 26 September is paraphrased in *G-A IV/2*, 194-95. For further information about Vergeiner and the increasingly German national and antisemitic tone of the *Tagespost* during the 1880s, see Uwe Harten's contribution to the round table session '>'Bruckner und die österreichische Presse', in *BSL* 1991 (Linz, 1994), 97-98.

pleased to make your acquaintance. Mr. Hanslick has been very cross with me (recently).

NB It would be certainly be of great help if you were the critic of the *Freie Presse*.¹⁸³

Josef Schalk's article on Bruckner appeared in the *Bayreuther Blätter* in October and helped to prepare the way for the reception of his works outside Austria. Schalk stressed the connection with Wagner, the obvious '>Germanness' of his music and the '>sublime' qualities of the symphonic movements which had been misconstrued:

... Forged by pure, unadulterated musical strength, these movements rose up boldly like rocks but there were no meandering and well-trodden paths leading to them. There was a change from hedges and bushes to wild trees of gigantic size and they were passed by. It was certainly conceded that there were '>inspired traits' but they were lacking in '>any kind of structure.' The important reputations which critics were able to claim for themselves by stressing '>structure' intimidated their readers to such an extent that none of them even dared to venture the question what '>structure' was supposed to mean, but preferred to maintain a comfortable attitude of respect for an unknown quantity and to have unconditional faith in the authority of its source... What is described as structure in a limited sense, the arrangement of periods in a musical paragraph, is to be understood only in the context of and simultaneously with a complete understanding of the content, as the determining factor here is certainly not the law of symmetry but another more fundamental law which is apparently related to it but cannot be grasped by mere theoretical speculation. And so very soon that section of the Viennese musical public that would have been at all capable of remaining uninfluenced by the superficially impressive for a longer time was not given the opportunity of taking a lively interest in Bruckner. One is all the more ashamed never to have experienced public apathy to the same degree.

183 See HSABB 1, 241 for this letter dated Vienna, 24 November 1884. It was first printed in *ABB*, 170-71; the original is not extant. The identity of the score referred to is unknown.

Bruckner himself saw only one way of salvation - the way to 'Him' [that is, Wagner]. He alone could reassure him - he, whose greatness had filled his soul with glowing enthusiasm for a long time; he wanted to run to him and spread out his work under the penetrating eye of his illustrious master... Childlike purity and uninhibitedness, inexplicable disregard for and ignorance of each and every practicality characterise him as a master and as an artist. The possessor of a fiery temperament and a deep and thoroughly gentle warm-heartedness which is pervaded by that purely German humour, gentle but strong, that is unfortunately seldom encountered, he makes his lonely way through life. He has never gone out of his way to find a publisher for his works and, regrettably, only his Wagner Symphony and Quintet have appeared in print so far...

Turning to Bruckner's symphonies in general, Schalk was at pains to point out that they 'find the law of their development within themselves', that is they are not dependent upon extra-musical factors, and he added that it should not be held against Bruckner if he availed himself freely of the advances made in the Wagnerian music drama in the realms of harmony, modulation and thematic and contrapuntal development.¹⁸⁴

In October Nikisch assured Bruckner that he was still making every effort to arouse interest in the Seventh in Leipzig:

Today I have played through the Symphony in E major to Mr. Oskar Schwalm, the music critic of the influential Leipzig newspaper, the 'Leipziger Tagesblatt'.

He was beside himself with delight and asked me to inform you that he was truly filled with enthusiasm for your magnificent masterpiece and that he considers it his duty to use all of his influence to work in the press on your behalf and to ensure that you are not deprived of the public recognition which you so richly deserve. He asked me to lend him the

¹⁸⁴ See *LBSAB*, 225ff. for extracts from this article which appeared in the *Bayreuther Blätter* 7/10, 329-334. The article contains music examples from the Seventh Symphony.

piano score for some time so that he could become better acquainted with the magnificent work, and so I must request your friend Schalk, who has asked for the score back, to leave it for me so that I can play through the symphony to a few other critics.

I am taking an almost childlike delight in the performance, as it will undoubtedly have an enormous success!¹⁸⁵

In October Bruckner lost a dear friend, the St. Florian music director Ignaz Traumihler, who had been very ill during the composer's stay at the abbey the previous month. Mozart's *Requiem* was performed at Traumihler's funeral on 15 October and Bruckner played the organ, improvising on the themes of the double fugue from the *Agnus Dei*.

At the end of October, Liszt wrote to Bruckner to thank him for the dedication of the Symphony no. 2 in C minor. He had read it through with interest, but would have preferred to hear it played by an orchestra. He wished the composer every success with his '>unwavering efforts'.¹⁸⁶ As already mentioned earlier, Liszt intended to take the dedication score with him to Weimar but apparently left it in his apartment in the Schottengasse. When Bruckner got to know about this by chance a year later he regarded Liszt's seeming carelessness in leaving the score unattended as an indication of a lack of interest in the work and withdrew the dedication. Apart from this episode his relationship with Liszt was reasonably cordial given the obvious differences in their personalities and lifestyles. He admired the *Faust* symphony, without understanding the programmatic basis of the work, and thought highly of the *Gran Festival Mass* and the *Coronation Mass*. His response to the two oratorios, *Christus* and *St. Elisabeth*, was less

¹⁸⁵ See *HSABB* 1, 237 for this letter dated Leipzig, 15 October 1884; the original is in St. Florian.

¹⁸⁶ See *HSABB* 1, 238 for this letter dated Vienna, 29 October 1884. The location of the original is unknown; it was first published in *ABB*, 329, and there is a facsimile of the original between pages 272 and 273.

enthusiastic. He knew and played Liszt's Fugue on B-A-C-H for organ. Although well aware of Liszt's reputation as a piano virtuoso, he personally preferred Rubinstein's playing.¹⁸⁷

At the beginning of November Josef Schalk played his arrangements of two Bruckner symphony movements - the Adagio from the Seventh and the Scherzo from the Fourth - at a *Wagnerverein* concert in the *Bösendorfersaal*.¹⁸⁸ A few days later, nearly 18 months after the previous performance of the F minor Mass in the *Hofkapelle*, Bruckner conducted the work again, together with the first performance of the new motet, *Christus factus est*, as gradual and *Os justi* as offertory. Once again Dr. Theodor Helm, writing in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, was full of praise for the work:

Bruckner's inspired work was performed brilliantly and tastefully under the composer's personal direction. In spite of its great length this significant and impressive composition was listened to with great attention. We must also repeat this year what we were able to say last year. Whoever is not able to discover Bruckner's genius in this work, whoever cannot sense that a divinely inspired composer has written it, has slept through the last decades of musical development and so there is no point in arguing with him. As far as we are concerned, however - in spite of a few features which militate against the work and in spite of the enormous demands it makes on the singers - we are always very pleased when it is in the repertory, we can have heartfelt enthusiasm for this splendid

187 See G-A IV/2, 166-69 and 471ff; August Stradal, '>Franz Liszt und Anton Bruckner. Eine vergleichende Studie', in *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 38 (1911), 783ff.; idem, *Erinnerungen an Franz Liszt* (Bern and Leipzig, 1929); Wilhelm Kurthen, '>Liszt und Bruckner als Messenkomponisten', in *Musica sacra* 55 (1925), 265-71; Othmar Wessely, '>Bruckner und Liszt', in *BSL* 1986 (Linz, 1989), 67-72; Rudolf Stephan, '>Bruckner und Liszt. Hat der Komponist Franz Liszt Bruckner beeinflusst?', *ibid*, 169-80; Constantin Floros, '>Diskussionsbeitrag zum Thema Bruckner und Liszt', *ibid*, 181-88. See also Stephen Johnson, *op. cit.*, 145-50.

188 The concert took place on Tuesday 4 November and was reviewed in the *Deutsche Zeitung* on 6 November.

piece, and we feel that deep devoutness and the pure naivety of true genius had an equal share in its creation. We also have the same admiration for the two enclaves, >'Os justi' and the new and surprisingly beautiful >'Christus factus'. There is no '>if' and '>but' about the >'Resurrexit' of the Mass. Friend and foe alike are so emotionally moved that they forget about criticism and analysis. The colossal overall impression certainly leads to self-reflection and true religious exaltation! And, in my opinion, that is the greatest praise that can be given to church composers at any time.¹⁸⁹

In the meantime, there had been more correspondence concerning the Seventh. On 5 November Bruckner wrote to Nikisch, acknowledging his letter of 15 October, mentioning Levi's interest in the work, and asking when the performance would take place. His main concern, however, was that the work should be understood:

Hans v. Wolzogen would like to know the day of the performance well in advance... You cannot imagine how delighted I am with your fine letters. Please convey my deepest respects to Mr. Schwalm and tell him what great pleasure his kindness has given me. Mr. Levi, the Munich music director, wants to see the score of the Seventh Symphony. Will the concert now take place in November? In any event could I ask you, when you reply, to state that I '>must be present at the two final rehearsals' so that I can request leave. In the score there are actually a lot of important details apart from tempo changes which have not been marked. Will the Seventh Symphony, the Adagio in particular, not be too difficult a work for the public to grasp as an introduction to my music? (The Fourth >'Romantic' Symphony would probably have been an easier introductory work.)

In our *Wagnerverein*, people began to understand the Adagio of the Seventh only after repeated playing (on the piano). Perhaps the most important people should attend the

189 See G-A IV/2, 198-99. The performance was on 9 November and was recorded by Bruckner in *Fromme's Neuer Auskunfts-Kalender für Geschäft und Haus 1884*, a diary whose contents are in three different places because Bruckner's secretary, Anton Meißner, divided it up and gave portions of it as gifts to different people. See MVP 1, 231 and 2, 208.

rehearsals so that they will understand the work better? I am pleased with the tuba passages. I am longing for things to happen and looking forward with excitement to the performance. I hope that several rehearsals have taken place already. Have the parts been written well and correctly? How does the work sound when played by orchestra? With my heartfelt request for many rehearsals...

N.B. I am not able to send Mr. Grünberg the parts of the Quintet because they are not ready yet. I have given Mr. Gutmann his letter. Greetings!¹⁹⁰

Bruckner could hardly disguise his disappointment that the Leipzig performance had been postponed, but at least there was now the prospect of another performance of the Seventh in Munich. Hermann Levi had made Bruckner's acquaintance at Bayreuth and, according to Auer, had already studied one of his symphonies, describing it as '>'an extremely significant work'.¹⁹¹ Bruckner sent a copy of the score of the Seventh to Baron von Ostini who in turn passed it on to Levi. The composer was delighted to receive the following letter from Levi:

I have read through with great interest the symphony passed on to me by Mr. von Ostini. At first the work displeased me, then it gripped me, and finally I have acquired an immense respect for the man who could produce something as individual and important as this. But, in spite of my sincere admiration, I - as the person responsible for directing our concerts here - have a few reservations about introducing our public to the work. If I myself have had difficulty in getting into the work - (I am still not able to grasp the final movement) - how much more disconcerted the Munich public will be, even although its response to new works is no less than friendly. And so I would ask your permission to perform the Adagio only in one of our future (royal) concerts. This movement is the

190 See *HSABB* 1, 239-40 for this letter dated Vienna, 5 November 1884; the original is privately owned.

191 Auer conjectures that it was the Sixth rather than the Seventh Symphony; see *G-A* 4/2, 203.

easiest and the most gripping. I have no doubt that it will be very successful, and I would be able to build on that success by performing the whole work later. Please tell me honestly what you think of this proposal! In the meantime, preparations are going well. I am playing the Adagio and - as far as it is possible on the piano - the first movement to every musician who comes to me, and experience in every case the same mounting response from astonishment to admiration which I had myself. By the day of the concert half of the town will know already who and what Bruckner is. Hitherto - to our shame, let it be said - no one, myself included, knew this.¹⁹²

Two months after Traumihler's death Bruckner was mourning the loss of the man who had been his strict but patient and understanding employer in Linz and had maintained a close interest in his career in Vienna, Bishop Franz Josef Rudigier. Ten days before Rudigier's death on 29 November, Bruckner, presumably aware of his failing health, sent him a telegram expressing his concern.¹⁹³ Oddo Loidol accompanied Bruckner to Rudigier's funeral in Linz on 4 December, and Bruckner played the organ in a performance of Mozart's Requiem.¹⁹⁴

On 8 December Bruckner replied to Levi's letter. From a letter written on the same day to Mrs Judith Pfeiffenberger, née Bogner, the daughter of his former superior in St. Florian and one of the children he had taught during his time there, we learn that Levi sent a second letter to Bruckner between 30 November and 8 December:

192 See *HSABB* 1, 241 for this letter dated Munich, 30 November 1884; the original is in St. Florian. Levi seems to indicate here that he had not seen any of Bruckner's symphonies - which contradicts Auer's statement; see previous footnote.

193 See Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 13 for details of this telegram which was sent on 19th November 1884.

194 See *G-A III/1*, 588. See also Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 13 for details of a telegram sent from Linz to Bruckner in December, no doubt to thank him for his participation in the funeral service.

... I take this opportunity of sending you some piano pieces. Please accept them as a small and insignificant token of my true admiration; postage has been pre-paid. I have received letters from Leipzig and Munich which have brought tears to my eyes! They honour me in calling me Beethoven's successor. The court music director in Munich has even put his house at my disposal and has offered to refund my travelling expenses when I travel there in March for a performance of my symphony. Remarkable! Richard Wagner wanted to perform all seven of my symphonies. Unfortunately he is dead!

I offer you my deepest sympathy belatedly. May the passage of time heal the terrible wounds or at least alleviate the pain which is the unfailing consequence of such misfortune! May God be with you and your dear children...¹⁹⁵

In his reply to Levi's two letters, Bruckner began by describing his relationship with Wagner:

For some years now, my dear Sir, I have admired you as one of the leading artists in the world. Your letter, which does me such great honour, increases my respect for you a thousandfold, however. This letter is a veritable gem. I will never part with it, and it will always bring me solace during the many times I have to endure insults. Our dear departed Master knew only the D minor symphony (no. 3). He said to me once as he embraced me: '>Dear friend, it is right that you should dedicate this work to me. It has given me immense pleasure.' He frequently called for its performance in Vienna. Mr. Seidl also said that he had heard the most flattering things from the Master about this symphony. About six months before his death the dearly departed said to me, '>'You can be sure that I will perform your symphonies myself.' Now it appears as if the dearly-loved, deceased master found a guardian, as it were, for me before he passed away, one in whom he could put his greatest trust.

195 See *HSABB* 1, 242-43 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB. The piano pieces referred to are perhaps copies of the two pieces dedicated to her, namely the *Lancier-Quadrille* WAB 120 and *Steiermärker* WAB 122, which both date from the St. Florian period. Judith Pfeiffenberger's father had died in 1879. It is possible that Bruckner's 'deepest sympathy' referred to the recent loss of her husband.

Levi, of course, was the '>great artist', the guardian who would ensure that Bruckner's works would reach a larger audience. Bruckner agreed with Levi that the Adagio of the Seventh was the most gripping movement while the first movement was the most easily understood. He then drew Levi's attention to his other symphonies, the Fourth in particular:

I have two other approachable symphonies - the Second in C minor (Herbeck's favourite) and the Fourth in E flat major (the 'Romantic') which Richter has performed with huge success. I recommend the 1st and 3rd movements in particular. In the 1st movement day is announced by the horn during the perfect silence of night. 2nd movement: song. 3rd movement: Hunt Trio. Mealtime music for the hunters in the wood. Permit me, most noble patron, to send you the score of my 4th Symphony for your perusal.

Should you abide by your decision and perform only the Adagio [C sharp minor] of the 7th Symphony in E major, I would make only one sincere request, namely that the public is informed that it is not because of any weakness in the work that the other movements are not being played.

I have just found your second exceptionally nice letter at home. A thousand apologies for not replying earlier. I was in Linz at the bishop's funeral. I wept like a child over the second letter. There are no words to describe your generosity. Everything is all right as far as I am concerned! Should I follow your sensible advice, I will very probably come with Landgrave Fürstenberg who asks me to convey his respect and admiration to you. Mr von. Grün also sends his very warm greetings.

I am still waiting to hear whether you wish to perform anything from the 4th Symphony, the 1st and 3rd movements for instance. If you consider the 2nd movement (Adagio) from the 7th Symphony in E major to be more effective, please let me know and I will write to Leipzig immediately and ask for the parts to be returned. Court Director Nikisch is very enthusiastic about the 7th... I am delighted with your kind invitation and with the [offer of] travelling expenses. But the greatest honour for me will be to visit you and to be with you, even for such a short time. My dear court director, I ask you humbly not to forsake me. All my hope and pride are in you,

my highest and most noble artistic patron...¹⁹⁶

After more than a month had elapsed, Nikisch replied to Bruckner's letter of 5 November and explained that it had been necessary to hold rehearsals for the production of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* precedence over the projected performance of the Seventh Symphony in November:

As a result of the many strenuous rehearsals for '>Tristan' which we performed with huge success the day before yesterday, the concert could no longer take place in November as projected. It will now be performed definitely on 30 December and I repeat my request that you give us the pleasure of your presence at the performance and, if possible, at the two final rehearsals as well.

Now to a matter of conscience: in your last letter you informed me of your concern that, as the first work of yours to be performed here, the Seventh Symphony might be too difficult for a foreign public to grasp and deemed the Fourth (Romantic) more suitable for this purpose. Should you still be of this opinion today, in other words should you prefer us to introduce the Leipzig public to the 7th in a later concert and perform the 4th now, I would have to ask you to send the score and parts of this work immediately. I also have to point out that we have no tubas available for the Seventh and will have to use 4 horns instead.

As soon as you receive this letter, could you wire me immediately to let me know which symphony you have chosen...¹⁹⁷

Bruckner had made up his mind that the Seventh Symphony should be performed. He made official application for leave from his *Hofkapelle* duties from 27 December until 1 January and asked Pius Richter to stand in for

196 See *HSABB* 1, 243-44 for this letter dated Vienna, 8 December 1884. The originals of both this letter and the second letter mentioned by Bruckner are not extant; this letter was published for the first time in *GrBLS*, 320ff.

197 See *HSABB* 1, 244 for this letter dated Leipzig, 10 December 1884; the original is in St. Florian.

him.¹⁹⁸ He was able to inform Nikisch that leave had been granted when he wrote to him on 19 December, but there is no mention of the bronchial condition which was causing him trouble and which he alluded to a week later when he wrote to Richter:

I have my leave 'in the bag' already and intend to travel by North-West Railway's courier train on the evening of the 26th and arrive in Leipzig at 11.00 am on Saturday 27 December (unless you should say to me, 'it is better to stay at home.')

Are there no military tubas which can be used?
 Have there been any rehearsals so far?
 How does the symphony sound?
 Please be so kind as to write to me, as I am very excited already. (If the work is unsuccessful, I will return home at dead of night.)

Many congratulations on the excellent 'Tristan' success. I hope that everything is going well already. I am certain that the players who perform 'Tristan' so well will also play my Seventh Symphony superbly..

If you should have any further requests, you have only to let me know. It is a pity that the Universities are on vacation just now. Levi's letters from Munich are splendid...¹⁹⁹

Nikisch replied by return of post:

I am delighted that you have been able to get some leave. The performance will take place definitely on the 30th. There have been rehearsals already; as the work is very difficult it must be rehearsed carefully. We will have five rehearsals altogether for the symphony; I believe that will be sufficient. You will have to change the orchestration of some passages as it does not work and does not sound good. If you are

198 See *HSABB* 1, 246 and 249-50 for the application to the Hofkapelle dated Vienna, 16 December 1884, and the letter to Pius Richter dated Vienna, 26 December 1884. The originals of both letters are in the ÖNB; there is a facsimile of the autograph of the former in *LABL*, 25.

199 See *HSABB* 1, 246 for this letter dated Vienna, 19 December 1884; the original is privately owned.

coming on Saturday we will certainly have enough time to make the changes. *Tristan und Isolde* is being performed here on Saturday! Is your friend Schalk coming with you? I would be very pleased to see him. I am going away for the Christmas holiday tomorrow and don't return to Leipzig until Friday evening. If you should have anything important to communicate to me in the meantime, write to me at the following address: Arthur Nikisch, Cassel, Weinberg 2...²⁰⁰

Josef Schalk did not accompany Bruckner to Leipzig. He had already asked his brother Franz, who was now working as a conductor in Dresden, to go to the Leipzig performance and send back a report to Vienna.²⁰¹ He also arranged a 'Bruckner evening' in the *Bösendorfersaal* on 22 December. It consisted of the whole of the First Symphony (in Löwe's arrangement) played on two pianos by Löwe and Schalk, the first movement of the Fourth played by Löwe, the third movement of the Third played by Schalk, as well as Wotan's monologue from Act 2 of *Die Walküre* in which the soloist was Richard Hirsch. Bruckner mentioned the success of this concert, the forthcoming Leipzig performance of the Seventh and Levi's friendly interest when he wrote his annual Christmas letter to his sister Rosalie in Vöcklabruck.²⁰² He also wrote to Josef Schalk, describing the concert as 'the greatest success he had experienced in Vienna' but voicing his concern that there had been no newspaper reviews of the performances.²⁰³ Bruckner was in fact mistaken. Theodor Helm reviewed

200 See *HSABB*, 247 for this letter dated Leipzig, 21 December 1884; the original is in St. Florian.

201 See *LBSAB*, 74-75 for this letter dated Vienna, 13 December 1884; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/5/22.

202 See *HSABB* 1, 248 for this letter dated Vienna, 24 December 1884. The original is in the Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig, and there is a facsimile of the autograph in *LABL*, 26.

203 See *HSABB* 1, 250 for this letter dated Vienna, 26 December 1884; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/2/2/1.

the concert in the *Deutsche Zeitung* and wrote that the Scherzo of the First had made the greatest impact.²⁰⁴ There was a very positive review by Emil v. Hartmann in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung*, a journal which was sympathetic to the 'new German' direction in general and the *Wagner Society* in particular. Hartmann commended Schalk and Löwe for:

... at least salving the honour of musical Vienna, which has so terribly ignored its native composer who is the most important among living composers for the future of the symphony, by providing superb, finely-conceived interpretations of a few of his orchestral works.²⁰⁵

Another review in the *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* described Schalk and Löwe as 'artistic apostles', young men who were 'working with touching devotion and enthusiasm for the revered Bruckner.'²⁰⁶

Perhaps the most interesting review was that of the young Hugo Wolf in the *Wiener Salonblatt*. Wolf had possibly heard earlier piano and two-piano performances of Bruckner's works. Although by no means an uncritical admirer of the older composer, he took the musical authorities to task for not giving more frequent orchestral performances of Bruckner's symphonies:

...Bruckner, this Titan in conflict with the gods, must be content with trying to communicate his music to the public from the piano. It is a miserable business, but better than not being heard at all. And when our unlucky fellow has the good luck to find such enthusiastic interpreters as Löwe and Schalk, then

204 *Deutsche Zeitung* 4660 (24 December 1884).

205 *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* xii (1 January 1885), 3. Quoted in *LBSAB*, 77-78.

206 *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* (17 January 1885).

we must count him at least partially compensated for the unjust procedure of our fashionable musical institutions.

I have just spoken of Herr Bruckner as a Titan in conflict with the gods. I could not, in truth, think of a more appropriate metaphor with which to characterize this composer, combining as it does both praise and disparagement in equal portions: raw material forces against the predominance of the intellect. Translated into the terminology of art, it reveals an extraordinary native artistic endowment in all its freshness, incompatible with the musical sensibility, the intelligence, the manifestations of a level of cultivation, characteristic of our time. These are the principal elements in the work of this composer, and they find themselves, unfortunately, at loggerheads. Had Bruckner ever succeeded in achieving their reconciliation, he would have become, without doubt, a great figure approaching the significance of Liszt...

Thus he wavers, rooted halfway between Beethoven and the new advances of the moderns, the latter represented most successfully and vividly in Liszt's symphonic poems, unable to decide for the one or the other. That is his misfortune. I do not hesitate, however, to describe Bruckner's symphonies as the most important symphonic creations to have been written since Beethoven...

It would certainly be rewarding, then, to give this inspired evangelist more attention than has been accorded him hitherto. It is a truly shocking sight to see this extraordinary man barred from the concert hall. Among living composers (excepting Liszt, of course) he has the first and greatest claim to be performed and admired.²⁰⁷

While in Leipzig Bruckner demonstrated his skill as an organist by improvising on the *Gewandhaus* organ. The performance of the Seventh Symphony at the Town Theatre in Leipzig on 30 December had a mixed response. Indeed, as Leibnitz points out, there seem to be two conflicting versions of what actually happened.²⁰⁸ On the one hand, there is the version

207 Extract from review which appeared in the *Wiener Salonblatt* (28 December 1884). Quoted from Henry Pleasants, *The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 98-99.

208 See *LBSAB*, 79. A travel diary which Bruckner kept during his visit to Leipzig has been

in the Göllerich-Auer biography in which some displeasure among the public is conceded but the overall impression is one of great success, with 30 December being described as the 'birthday of Bruckner's world fame.'²⁰⁹ On the other hand there are Franz Schalk's two reports, the first to his brother Josef which has been lost,²¹⁰ and the second to his friend Richard Spur in Vienna in which he mentions lack of receptivity among certain members of the public and indeed Bruckner's 'desperation' after the performance.²¹¹

In spite of Schalk's reservations, the critical reaction appears to have been favourable on the whole. Writing in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, which had prepared its readers for the premiere of the symphony in two earlier articles,²¹² Bernhard Vogel first congratulated Nikisch on having the courage of his convictions in performing the work of a composer who was already 'standing on the threshold of old age' and had still not attained 'the degree of general recognition which he certainly would have found under normal circumstances.' He then discussed the work in more detail:

lost, but there is a reproduction of four pages in Max Auer's article, 'Leipzig in der Bruckner-Bewegung', in the programme book for the *Zweites Leipziger Bruckner-Fest* in October 1940 (Leipzig: Bruckner-Gemeinschaft, 1940), 24ff. See MVP 2, 213 for a facsimile of these four pages, and MVP 1, 235-37 for commentary. The reproduced pages contain brief observations made by Bruckner at, possibly, the final rehearsal for the Leipzig performance of the Seventh on 30 December - for instance, the final section of the first movement should be slower, as should the opening theme of the second movement, the brass should play fff before the end of the funeral music [bars 191-92], and the fourth movement should be slower. The addresses of Arthur Nikisch, Carl Riedel and C.F. Kahnt are also noted.

209 See G-A IV/2, 213.

210 In a letter to Franz, written over two days (30 and 31 December 1884), Josef renewed an earlier request for a report of the performance. On 3 January 1885, Josef acknowledged receipt of Franz's report and asked him for more details, for instance the effect of the Finale. See FSBB, 44-45 and HSABB 1, 250-51 (also LBSAB 78ff.) for these two letters, the originals of which are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/5/24 and F18 Schalk 158/6/1.

211 See HSABB 1, 255 for this letter dated Dresden, 19 January 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 36a.

212 These appeared in the paper on Wednesday 24 December and Tuesday 30 December 1884 respectively. See LABL, 38.

The work itself deserves the highest admiration. In closely following models provided by Berlioz and Liszt in their symphonic poems rather than the example of Beethoven, Bruckner presents us with musical tone pictures in which glowing colour vies with the white heat of inventive power, so that the listener is gripped as if with invisible chains from beginning to end.

Perhaps here and there the symphonic threads become too entangled, with the result that the composer finds it difficult to establish the starting- and finishing-points at the right time; perhaps in other passages he may proceed too aphoristically and pay homage to an unusual and remarkable musical logic which frequently bars the way to a clear understanding and a convenient overview of the whole process of musical thought... But of what importance is that in view of the high level of artistic integrity recognizable in all four movements, in view of an almost youthful freshness of musical invention and a genuine, natural empathy with Berlioz, Liszt and, above all, Wagner, by virtue of which he stands out like a giant above the crowd of those pygmies who believe that they have achieved something splendid when they repeat parrot-fashion what these composers have already said more strikingly and powerfully? Anton Bruckner is a self-contained and highly individual artist. If one were to desire anything different from him one would be asking him to be untrue to himself; and he will never do that either now or at any other time. And so we can only express the wish that we will be able to get to know his other symphonies at some time or another in order to learn and appreciate from comparable works the stature of the symphonist who has made such an impressive first appearance here.²¹³

The reviewer in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* had more to say about one of the other works in the programme, Liszt's symphonic poem *Les Préludes*, than Bruckner's symphony which he described as 'too spun out' with a

213 From Vogel's review in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 1 January 1885. See G-A IV/2, 214ff. and *LABL*, 48-49.

mixture of good and >'many really trivial' ideas.²¹⁴

Ernst W. Fritzsch, writing in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, was more complimentary. After praising Nikisch's choice of programme which was much more progressive in outlook than usual, he turned his attention to Bruckner's work:

... The symphony was of great interest and its 2nd and 3rd movements, the Adagio and Scherzo, excited our warmest admiration. This composer knows how to say something truly original and impressive and his work is distinguished by an unusual originality of musical ideas. He is at his most profound in the Adagio, a most beautiful movement which reveals truly Beethovenian sublimity in the invention of its main themes and keeps the listener in suspense right to the end of the solemn funeral hymn at the close. The Scherzo, a model of fluent productive energy and orchestrally conceived through and through, is equally original. In the first and fourth movements the listener has the impression in a few places that the logical thread of development has been interrupted, that the individual sections are only superficially connected and the symphonic flow has come unstuck. As far as content is concerned, both these movements are of great interest; indeed they have a wealth of ideas for which the composer is to be envied. The expressive power of this symphony is heightened by its brilliant instrumentation. Mr. Nikisch, the conductor, had rehearsed the new work admirably.

The performance was immensely successful and the orchestra deserves the highest praise. The composer, who was present, was called out at the end of the Finale of his most striking work and received two laurel wreaths, an honour that was highly deserved...²¹⁵

Hans Merian, the critic for the *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger*, was less

214 From Johann F. Schucht's review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 81 (9 January 1885), 17.

215 See G-A IV/2, 216ff. and facsimile of original in *LABL*, 46-47.

impressed:

The performance of this work, the composer's Seventh Symphony, did not really fulfil expectations, and the public which consisted for the most part of those sympathetic to the Wagnerian direction, responded rather coolly. While it must be said primarily in its praise that it is orchestrated with care and great skill, it is lacking, nevertheless, in unity of thought. The work is shot through with numerous reminiscences of Wagner's compositions, an almost unavoidable feature of Wagnerian imitations.

The first movement, for instance, ends with music which reminds us of the '>fire magic' from *Die Walküre*. But it lacks the strictly logical thematic development and the true polyphonic texture which is peculiar to the works of the Bayreuth master. Bruckner, in common with the majority of the Wagner imitators, has to be reminded continually of the maxim: many parts sounding together do not constitute polyphony. The character of the entire work is more theatrical-dramatic than symphonic and the impression it makes is as if someone is sitting at the piano indulging in a free fantasia on well-known themes which are developed and interwoven without any purpose. The sound is beautiful but there is no clear objective.²¹⁶

There were more factual reports of the concert in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The report in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* was provided by Franz Schalk and signed by him although it was largely the work of Josef Schalk who edited it for publication. In his letter to Spur on 19 January, Franz explained:

I must decline the praise of my review - no matter how difficult I find it. My brother deserves it. I wrote only a few lines (because I did not enjoy the task) and they can only be

216 From Hans Merian's review in the *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger* 79/1 (1 January 1885). See *LABL*, 45.

regarded as the embryo of an article.²¹⁷

The review reported a considerable success and Leibnitz remarks that this was probably a deliberate attempt to suppress anything negative and, in a sense, to manipulate a favourable reaction in Vienna:

We encounter here that characteristic mentality which is a distinguishing feature, like a leitmotiv, of the Schalk-Bruckner relationship. Bruckner had to be helped to success, if necessary, through personal interventions (made with the best of intentions) which extended later not only to reviews but also to the works themselves.²¹⁸

Schalk was at pains to underline the great originality of the symphony:

... On first hearing this work one cannot fail to be astonished by the power and magnitude as well as by the nobility and originality of the ideas. By understanding the content we will be guarded from the error of describing the work superficially as Wagnerian, and the boldness of harmony and modulation may easily mislead us into believing this to be true. But these are achievements of the modern period in general and their artistic value is determined primarily by the way in which they are used. Right at the outset the first theme of the opening movement begins with long-held breath and rises up as if out of a new, undreamt-of world. Its true character, like that of the majority of Bruckner's most beautiful ideas, is one of sublime peace, a peace replete with the deepest emotion that immediately causes us to feel truly liberated as only the most genuine art can do. Radiance and melodiousness surround the musical soul of this song and lift us up gradually to that realm of cheerful heavenly serenity which is occupied by the second theme and even more by the third...

A realm of the most solemn mourning is disclosed to us in

217 See earlier and footnote 211.

218 See *LBSAB*, 80.

the second movement (Adagio). Begun full of foreboding in January 1883, this Adagio was completed under the shattering influence of the report of Richard Wagner's death. It has been said of the second theme - and justifiably so - that it can only be compared with Beethoven's greatest inspirations. A brilliant *fortissimo* chord insistently repeated in a biting rhythm appears to guard the gates of this paradise like the flaming sword of the cherubim, and we are allowed only a moment to tarry blissfully in these Elysian fields.

It is easier for us to give verbal expression to our feelings in listening to the first two movements. In the Scherzo we are confronted with the inexplicable, incomprehensible side of the musician who is continually drawing up new things from the deepest depths when our poetic imaginative faculty threatens to abandon us. And it is so much in evidence in this movement that the rhythmical and dynamic effect is quite baffling. The rhythm is truly orgiastic, but it should be noted that this is the result of simple basic elemental power, not the artificial combination of syncopations of which we have had a surfeit in the modern period...

Suffused with the same all-powerful rhythm, the first theme of the Finale now strides boldly forth, and it gives us pleasure to be made aware of its relationship with the main theme of the first movement. In this transformation it seemed to join with us, as it were, in the deep experiences of the Adagio and Scherzo, and now it storms through all the regions of this ocean of sound with intensified spiritual power and freedom. Very little space is given to a gentle second theme and this makes us more calmly aware of the new power. An unceasing climactic process reaches its victorious peak by means of the entry of the opening motive of the first movement in brilliant *fortissimo*...²¹⁹

Elisabeth Herzogenberg seems to have been the spokeswoman for those in Leipzig who reacted against the favourable publicity given to Bruckner at the time. She and her husband found the Seventh Symphony a dreadful and insignificant work and had no sympathy for the composer.²²⁰ As a keen

219 Extract from review (>'Musikbrief aus Leipzig') as printed in *G-A IV/2*, 220-24 and *LBSAB*, 83-86.

220 This information was provided in a letter from Konrad Fiedler to Adolf Hildebrand; see

Brahms devotee she wrote on more than one occasion to Brahms, asking him what he thought of Bruckner. He refused to say anything about his music, except to point out that one of Bruckner's symphonies and his Quintet had been printed and that she should form her own opinion. About Bruckner the person:

He is a poor crazy man whom the St. Florian priests have on their conscience. I don't know if you have any conception of what it means to have spent your youth with priests. I could tell you one or two things about Bruckner. But I should not even be talking about such nasty things with you.²²¹

The day after his review appeared in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung*, Josef Schalk reported to his brother that he and Löwe had recently gone through the score of the Seventh with Bruckner in order to make a few alterations and improvements. He also mentioned his delight that Nikisch had approved of their suggestion that a cymbal clash be added at the climactic point in the Adagio (C major 6/4 chord also involving triangle and timpani).²²²

Unaware that Josef had been largely responsible for the article, Bruckner wrote to Franz, thanking him profusely and mentioning a second performance of the Adagio and Scherzo movements in Leipzig. He also took the opportunity to send his belated congratulations:

As you have almost certainly taken up your position in the *Residenztheater* by now, please permit me to offer you my

G-A IV/2, 278.

221 From Brahms's letter to Elisabeth Herzogenberg, 12 January 1885. See Max Kalbeck, ed., *The Herzogenberg Correspondence* (London, 1909). See also G-A IV/2, 240-41.

222 See *HSABB* 1, 252-53, *FSBB*, 48ff. and *LBSAB*, 81ff. for this letter dated Vienna, 10 January 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/6/2.

heartiest congratulations!

My apologies for delaying my departure from Leipzig until 10 in the evening and not taking the early train - perhaps you had a fruitless wait for me. I was trying to find a publisher, but without success.

I can find no words to describe the *most splendid* article that has ever been written about me! It was inspired to the highest degree! I embrace you a thousand times for it, my noblest of friends! It's a pity that this article did not appear in the *Deutsche Zeitung*!!

Next Wednesday, the 28th, the two middle movements will be performed for a second time. I hope you don't think it impertinent of me to ask you to be so good as to send perhaps a short extract from the most recent article in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musik-Zeitung* of 9 January or else something entirely new to Dr. Helm for the *Deutsche Zeitung* which is widely read - but only if you feel inspired to do so, my dearest Franz. This is a very sincere request; it doesn't matter how brief it is...²²³

Leading representatives of the main publishing houses, Peters and Breitkopf & Härtel, had been invited to the Leipzig performance. In spite of Nikisch's recommendation and Bruckner's own visits to the publishing houses before he returned to Vienna, no interest was shown.

When Franz told his brother that he was embarrassed by Bruckner's effusive praise, Josef replied that it was better to leave Bruckner in the dark about the true authorship of the article, particularly as others were just as unaware of what had happened.²²⁴

In the meantime, as Josef informed Franz on 10 January, the Hellmesberger Quartet had given the first major performance of Bruckner's

²²³ See *HSABB* 1, 256 for this letter dated Vienna, 23 January 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 54/2. The second performance of the middle movements of the symphony took place in Leipzig on 27 January 1885 in the presence of King Albert and Queen Carola of Saxony who were visiting Leipzig.

²²⁴ See *LBSAB*, 87-88 for this letter dated Vienna, 25 January 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/6/4.

String Quintet in the large *Musikverein* hall on 8 January. The Viennese critics on the whole were well disposed towards Bruckner. Even Max Kalbeck was able to muster up some enthusiasm for the Adagio movement:

... We do not begrudge the good old man his fine success and only wish that the friends of his music had as honourable intentions towards him as we do. However, our personal feelings must not tempt us to use other yardsticks to measure him by than his brothers in counterpoint. When we see the well-rounded man, his face aglow with unfathomable happiness, standing before us and compare this reassuring picture with the violent outbursts of his art, we are disconcerted and ask how it is possible for this devout and upright person to be able to express such an ambiguous truth which can scarcely be distinguished from a lie... To be sure, Bruckner is by far the most dangerous of today's composers, his ideas cannot be fathomed, and that which cannot be construed possesses a magical, seductive power which causes greater damage than the refined and laboriously entangled sophistries of others. What he provides is music of pure revelation, as he has received it from above or below, without any profane addition of worldly logic, art and good sense. According to legend it is said of St. Chrysostomus that the apostles John and Peter visited him in the form of two angels and handed to him the keys of the secrets of scripture as well as power over the hearts of the faithful. Our composer may have had a rare visit of that kind from time to time. And if it was not always two of God's messengers who came down to him, perhaps it was an angel and a demon who quarrelled for his soul. Too weak to make a decisive choice between them, he lent them both his ear and their insinuations were conscientiously recorded on the five-line system - the only one that Bruckner knows. His music smells of heavenly roses and reeks of infernal sulphur; just a little connecting incense in between and we would have a ready-made mystic.

The F major Quintet is a mixed sequence of musical hallucinations, an apocalypse in four chapters the unravelling of which would require a new subsidiary work. If Bruckner was in the position to compose this explanatory work he would possibly be one of the greatest composers. Bright ideas spring up everywhere but most of them fizzle out like sheet lightning at night and do not emerge from the darkness. The

Moderato of the first movement displays only an outward moderation in the prescribed rhythm; all the elements of music are to be found in the wildest turmoil here. The harmony disowns any connection with the tonal basis and the tonality's only proof of identity is the key-signature and the final cadence. As soon as it reaches its second step the declamatory main theme falls into an abyss and the rocking subsidiary theme begins cheerfully, as if nothing has happened, in F sharp major after the bass has 'mistakenly' slipped down a semitone from its C major cadence. The dynamics change just as capriciously and arbitrarily. There is hardly a bar in which the composer has not stipulated a new quantity or quality of sound, from *ppp* to *fff*. In between we find not only the Italian abbreviations in general use but also special markings like 'ohne Aufschwellung' ['without swelling'], '>'gezogen' ['drawn out'], '>'langgezogen' ['>long drawn out'], '>'breit gestrichen' ['>'with long bow-strokes'], '>'sehr zart' ['>'very soft'], '>'hervortretend' ['>'prominent'], '>'markirt' ['>'accented'], '>'ohne jede Markierung' ['>'without any accent'] and '>'sanft hervortretend' ['>gently emphasised']. Of what help is all this signalling and indicating if the relevant passages do not emerge naturally and speak for themselves? We could do without the development section - insofar as one can give this name to such a jumble of asthmatic recitatives and thematic sighs, either '>'drawn out' or '>'with long bow-strokes'; its music seems to us to be - to make use of a German turn of phrase - 'rough-hewn and untidy.'²²⁵

We can cope much better with the Scherzo. The sweet Trio recompenses us for the bitter humour of the main movement which provides us with vinegar in place of wine; it has a short but richly sonorous melody, full of spirit and good humour. The Finale begins with a dance of unclean spirits which assaults the listener like a swarm of melancholy ideas: doubt and care for nothing and against nothing; useless mosquitoes which blot out the light of the sun. How it spins and surges, gives off a lot of smoke and dust and becomes bloated with ephemeral importance. Deceptive organ points add a dissonant droning bass. A quaver figure, a sequence of major sixths, appears as both a melody- and subsidiary part and, after it has been prolonged by means of the most varied harmonic events, a hulking great fugato stumbles in and gives

225 '>'nicht gehauen und nicht gestochen'.

the signal for a universal contrapuntal bloodbath. Woe to the poor melody which is subjected to these sharply whetted, blindly raging, murderous violins bows! It is hung, drawn and quartered, cut into pieces...

If these three movements have their origin in hell, the Adagio (3rd movement) comes directly from paradise. Pure light in a thousand colours and nuances streams forth from it. It is the reflection of an ecstatic vision reaching to the seventh heaven. We think of these *terze rime* of Dante sweeping upwards to the 'eternal circles', of that wonderful, profound passage which Goethe may have had in mind in his *Chorus mysticus*: the poet sees Beatrice who looks up at the sun with a steadfast gaze and receives the heavenly light through the eye of her lover; a new day breaks for him and, lost in contemplation of her radiant countenance, he ascends to the delights of paradise. To experience its luminous power to the full, one must hear the broadly-flowing radiant song as played on Hellmesberger's violin. The much experienced quartet leader cleverly moved the Adagio forward to the second movement so that it came just at the right time to recompense the listeners handsomely for the torments suffered in the Allegro...²²⁶

Writing from an equally conservative standpoint in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Gustav Dömpke referred first of all somewhat dismissively to the obvious points of contact between Bruckner's Quintet and the music of the 'New German School' in terms of 'unnatural harmonic sequences and formal structure' but conceded that there were many fine passages, particularly in the Adagio:

If the Bruckner F major Quintet had succumbed to the Wagnerian influence completely, we could have written a short obituary notice. But it contains phrases, passages and sections which provide evidence of such an unmistakably independent, individual and significant talent that their combination with so many of a contrary nature constitutes one of the most remarkable problems in contemporary music.

226 From review in *Die Presse* (12 January 1885), as printed in G-A IV/2, 250-55.

What was the clearest testimony against the validity of its success with the public, however, was the almost equal volume of applause after all four movements, even although everyone who studies the work a little more closely will find that the Adagio is superior in every respect to all the other movements. The first movement begins immediately with a theme which could easily lead anyone who has not heard any other Bruckner composition to make the mistake of regarding it as a pointless exercise as early as the tenth bar. However, this forced thematic structure, without any trace of a firm harmonic basis, and these weakly dissolving opening sequences are so characteristic of the new school's conception of tonality, paradoxical as they may be in the context of a movement which has yet to be developed, that every hope of any further communication is apparently ruled out. And yet the same Moderato contains not only this theme which takes up half of the movement and only has to show itself to guarantee torment and boredom, but also a gentle and rather unusual subsidiary theme (F sharp major as opposed to F major) which unfortunately gets caught up too soon in pointless modulations. Also in the bridge passages between these two themes there is occasional evidence of a special, if somewhat muddled, mind at work. As each of his movements must traverse more or less all twenty-four keys and that these are by no means sufficient to express his inner feelings goes without saying as far as Bruckner is concerned; the boldest manoeuvres, as they appear occasionally in particular places in late Beethoven, are a small thing to him.

Hellmesberger did well to follow this morbid opening movement with the Adagio and not the Scherzo as originally conceived. Recuperation was certainly necessary. But this Adagio in G flat major is far more than a small dose of medicine, a temporary source of relief for the feverish. It is the cure itself. Indeed it seems to me to be a piece of music which excels all the other instrumental compositions of the present time in invention and deeply-felt ensemble writing (with the exception, of course, of the one great composer who is incomparable). There is only one ill-sounding passage in it (bars 91-95, p. 39 in the score) which is no less violent harmonically than the other movements. These few bars sound as if the composer of the Adagio had written them in a dream or as if he was not responsible for them at all. On the other hand, of course, this entire Adagio sounds as if it has been composed by a composer other than that of the Allegro

movements. So much maturity and refinement are intertwined here in the boldest and most unusual ways. When one hears the first expansive, magnificently-formed theme, how it unfolds in quiet majesty for twelve bars, how it rises to a splendid climax and then sinks to the depths again, one can scarcely believe one's ears; one is even more surprised when the movement maintains the same high level, with a few minor exceptions, almost from beginning to end. After a long stretch of development, it comes to a beautiful and majestic conclusion with a noble figure in the second violin. There is truly something of the divine spark in this Adagio.

It is difficult to do justice in a few words to the last two movements which again plunge down precipitously, but without sinking quite so low as the opening Moderato. Although offensive on the whole, not only do they contain many noticeably positive sections, the Trio of the Scherzo and the lovely second theme of the Finale, for instance, but, even with their droll impudence, there is something strangely different about them. As in the first movement they are at their most unbearable in betraying almost from beginning to end the bad influence of Wagner, namely his harmony and so-called dramatic polyphony. The first theme of the Finale is also directly reminiscent of the Fight Scene in *Die Meistersinger*.

It is obvious that the work as a whole, which is without precedent in chamber music, can only be compared with one or two of Bruckner's symphonies of which, not without reason, only a small number have become known. It would be absurd to hope for a purification process to take place in Bruckner's works, because he is 60 years of age and turning grey in the admiration of his ideal [composer]. We cannot measure what contribution he would have made to music if he had followed less untrustworthy stars...²²⁷

Ludwig Speidel's review in the *Wiener Fremdenblatt* and Theodor Helm's in the *Deutsche Zeitung* were much more appreciative. According to Speidel, many in the audience were pleasantly surprised by the work which was given a superb performance by Hellmesberger and his quartet:

²²⁷ From review in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (17 January 1885) as reprinted in Louis, *Anton Bruckner*, 313-17; there is also an extract in *G-A IV/2*, 255-59.

The Quintet was not entirely new to us. We had already heard the two middle movements, the Scherzo and the Adagio, and these two movements have remained our favourites now that we know the whole work. In the first movement the principal theme with its triplet tailpiece lets us know right away in what direction Bruckner is marching, and in the Finale we are confronted with the seven-league boots' motive from Richard Wagner's 'Faust' overture. The detailed working-out is masterly, of course, but we wish that the different sections of the composition were drawn together more tightly and, in particular, the structure was more open and pliable, especially in those places where the significance of the motives in no way compensates for the lack of coordination. Modulatory freedom is pushed to the limit throughout the work. Indeed the last movement, which is obviously intended to be in F minor (with the exception of the final bars where there is a return to F major) does not declare itself to be in this key at any point but travels *incognito* and in disguise like a great lord. (This movement also oscillates enharmonically between A flat minor and E major in places.)

The Scherzo, which benefits from a more tightly-knit structure, is a most interesting and charming movement with an original bass - a minor-major scale which strides through two-and-a-half octaves - , melodious part-writing and a pleasantly tuneful Trio. The Adagio is an outpouring of pure song - heartfelt and yearning but with bitter interludes. The movement begins in G flat major, the key most distant from F major according to the circle of fifths. But the whole work is, of course, pervaded by a system of harmonic changes, a device used by Bruckner frequently and always with characteristic effect. The relationship between G flat and F is naturally the same as that between E flat and D in the Trio. The originality of invention and an equally original technique compensate for this harmonic licence and boldness which, in any case, is no longer too drastic for a generation trained in dangerous musical procedures. We cannot compare Bruckner's Quintet with any other contemporary composition; it is quite unique. (Bruckner's Quintet has appeared in print, in a beautifully-produced edition published by Gutmann in Vienna, and is dedicated to Duke Max Emanuel of Bavaria)...²²⁸

228 From review in the *WienerFremdenblatt* (17 January 1885) as reprinted in Louis, op.cit., 312f. and in G-A IV/2, 259ff.

Helm had no compunction in describing the Quintet as '>indisputably one of the most important works to have appeared in the realm of modern chamber music', and confessed that he had been '>completely overwhelmed' by the performance. Just as in his review of a performance of the Quintet in April 1884, he saw in the Adagio a connection with and, indeed, a revival of the great tradition of chamber music 'that had seemed to end with Beethoven's death'.²²⁹

... The crown, or rather the musical heart, of the whole work is the Adagio in G flat major. Can one name a slow movement written by any other living composer which is superior to this one in spontaneous warmth and melodic intensity, in solemnity, nobility of soul, gentleness and enchanting sonority? When this heavenly instrumental song begins with the great melody on first violin, an almost inexhaustible fountain of the noblest feelings is opened up to us, and when the piece finally evaporates atomically, as it were (how beautiful the voice-leading in the second violin!), we feel that we ourselves have been '>dissolved' and have been removed from all earthly tribulation. This Adagio in G flat can be compared only with Beethoven's most sublime (in his last quartets), with Schubert's sweetest and with Wagner's most transfigured (for instance, in the Prelude to the Third Act of *Die Meistersinger* to which it is related in mood). But the other movements of the Quintet are full of individual charm, in other words the thematic invention is most successful throughout...

We wish to make a formal apology here for treating the Finale somewhat harshly after our first hearing of it. It is not only the equal of the earlier movements in musical importance but also contains some of the finest pages in the score. Bruckner's contrapuntal skill, displayed in the combination of broadly-bowed crotchets and a triplet motive, is triumphant here; it achieves the most superb climactic processes.

We know only too well all the objections that can be raised to Bruckner's Quintet, or at least its outer movements. The composer's rich inventive and masterly creative powers do not

²²⁹ Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (OUP, 2006), 189.

wholly correspond to his artistic understanding and his logical method. From time to time he gives too much scope to his unusually vivid imagination which often erupts in sudden flights of fancy. No doubt aware of his unusual contrapuntal skill he also pushes polyphony to its limits and has far too great expectations of the receptive ability of his listeners. How good it is, however, to meet once again a naive composer, in the best sense of the word - one who does not brood but creates out of inner necessity, who speaks his own language, a language in which we hear not only an imposing individual personality but also the musical achievements of our century, a real and genuine development. Only those people who were really narrow-minded would take it amiss that Bruckner has availed himself not only of the Classical composers, in particular Beethoven whom he worships, but the rich harmonic language of Wagner and other modern composers as well, and that he creates Wagnerian storm and stress both in his symphonies and in his Quintet...

The success of Bruckner's Quintet in Hellmesberger's soirée was a splendid one, perhaps surpassing all the expectations of the composer and his friends. There was repeated tumultuous acclaim for the composer as early as after the first movement, and this applause, which was unanimous and not just the response of a few enthusiasts, increased after the wonderful Adagio and at the end of the work.

The splendid Scherzo, which is always structurally the most lucid and rounded movement in Bruckner's works, was unusually the least successful. It seems that the public was not able fully to appreciate Bruckner's harmonic boldness in moving impetuously towards the final D major cadence by way of the notes a - e - f sharp. However, as has been mentioned already, the overall success of the new work was the most splendid imaginable and, since by a stroke of good fortune our inspired compatriot won a no less glorious victory in front of the less receptive Leipzig public a few days earlier, we no longer give up hope of seeing the name '>Anton Bruckner' firmly established in our regular concert repertoire.

In any case Bruckner can no longer be ignored even by the very conservative critics in Vienna after the memorable performance of his Quintet on 8 January 1885.²³⁰

230 From review in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (14 January 1885) as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 261-65. On 24 January, Bruckner wrote Helm a letter of profuse thanks, thanking him for supporting him in these 'so sad times', describing his words as 'precious jewels' and asking

There were further reviews, more or less favourable, in other Viennese journals as well as a report of the concert by Count Ferdinand P. Laurencin d'Armond, a Wagner and Liszt enthusiast, which appeared later in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and, while praising the Adagio movement, was critical of Bruckner's 'stumbling around from one thematic embryo to another.'²³¹ In the highly-coloured language of most of these reviews, one can detect not only 'an expression of the division of musical opinion and affiliation in the Viennese musical world between Wagnerian and Brahmsians' that is typical of many critical responses of the time, but also 'one with a distinct social and cultural background that grew increasingly politicized.'²³²

Reviewing recent performances of Bruckner's works in Vienna, namely Löwe's and Schalk's piano-duet concert in the *Bösendorfersaal* and the Hellmesberger Quartet concert, Hans Paumgartner adopted a more moderate tone but criticised the 'learned musicians of the Court Opera Orchestra' for their inability to evaluate the true worth of Bruckner's symphonies and for forcing him to 'eat the bread of artistic exile' as a result of their refusal to perform his works. He compared them unfavourably with their fellow musicians in Leipzig and Munich, particularly as there was a great barrenness of symphonic art in Vienna at the time and the 'living

him to include a short report of the performance of the two middle movements of the Seventh in Leipzig on 28 January which, he hoped, Franz Schalk would send from Dresden; see *HSABB* 1, 256-57 for this letter, the original of which is in the ÖNB.

231 See Louis, op.cit., 319 and *G-A IV/2*, 266-67 for this review which appeared originally in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 81 (29 May 1885), 244. Count Ferdinand Peter Laurencin d'Armond (1819-1890) was a musicologist and music critic. He worked for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* where his articles often appeared under the pseudonym 'Philokales'.

232 Benjamin Korstvedt, 'The Critics and the Quintet: A Study in Musical Representation', in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre* (Vienna, 2009), 147.

fountain of Bruckner's creations would be doubly welcome'.²³³ Helm's hope that Bruckner's works would now be played more regularly in Vienna as a result of the successful performance of the Quintet took some time to be fulfilled. On the other hand, more and more interest was being shown in his works in Germany and beyond. In letters to his sister Rosalie and to Dr. Prohaska, the president of the Linz *Musikverein*, Bruckner mentioned the two Leipzig performances and the forthcoming Munich and Hamburg performances of the Seventh Symphony as well as a recent performance of the Third Symphony in The Hague, Holland.²³⁴ The performance in The Hague on 4 February 1885, which marked the beginning of a strong Dutch connection with Bruckner's works, was conducted by Johannes Verhulst, but the men primarily responsible for stimulating interest in Bruckner's works in Holland were Dr. W.L. van Meurs, a librarian by profession, and H.A. Simon, an Austrian who was a member of the *Musikverein* in The Hague. In February Bruckner wrote an appreciative letter to van Meurs in which he provided details of recent performances of his works, particularly the Quintet, but lamented the general lack of recognition of his music:

... Hellmesberger, the court music director, wants to perform it [the Quintet] again in November. He has asked me to write another work for him, called the Quintet a '>revelation' and described me as '>the modern composer.' '>Vienna could be proud etc. etc.' The Quintet has been published by Gutmann in Vienna (Opera House). Otherwise I am frowned upon by the entire music clique in Vienna (with the exception of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, *Fremdenblatt*, *Tageblatt*, *Morgenpost* and the music journals). No doubt you will understand why. None of my works has been published apart from the Third

233 Paumgartner's report in the *Wiener Abendpost* (13 January 1885); see Tschulik, op.cit.173-74.

234 See *HSABB* 1, 257-58 for the texts of these letters, both dated Vienna, 9 February 1885; the original of the former is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde library, Vienna, and that of the latter is in the Linz Singakademie, Frohsinn archive.

Symphony and the Quintet. If only I could find a publisher! I am writing my Eighth Symphony at the moment. Mr. Brahms treats me almost with disdain...

As a postscript, Bruckner provided the additional information that he had >written 'nothing for the organ'! Perhaps he meant '>nothing significant.'²³⁵

In spite of Bruckner's complaints in this letter there was a growing wave of support for him in Vienna. On 22 January 1885 he was elected an honorary member of the *Akademischer Richard-Wagner-Verein*.²³⁶ While he continued to devote most of his non-teaching hours to composition, he played the organ much less frequently except as part of his *Hofkapelle* duties and in church-based performances. Indeed he declined invitations to play the organ in Vienna, Graz and Linz as part of the Bach and Handel bicentenary celebrations in 1885, recommending in his place the blind organist, Josef Labor, and another Upper Austrian, Josef Reiter.²³⁷

The one critic who was conspicuous by his absence from the many reviews of the Quintet in January was Hanslick. Hanslick took the opportunity of combining a review of the work with a review of the performance of Bruckner's male-voice chorus, *Mitternacht* WAB 80, by the *Akademischer Gesangverein* conducted by Rudolf Weinwurm on Sunday 22 February:

235 See *HSABB* 1, 257-58 for this letter dated Vienna, 9 February 1885. The original, which was printed for the first time in *ABB*, 175-76, is privately owned. A letter from Ferdinand Löwe to Franz Schalk, dated February 1885, indicates that it was written in response to a letter from van Meurs that has been lost. See *HSABB* 1, 259 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 97.

236 See *HSABB* 1, 261 for a letter, dated Vienna 26 February 1885, from the *Akademischer Richard-Wagner-Verein* (signed by the chairman, Dr. Viktor Boller, and the secretary, Prof. Alois Höfler) to Hermann Levi, expressing appreciation of his decision to perform the Seventh in Munich, and mentioning Bruckner's election as an honorary member of the Verein; the original is in the ÖNB.

237 See, for instance, his letter to Prohaska (footnote 234) in which he declined an invitation from the Linz Musikverein.

... To be sure Heuberger [one of whose works was also performed in the second concert] is still a modest spendthrift even in the moments of most wanton wastefulness when compared with Anton Bruckner who surprises us the most when he remains in the same key for three bars. That is certainly the case in his new [sic] choral piece, *Um* [sic] *Mitternacht*, and consequently we have been pleasantly surprised. The limited vocal range of the male-voice choir has unquestionably curbed Bruckner's roving imagination. The first strophe, by no means long-winded or immoderate in spite of its breadth, has the pure, warm, golden tone of a poetic mood picture. It is a pity that in the very next strophe he sets the words '>die Glockenklänge ferner Dome' [>'the bell sounds from the distant cathedral'] very powerfully in a noisy *ff* and, by revelling in this grandeur, has difficulty in bringing his setting of this short and simple poem to a conclusion. Bruckner has become the flavour of the moment and, while I am delighted for this modest artist who has remained unrecognized for many years, I am unable to enjoy this flavour. It remains a psychological puzzle how this gentlest and most peaceable of all men - he is no longer young - becomes, in the act of composition, an anarchist who pitilessly sacrifices everything that is called logic and clarity of development and structural and tonal unity. His music rises up like a shapeless, burning pillar of smoke assuming now this and now that form. It is not without its sparks of genius and there are even some longer passages of beauty. But can one extract the most profound ideas from *Hamlet* and *King Lear* and, to my mind, a few from *Faust* as well, combine them in the most random fashion possible with a variety of flat, confused, interminable speeches and then ask oneself whether it adds up to a work of art?

A most interesting book by Ludwig Nohl, *The Historical Development of Chamber Music*, has appeared almost at the same time as Bruckner's F major Quintet published by Gutmann and performed by Hellmesberger to enthusiastic applause. We can help Mr. Nohl; he should have a look at Bruckner's Quintet. He will find there a string quintet >'reduction' of the pure Wagnerian style, the endless melody, the emancipation from all natural laws of modulation, Wotan's pathos, Mime's will-o'-the-wisp humour and Isolde's ecstasy consuming itself in inexhaustible climactic processes. What was sadly missing in Mr. Nohl's book has now been found, and a second edition of his *Development*

of Chamber Music can have a closing chapter of glowing transfiguration without which '>development' and '>chamber music' would certainly remain nothing but an '>illusion'...²³⁸

The first three movements of the Quintet were played again by the Hellmesberger Quartet in a concert in the Linz *Redoutensaal* on 8 March 1885. By this time, however, Bruckner's thoughts were directed elsewhere - to Munich where Levi was to perform his Seventh Symphony two days later, on 10 March.²³⁹ On 25 February he had written to Nikisch in Leipzig, thanking him once again for the December performance and enthusing about Bernhard Vogel's review in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*. He was not sure if Levi had received the corrected parts:

... Mr. Levi still has the corrected score of the 4th Symphony (Romantic). What is the position with the Seventh? Have you been good enough to see to the correction of the parts? Please send the bill. Have you sent them to Hamburg or will you do so later? Does Mr. Levi already have them? I am as ignorant as a child. The 3rd Symphony in D minor was performed in The Hague (Holland). I received marvellous letters. Can a publisher not be found?... I don't know anything about Munich. How were the two movements [the Adagio and Scherzo of the Seventh] received recently?..²⁴⁰

Levi had changed his original intention of performing only the Adagio of the Seventh. The successful performance of the work in Leipzig and his own growing appreciation of it had persuaded him that he should rehearse and

238 From Hanslick's review in the *Neue Freie Presse* (26 February 1885) as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 270ff.

239 Bruckner wrote to his brother Ignaz in St. Florian on 27 February, asking him to make it known that the Hellmesberger Quartet would be performing his Quintet in Linz on 8 March and that he would be travelling to Munich on Saturday 7 March. See *HSABB 1*, 262 for this letter; the original is privately owned.

240 See *HSABB 1*, 260-61 for this letter; the original is privately owned.

perform the work in its entirety. He informed Bruckner with great enthusiasm that he knew the first and second movements by heart and that he '>hurried from one friend to another' to introduce them to his music.²⁴¹ On 27 February Bruckner wrote to Baron von Ostini, the president of the *Munich Wagner Society*, and made specific requests about accommodation, rehearsals and a possible meeting with members of the *Wagner Society*:

... As the symphony is to be performed on 10 March, I will arrive in Munich early in the morning of Sunday the 8th and will be staying again at the '>Vier Jahreszeiten'. I have asked the Court Music Director for a couple of rehearsals because there are very many hidden difficulties and such like in the work. There could very well be a rehearsal on the Sunday if Mr. von Levi is agreeable. Could I ask you, Baron Ostini, to intercede on my behalf? A few corrections have also to be made in the score.

The Landgrave is now better and sends hearty greetings. He also supports my request. In addition he suggested I mention to you that it would be very good if I made the acquaintance of members of the Wagner Society at a special gathering before the concert. If I also met members of the '>Holy Grail' I would make many friends. And so I would be most grateful for your help in this very important matter. I would certainly not put the gentlemen to so much trouble if I did not consider the situation to be so important...²⁴²

Levi was happy to comply with Bruckner's request for two rehearsals:

... In accordance with your wish I have arranged a rehearsal (in the *Odeon Hall*) on Sunday at 10.30 a.m. The final rehearsal will take place on Monday at 10 in the morning. I

241 This letter is mentioned in *G-A IV/2*, 273. Its date is not known, but it was probably written during January or February 1885.

242 See *HSABB* 1, 262 for this letter. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 356-57; the original is in private possession. The Landgrave referred to is Landgrave Fürstenberg, and the 'Holy Grail' presumably another Wagner association or possibly a Masonic lodge (?) in Munich with links to the Munich branch of the Akademischer Richard-Wagner-Verein.

rehearsed the symphony the day before yesterday. The orchestra was naturally hesitant and didn't understand anything. People here are unbelievably reactionary, of course. But that doesn't matter, provided that they play well - and they will do so. It is just the same with Wagner. (I don't believe that there are as many as 3 Wagnerians in the orchestra!) Take heart and trust me!

I still do not know where to begin with the final movement. But that will come soon, I hope...

Baron Ostini told me of your letter. I will make sure that one or two friends join us on Monday evening...²⁴³

Although Levi had offered Bruckner accommodation in his own house, the composer and Friedrich Eckstein, who accompanied him from Vienna, decided to stay in a hotel called 'Vier Jahreszeiten', as Bruckner pointed out to Baron von Ostini. His early arrival enabled him to explain one or two difficult passages in the Finale to Levi before the Sunday rehearsal. Consequently the work was well rehearsed both on the Sunday and on the Monday prior to the performance on Tuesday 10 March. As well as Eckstein, three of Bruckner's young friends - Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe and Carl Almeroth - came to Munich for the performance which was, by all accounts, most successful. Josef wrote to Franz enthusiastically about it as well as providing some interesting snippets of information about Bruckner's time in Munich:

... The success was truly splendid. Levi showed a remarkable amount of understanding and care. Unfortunately we did not attend any of the rehearsals. We were very pleased with the performance. The first movement was taken too fast for my liking, however, and, as a result, was the one least understood by the audience. Many of the Munich musicians are really enthusiastic, particularly Porges who wrote a very fine review for the *Munch'ner Nachrichten*.

²⁴³ See *HSABB* 1, 263 for this letter from Levi to Bruckner dated Munich, 4 March 1885; the original is in St. Florian.

Bruckner is overjoyed. Everything is going well as far as the planned dedication to the king is concerned. Intendant Perfall has assured Bruckner of his special goodwill on several occasions. All in all, the whole Munich affair looks like a triumphant procession for Bruckner. He has been honoured to a surprising extent in all artistic circles (banquets, laurel wreaths). Kaulbach has painted his portrait, Hanfstängl has taken his photograph and Leipzig has receded very much into the background as a result of all this. Nikisch did not bring the work to life in any way whatsoever. The fact that the orchestral parts of the symphony were still teeming with mistakes in Munich casts a strange light on the entire Leipzig performance. The Finale made a very great impression on me here. The wind produced an overwhelming effect. Bruckner has fallen in love with the tubas and their players. The day after the performance we also heard an excellent performance (without cuts) of *Die Walküre*. After the opera finished the wind players were most happy to comply with Bruckner's wish that they play the funeral music from the Adagio once again in the theatre as soon as the audience had left. He did not give up until they had played the passage three times altogether. That they did it at all after the exertions of the evening is the finest testimony to their respect and admiration for Bruckner...²⁴⁴

In his review in the *Neueste Nachrichten und Münchner Anzeiger* Heinrich Porges went so far as to claim that the work took a place of pre-

244 See *FSBB*, 50-51. and *LBSAB*, 88-89 for this letter dated Vienna, 16 March 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/1/11. Hermann Kaulbach (1846-1909) was a Munich artist who specialized in genre and historical paintings. His portrait of Bruckner, signed 'H. Kaulbach 11 März 1885' can be found in the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz (Sign. G297). See Renate Grasberger, 'Bruckner-Ikonographie Teil I: Um 1854 bis 1924', in *ABDS* 7 (Linz, 1990), 26 and 118 for reproductions. Bruckner wrote to Kaulbach from Vienna on 26 March, recalling the excellent performance and the delightful time he had spent with Kaulbach and his family; see Andrea Harrant, 'Ein unbekannter Brief Anton Bruckners an Hermann Kaulbach', in *BJ* 2001-2005 (Vienna, 2006), 263-66. See also *HSABB* 1, 266-67 for this letter; the original is in private possession. Franz Hanfstängl (1804-1877) was official photographer to the Prussian court. His son Edgar took over his photography business in 1863. Copies of Edgar Hanfstängl's photograph of Bruckner can be found in the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz (Sign. PF III 18/6) and the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (I.N. 57.079). See Grasberger, *op.cit.*, 26 for reproductions.

eminence among the symphonic compositions of the last 20 years and that Bruckner had successfully combined the essential features of the Beethovenian symphony with the new developments made by Berlioz, Liszt and Wagner and fused them into a style distinctively his own. He described Bruckner as a composer 'who does not have to try to be clever in order to make something great out of small, trifling themes, but whose original conception already shows an instinctive feeling for the truly great':

What speaks to us from the broadly flowing songs of the Bruckner symphony and almost compels us to join sympathetically in the experience is the breathing of a musical soul which is striving to embrace the universe. With the Adagio, a truly inspired funeral song, Bruckner has written his name for ever in the golden book of music.

The vigorous themes of the genuinely Beethovenian Scherzo are filled with the elemental power of true Germanic humour. The structure of the first movement is surprising. It does not conform to any stereotype and yet there is a logical consistency about its development. There is a great freshness about the Finale. Here as in the other movements Bruckner demonstrates his masterly organization and control of large-scale periodic structure...²⁴⁵

In the first part of his review in the *Süddeutsche Presse und Münchner Nachrichten*, Fritz von Ostini, Karl's son, reminded his readers how little-known Bruckner had been in Munich prior to the performance and how astonished a large part of the public were at the end when they saw not a young man coming to the front to acknowledge the applause but 'an unpretentious older man with sparkling eyes and beaming face receiving it and then transferring it modestly and gratefully to our fine orchestra and its

²⁴⁵ From Porges' review in the *Neueste Nachrichten* (12 March 1885); see G-A IV/2, 289ff. Bruckner refers to this review and the review in the *Berliner Tageblatt* (see later and footnote 247) in a diary for 1885/86 which contains entries for the years 1884-89; see MVP 1, 259-60 and 2, 226.

excellent conductor.' In discussing the symphony, Ostini was just as concerned as Porges to underline the high quality of musical invention throughout:

... And what an abundance of feeling, spirit and life is contained in this symphony! Nothing is contrived, everything is felt in the most profound musical soul. No meagre thoughts are treated, turned and twisted in skilful fashion in order to prolong proceedings. No small sentimentalities are moulded into broad forms. No 'song without words' is padded out to make an Adagio and no elfin dance to make a Scherzo. The opening movement is introduced by a very unusual but magnificently-shaped motive for cellos and basses which soon gives way to a large number of others but returns repeatedly to participate in an extensive process of contrapuntal development. The second movement, the Adagio, has a magnificent, serene stillness. It moves forward in large, broad steps. In its emotional content, sense of struggle and almost Classical voice-leading, this composition can be compared only with Beethoven's finest works. This impressive movement would be sufficient to place Bruckner in the foremost rank of composers and among the immortals. The next movement is an original and quite gruff Scherzo - no silly teenage joke, but genuine, robust, divine humour. The Finale crowns the whole symphony in a fitting and splendid manner and here it is largely the trumpets, bass tubas and horns which produce a striking effect. The instrumentation in general is impressive... thanks to Bruckner's ability to employ and master all the possibilities of the modern orchestra at his disposal with Wagnerian understanding and Berliozian skill.

That such a composition should be written in our time when inspired works are conspicuous by their absence, that its creator should have to experience such a brilliant success after a long life full of struggles, disappointments and privations, and that we were able to find here in Munich not only the forces but also the lively, sympathetic interest in such a performance - these are facts which should compensate for contemporary musical life, for the period of imitation lacking in originality at the beginning of which we may perhaps find ourselves, and should give real satisfaction to the true friend of

music...²⁴⁶

The prestigious *Berliner Tageblatt* also reported the performances of the Seventh in Leipzig and Munich. The review of the Munich performance was provided by Dr. Paul Marsop who commented on the closely-knit formal structure of the first three movements, in spite of ‘the occasional glimpses of the dramatic style’, and the masterly polyphonic style throughout, but felt that the final movement was not on the same high level as the other movements, that its themes were not so ‘symphonically malleable’ and their working-out not sufficiently coherent. Nevertheless, no symphonic work had made such an impact in Munich for many years.²⁴⁷

Josef Schalk also provided two reviews of the performance in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* and the *Wiener Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik*. In the latter he acknowledged that the Munich orchestra had been equal to the task of ‘fulfilling the composer’s most stringent requirements’ and that the powerful effect of the trombones and tubas in the Finale could be compared only with the final scene of Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung*.²⁴⁸

The notable success of the Munich performance of the Seventh, particularly when compared with the earlier Leipzig performance, is confirmed by Dr. Conrad Fiedler, a financier and writer on music and the arts, who was present at both. He met Bruckner at a dinner party in Munich and was soon on cordial terms with the composer. Although he had

246 From Ostini’s review in the *Süddeutsche Presse und Münchner Nachrichten* (14 March 1885); see G-A IV/2, 291-94.

247 Marsop’s review appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* 131 on 13 March; the review of the Leipzig performance was signed ‘H.E.’ (= Heinrich Ehrlich). See G-A IV/2, 294ff.

248 The review, which appeared in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* XII (22 March 1885), 139, included quotations from Porges’ article. See LBSAB, 89-92 for extracts from both reviews and G-A IV/2, 287ff. for the reprint of the article in the *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik*.

reservations about the symphony after the Leipzig performance, he distanced himself from those who, like the Herzogenbergs, were so pro-Brahms that they could see no good in Bruckner. After the Munich performance, however, he wrote enthusiastically to his friend, the sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand, about the 'colossal success', adding that 'incidentally, there was no comparison between its performance here under Levi and the Leipzig performance.' In a separate letter, he mentioned that Bruckner had played the organ in a church on 12 March 'and that is his strong point'.²⁴⁹ Before Bruckner returned to Vienna on 14 March Fiedler arranged a private performance in his own home of the Quintet played by members of the Benno Walter Quartet with Heinrich Seifert on second viola.

The Munich episode was a timely morale-booster for Bruckner. Not only had he been present at an extremely successful performance of his Seventh and given an organ recital to some of the leading artists in Munich; he had also been introduced by Levi to Princess Amalie of Bavaria, the cousin of Archduchess Marie Valerie, youngest child of Emperor Franz Josef. He could not contain his joy when writing to Nikisch and Wolzogen shortly after his return to Vienna. In both letters he mentioned public acclaim, favourable reviews, the possibility of another performance in Munich in the autumn, and the Munich court intendant's promise to speak on his behalf to King Ludwig to whom he wished to dedicate the symphony. But he did not want the 'Leipzig connection' to be severed:

... Mr. Levi will send you the 4th Symphony should you wish it.
Please convey my respects to my supporters, particularly the

249 These extracts are taken from the Fiedler-Hildebrand correspondence originally published by Wolfgang Jess in Dresden and reprinted as a footnote in *G-A IV/2*, 278-79; see also Oskar Lang, 'Anton Bruckner im zeitgenössischen Briefwechsel', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 99 (October 1932), 880-81. For further information about Conrad Fiedler (1841-1895), his life and his friendship with musicians and artists, see Gertrude Quast-Benesch, "Mit dem untrüglichen Instinkt für das Echte und der Macht es zu fördern." Der Münchner Mäzen Conrad Fiedler', in *BJ* 2006-2010 (Linz, 2011), 259-316.

director and Mr. Vogel, and my affectionate regards to the ladies. I embrace you a thousand times as the fount of all goodness for me. Eternal thanks!

I am enclosing only one review - from the 'Neueste Nachrichten'. When you have read it, please be so kind as to pass it on to Mr. Vogel with my sincerest request that he publish it, if possible.

Perhaps this will make a good impression on the publisher...²⁵⁰

In his letter to Wolzogen Bruckner contrasted Levi's high opinion of his work with some remarks Hans Richter had reputedly made recently:

... Mr. Levi proposed a toast during the artists' get-together [after the performance]: 'to the most important symphonic work since Beethoven's death!' And he went on to say that the performance of this magnificent work (his own words) was the crown of his artistic achievement!... What a difference from Mr. Richter who is alleged to have called me a lunatic without [any sense of] form only a fortnight ago. These same witnesses attested that he declared Brahms's Third Symphony (which was evidently a flop again on Sunday) to be the new *Eroica* (to please Hanslick, of course). My symphony will stay in Munich. Mr. Levi will not allow it to be my ruin in Vienna. He will take care of the printing. He and the intendant will submit a report to the king, and the symphony is to be performed again in November. On 11 March my friends from Vienna and I attended the performance of *Die Walküre* in Munich. It was splendid - I had not heard this magnificent work in its entirety since 1876. After the audience had left, Mr. Levi agreed to my request that the tubas and horns play the funeral song from the second movement of the Seventh Symphony three times in memory of our blessed and much-loved immortal Master. Countless tears were shed. I cannot begin to describe the scene in the darkened court theatre. Requiescat in pace!!! The reviews are all excellent and many have marvellous things to say. The finest are those in the *Neueste Nachrichten* (by Mr. Porges, as I discovered later) and the *Süddeutsche*

²⁵⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 263-64 for this letter dated Vienna, 15 March 1885. It was first published in *ABB*, 179-80; the original is privately owned.

Presse. God be praised, Munich is now on my side. I have sufficient [support] there for the rest of my life! I am taking the liberty of sending you only one review - the one in the *Neueste Nachrichten*.

My deepest respects to the baroness. I beg you to continue being favourably disposed towards me!

I have also your article to thank for the performance in Holland (The Hague) as well as countless others. Eternal thanks!... In Holland they want to have all my symphonies.²⁵¹

Probably on the strength of his Munich success Bruckner thought it opportune to renew his attempts to secure an honorary doctorate from a foreign University. At the end of the quaintly and often unidiomatically translated 'petition', Bruckner requested that 'the University of Philadelphia [Cincinnati]... graciously accept the dedication of my Romantic Symphony and may perhaps... confer on me as a boon the Doctorship of Music, which I shall always know to appreciate...'²⁵²

On the same day as this '>petition' an important article written by Theodor Helm appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Helm bemoaned the fact that Robert Franz's songs and Franz Liszt's orchestral works were not performed often enough in concerts. As far as Bruckner's works were concerned, the Philharmonic players in general and Hans Richter in particular should be ashamed of their reluctance to perform anything - in view of the reports of the composer's recent successes in Leipzig, The Hague and Munich. Bruckner himself had provided a fitting reply in one of

251 See *HSABB* 1, 265-66 for this letter dated Vienna, 18 March 1885. It was first published in *ABB*, 180ff.; the original is privately owned. Brahms's Third Symphony was played at a Philharmonic concert in Vienna on 15 March.

252 The 'petition' is dated Vienna, 24 March 1885. For further information, see earlier in the chapter, including footnotes 96-98. For the complete text, see *G-A IV/2*, 296-99 and Rolf Keller, 'Das "amerikanische Ehrendoktorat" für Bruckner', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 82ff. The University of Philadelphia is now the University of Pennsylvania. According to information received from Professor Benjamin Korstvedt, there is no record of Bruckner's petition in the University archives. In addition, the archivist pointed out that it 'was unheard of for someone to petition for an honorary degree'..

his University lectures to the criticism that he was a musical anarchist and that the principle of tonality did not exist for him -

When I permit myself a few bold deviations here and there in my works, I always return to the main tonality and never let it out of my sight completely. I am like a mountaineer who wants to climb higher in order to obtain a clearer view and yet remains within the same area.²⁵³

On 11 April Paumgartner, writing in the *Wiener Zeitung*, echoed Helm's comments. He quoted from the two important Munich reviews of the performance of the Seventh and made use of the opportunity to argue that it was a matter of artistic and national honour for this work to be included in the following season's Philharmonic programme.

In a letter to Wagner's youngest daughter, Eva, Bruckner also referred to the successful performance of his symphony in Munich and made a point of adding that the funeral music from the slow movement was 'played three times by the tubas and horns in the darkness of the court theatre after a performance of *Die Walküre*... in memory of the dearly-loved immortal Master of all Masters'.²⁵⁴

Three weeks after the performance of the Seventh Symphony, the Walter Quartet performed Bruckner's String Quintet in Munich. About a fortnight

253 From Theodor Helm's article in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (24 March 1885). Reprinted in G-A IV/2, 311ff.

254 See *HSABB* 1, 269-70 for this letter, dated Vienna 10 April 1885 and written in response to a letter from Eva Wagner. It was first published in *ABB*, 202-03 and the original is in the ONB. Bruckner also refers in this letter to a letter he had received from Wagner on 31 January 1868, a copy of which he had sent in September of the previous year (i.e. 1884) to Adolf von Groß, a government official in Bayreuth and a close friend of the Wagner family, and another copy of which he encloses. Cf. letters to Perfall and Hans von Wolzogen, 13 September 1884 (see footnotes 174 and 180) concerning Wagner mementoes. See also Egon Voss, 'Wagner und Bruckner', in *Anton Bruckner. Studien zu Werk und Wirkung. Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1986*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Tutzing, 1988), 221 and 232.

later Bruckner wrote to Levi to thank him for his assistance and described him as the 'greatest conductor in the world' and Munich as his 'artistic home'. In addition he invited him to spend some of his summer vacation with him in Steyr and St. Florian. He then continued:

... I received from Munich only the *Süddeutsche Presse* review of the Quintet. It was certainly not so good as the review of the Symphony. Baron Ostini was probably not at the performance.

Mr. Greif sent me the orchestral parts - no doubt by mistake. Should I send them back? If the King were to request another performance, as you mentioned earlier, the orchestral parts would have to be available. Mr. Frei (sic), editor of the *Tagblatt*, sends his respects. Mr. Richter has spoken to me about the 7th Symphony. I have said that it cannot be performed in Vienna until it has been printed. I am not going to allow the work to be played by the court music director now and be ruined by Mr. Hanslick etc. He should perform an already ruined symphony in the meantime.

(The Quintet has to be played more slowly, particularly the answering phrases for viola in the second subject of the first movement; and then the second part of the Scherzo up to the repeat of the opening is to be taken almost *Andante*)...

N.B. I had to laugh at the preview of the Quintet in the *Cöln'sche Zeitung* in which I am described as the most adventurous and inspired of the living composers and can only be compared with Beethoven. Priceless!²⁵⁵

The performances of the Quintet in Munich at the end of March, a private performance on the 30th and a public performance on the 31st were also

255 See *HSABB* 1, 268-69 for this letter dated Vienna, 10 April 1885; the original is in the Music Section of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Wilhelm Frey (1833-1909), the editor and music reviewer of the *Neuer Wiener Tagblatt*, was a keen Bruckner advocate. Bruckner gave the same directions concerning passages in the first movement and the Scherzo in a letter to Benno Walter, the leader of the quartet, dated Vienna, 27 March 1885. See *HSABB* 1, 267; the original is also in the Music Section of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

256 See Franz Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 6, for details of the telegram sent to Bruckner by Fiedler, Levi etc. during the night of 1 April after these performances.

notable successes.²⁵⁶ Once again Porges provided a perceptive review in the *Neueste Nachrichten und Münchner Anzeiger* and, Bruckner's slight disappointment notwithstanding, commented favourably on the composer's artistic handling of string textures and his ability to combine broadly flowing melodies, rich harmonies and complex rhythms into a satisfying whole.²⁵⁷ Levi responded to Bruckner's letter on 13 April, providing details of the performance and thanking him for his invitation to spend a couple of days' holiday with him. The matter of the symphony's dedication was also being pursued:

... Many thanks for your delightful letter! If it is at all possible, I will arrange to spend a couple of days with you in the country this summer. I am going to Florence at the beginning of May (where I will meet up with the Fiedlers and rehearse your Quintet with the local Quartet Society), then to Rome to visit my friend Lenbach, and then to Switzerland at the beginning of June. I am worn out and long for a rest!

The performance of the Quintet here was really good. The Fiedlers invited the players to their house the day before the performance, and I went through the work thoroughly with them. (They had five rehearsals already before this!) I believe that the tempi were correct. (The first movement *molto moderato*!) The public responded very enthusiastically. I have not read the *Süddeutsche Presse* (Ostini was not present), but Porges wrote a very fine and warm-hearted review in the *Neueste*. I will ask him to send you a copy.

It will be another fortnight before I can write to you about the matter concerning the king. I have sent a long report to the intendant and he has passed it on to the court secretary's office. It appears that things move slowly there. There is no doubt that the king will accept the dedication, but there must be something in it for you. This matter will certainly be settled

257 See G-A IV/2, 301ff. for a reprint of the complete review.. See also Gertrude Quast-Benesch, "Der Erfolg in München war der höchste meines Lebens. Ein solcher Erfolg war in München nie". Die Rezeption früher Aufführungen von Werken Anton Bruckners in München', in *BJ 2006-2010* (Linz, 2011), 259-316 for a survey of the early performances of Bruckner's works in Munich and their critical reception (including reprints of reviews) during his lifetime and in the years immediately following his death.

before my departure.

Wüllner in Cologne has announced the 7th Symphony for next winter; Müller in Frankfurt has also approached me. Gutmann should speed things up a little, so that the score and parts are ready before the beginning of the winter season.

Could you perhaps meet me in Florence at the beginning of May? That would be splendid!

I did not arrange for the parts to be sent back to you. But hold on to them for a while!...²⁵⁸

After the excitement of the previous three months Bruckner took the opportunity of his Easter break of about a week (1-7 April) in the quiet surroundings of St. Florian to refresh himself physically and spiritually. He played the organ at some of the services, continued working on his Eighth Symphony and, according to the abbey organist, Josef Gruber, asked the prelate Ferdinand Moser if he could be buried in the vaults of the abbey beneath the great organ.²⁵⁹

On his return from St. Florian Bruckner received a telegram from Eckstein in Cologne – ‘Quintet performed here by Heckmann. Most brilliant success. Letter to follow.’ In the following letter Eckstein commented on the excellent performance and the prolonged applause.²⁶⁰ Dr. Hans Kleser, who had provided a preview of the performance in the *Cölnische Zeitung* on 8 April, wrote to Bruckner on 9 April to confirm that the reception of the work (first three movements only) in a concert which also included performances

258 See *HSABB* 1, 271 for this letter dated Munich, 13 April 1885; the original is in St. Florian. The letter is dated incorrectly in both *ABB*, 315-16 (3 April) and *G-A IV/2*, 316 (8 April).

259 Writing to Loidol on 2 April 1885, Ledermüller confirmed that Bruckner had arrived the day before. See Erwin Horn, ‘Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster’, 210-13 for text of and commentary on this letter. See also *G-A II/1*, 287ff. and *G-A IV/2*, 303-04.

260 The telegram was sent on 9 April, and the letter probably on the same day. They are mentioned by Bruckner in his letter to Levi of 10 April (see earlier and footnote 254). The letter has been lost, but see Scheder, ‘Telegramme an Anton Bruckner’, 6 for details of the telegram. See also *G-A IV/2*, 304.

of a quartet by Wolfrum and a quintet by Svendsen had been favourable in spite of the conservatism of the public – ‘we are still suffering here from the after-effects of Hiller.’ Franz Wüllner had been present and the performance had ‘encouraged him even more to perform a symphony next winter..’²⁶¹

On 23 April Bruckner’s loyal young friends, Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe, gave another piano-duet performance of the first movement of Symphony no. 3 and the second and fourth movements of Symphony no. 1 in the *Bösendorfersaal*. A detailed review of the concert appeared in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* on 1 May, and its critic observed that both pianists played ‘with such astonishing technical assurance that they and the composer who was present were received with acclamation at the end of each movement.’²⁶²

Bruckner spent most of the second half of April preparing for the first performance of his *Te Deum*. He rehearsed the choir painstakingly himself and, because no orchestra was available, made use of a piano-duet accompaniment, the piano parts played by Josef Schalk and Robert Erben.²⁶³ Bruckner had received some advice earlier from the opera singer Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, Dr. Hans Paumgartner’s wife, about the vocal writing and had thanked her profusely in a letter.²⁶⁴ The performance took

261 See *G-A IV/2*, 305-06 and *HSABB* 1, 268 for this letter, the original of which is no longer extant. Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885) was one of the leading figures in the musical life of Cologne from 1850 until his retirement in 1884. He founded the Cologne Conservatory in 1850 and was its director for many years. He was also conductor of the Gürzenich Concerts in Cologne and made several trips to Vienna, St. Petersburg and England as a guest conductor. Franz Wüllner (1832-1902) was a pianist, conductor and composer who held conducting positions in various German cities, including Munich, Dresden, Berlin and Cologne; he succeeded Hiller as conductor of the Gürzenich Concerts in Cologne and gave the first Cologne performance of Bruckner’s Seventh (in its entirety) in the winter season of 1887/88.

262 See *LBSAB*, 96ff. for this review. The reviewer was possibly Emil v. Hartmann who was present at the concert.

263 Robert Erben (1862-1925), who had recently graduated from the Vienna Conservatory, took the place of the indisposed Löwe.

264 See *HSABB* 1, 260 for this letter dated Vienna, 18 February 1885. It was first

place in the small *Musikverein* hall on Saturday 2 May in a concert which included another performance of the Quintet given by the Hellmesberger Quartet as well as some Liszt and Wagner songs.

The reviewer of the concert in the Linz *Tagespost* highlighted the harmonic and contrapuntal boldness, the clear structure and the 'genuinely religious nature' of the new work and looked forward to the performance with full orchestral accompaniment scheduled for the 1885-86 *Gesellschaft* series.²⁶⁵ Hugo Wolf, writing in the *Salonblatt*, regretted that lack of space prevented him from discussing the concert in any detail but noted that 'the impression made upon the listeners by this work [the *Te Deum*] was utterly overwhelming, even without the supporting orchestra'.²⁶⁶

At about this time Johann Burgstaller, the music director of Linz Cathedral, asked Bruckner to provide a work for the diocesan centenary in October, specifically a sacred composition to accompany the procession of the bishop into the cathedral. Bruckner wrote his *Ecce sacerdos magnus* WAB 13 for double choir (SSAATTBB), three trombones and organ at the end of April and send it to Burgstaller together with an accompanying letter on 18 May.²⁶⁷ A performance of his E minor Mass was also being contemplated and Bruckner took the opportunity to inform Burgstaller that the Mass was dedicated to Bishop Rudigier and was the property of the Cathedral Chapter. As he had made some alterations since its first

published in *ABB*, 176-77; the original is privately owned.

265 See G-A IV/2, 309-10 for the full report.

266 Hugo Wolf's report appeared in the *Salonblatt* on 10 May 1885. See Pleasants, op.cit., 143. Other reviews appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (3 May), the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* (5 May) and the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* XII (9 May), 214. See *LBSAB*, 98-99 for extracts from the latter.

267 The dates 20 April 1885 and 28 April 1885 are at the end of the autograph score which is located in the library of the Wiener Männergesangverein.

performance in 1869, he suggested that these should be copied into the parts 'now that we have a new bishop':

... The Mass is for choir with woodwind and brass accompaniment but without strings. I rehearsed it in 1869 and conducted it at the consecration of the *Votivkapelle*, one of the finest days of my life... Although 'Sicut erat' was not given to me, I have used the words in the plainsong section [of *Ecce sacerdos*].²⁶⁸

Ecce sacerdos was not performed at the centenary celebrations and had to wait another 27 years for its first performance. It comes from the same spring as the *Te Deum*, and the bare fifths at the opening, the rapid harmonic transitions, the modal tendency of the harmonies, the mediant relationship of keys and the majestic, ceremonial mood all point to that work.²⁶⁹

Success breeds success and Levi's performance of the Seventh in particular encouraged other German conductors to programme the work. Preparations were also in train for the printing of the symphony, and Levi kept his promise to use his influence in the Munich court to expedite the dedication to King Ludwig II. When he wrote to Levi on 16 April, Bruckner mentioned some difficulties he was experiencing with his Viennese publisher, Gutmann:

... I am extremely surprised that I have heard nothing from Mr. Gutmann. Does he have a score? Can no publisher be

268 See *HSABB* 1, 283-84 for this letter, dated Vienna 18 May 1885; the original is in the Dombauverein, Linz. See also Chapter 3 for further information about the performance of the E minor Mass in Linz in 1869.

269 The first recorded performance of *Ecce sacerdos* was on 21 November 1912 at a concert in Vöcklabruck conducted by Max Auer. The work was first published in 1911 by Universal Edition (U.E. 3298), edited by Viktor Keldorfer. For further information, see *G-A* IV/2, 313-6 and *ABSWXXI*/2, 129ff. There is a modern edition of the piece in *ABSWXXI*/1, 130-40.

found in Mainz then? Perhaps if we wait another year? I will never receive a penny here. There are difficulties with Schalk's piano score. Schalk is unwilling to give it to Gutmann because he did not receive any payment from him for the Quintet, the printing costs of which were covered by subscription. I believe, however, that an artist of your great understanding would be the best person to act in this matter - and that is very encouraging. My young friends are of the opinion that any publishing house in Germany would be better. They believe that Gutmann would have to pay in any other situation. Or should we wait?

I will follow your advice and will put my trust in you, my illustrious patron! There is rarely any harm in waiting...²⁷⁰

Earlier in this letter Bruckner referred to the possibility of the Adagio from the Seventh being performed in Karlsruhe during the music festival organized by the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* at the end of May. But he was in two minds:

... It is very risky to allow the piece to be conducted by an unknown conductor who is perhaps unsympathetic to the new direction. Only those who believe in the work could perform it. What should I do?

Bruckner itemised his reservations in more detail when he wrote to his 'dearest old young friend' Felix Mottl in Karlsruhe the following day:

... >'That must be Bruckner', you will say - and you are correct, it is he. Listen: Professor Riedel from Leipzig has offered me the opportunity of having the Adagio from the 7th Symphony performed at the *Allgemeines Deutsches Musikfest*. Liszt and Dr. Standthartner also recommended that I take up the offer. However, you now play the leading role in this:

1. Is the orchestra not too ill-disposed towards me?

²⁷⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 272 for this letter, dated Vienna 16 April 1885. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 326-27; the original is privately owned.

2. Do you have the new tubas which are used in the *Ring* or, if not, can you get them?

3. Do you wish to be like Levi and Nikisch and put all your artistic support at the disposal of your old teacher, who has always been fond of you, by rehearsing and conducting the Adagio with the tubas and funeral music in memory of our dear-departed Master as if it was your own work?

If you, a renowned conductor, can tackle it with enthusiasm, you are the right artist for the task!

Three cheers, my dear Mottl, if you can give me your true German word of honour! The matter is then settled and I can send the parts to Leipzig.

NB. The four [Wagner] tubas are very important; also the bass tuba. I reckon that both of us could get some enjoyment out of it.

My decision lies in your hands...²⁷¹

Five days later Bruckner wrote to Mottl again to send his condolences on the death of his brother Fritz, with his regrets that he would not be able to attend the funeral because of teaching commitments at the Conservatory.²⁷² At the end of April Bruckner sent the orchestral parts to his young friend and provided some performance directions:

... I enclose the orchestral parts. You will receive the score from Mr. Levi. At [letter] X in the Adagio (funeral music for tubas and horns) I implore you to increase the *cresc.* three bars before Y to *fff* in the next bar and then decrease it again at the third crotchet one bar before Y. Be sure to use tubas. (Under no circumstances substitute horns for tubas.) Would it not be desirable to perform the Scherzo and Trio as well? (Particularly for the audience's benefit)...²⁷³

271 See *HSABB* 1, 273 for this letter, dated Vienna 17 April 1885; the original is in the ÖNB. Josef Standthartner (1818-1892), director of one of the main hospitals in Vienna, was one of the directors of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and a friend of both Wagner and Bruckner.

272 See *HSABB* 1, 274 for this letter, dated Vienna 22 April 1885; the original is in the ÖNB.

273 See *HSABB* 1, 276 for this letter, dated Vienna 29 April 1885; the original is in the ÖNB.

When Liszt, the president of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein*, was in Vienna at the beginning of May he invited Bruckner to his apartment in the *Schottenhof* in order to discuss the projected Karlsruhe performance. Bruckner seized the opportunity to suggest a performance of the complete work rather than the Adagio only. As the programme had already been arranged, Liszt was not keen to make any changes but promised to do what he could. When Bruckner wrote to Mottl again on 9 May, he repeated his earlier suggestion that the Scherzo and Trio be played after the Adagio and reiterated his earlier performance directions:

... My friends here are of the opinion that, as the Adagio is very solemn, it would be desirable to follow it with the Scherzo and Trio for the sake of applause! Do you not agree?...

Please adopt a very slow and solemn tempo. At the funeral music at the end (in memory of our deceased Master), *think of the one who was our ideal*. Please do not forget the *fff* at the end of the funeral music.²⁷⁴

In spite of Bruckner's (and Liszt's?) efforts, only the Adagio was played during the Festival on 30 May.

As far as the dedication and the printing of the symphony were concerned, Levi was able to provide Bruckner with excellent news at the end of April:

After frequent conversations with Captain Gresser, the king's court secretary, I can inform you that His Majesty will certainly accept the dedication of your Seventh. You will receive in due course - in the next few days, I hope - an official communication from the cabinet or the intendant, to which I would ask you to respond immediately (directly to the king). In this letter of thanks, make the request that His Majesty have

²⁷⁴ See *HSABB* 1, 278 for this letter, dated Vienna 9 May 1885; the original is in the ÖNB.

your symphony or just the Adagio played at a special performance. Neither the intendant nor the cabinet secretary can recommend this to the king. (It would take too long to explain this more fully to you. No one can make a recommendation regarding >'extraordinary' performances of plays and operas. The king does this on his own initiative.) In your letter of thanks, make full use of phrases like '>your most obedient servant' and 'your most gracious Majesty' etc. as the king sets great store by such formalities. How is it now with Gutmann? I have not heard anything else whatsoever. Between ourselves (no one else needs to know about it!) I have offered him 1,000 marks as a contribution towards the costs. (Fiedler, a certain Count Oriolla and I are the members of this *Allgemeiner Anton-Bruckner-Verein!*) And I would think that he could quite easily provide Mr. Schalk with a fee from that! If he didn't, I would certainly find a publisher in Germany. But it would be good if he could give a categorical >'No' or 'Yes'. If you are absolutely against Gutmann, write to me. My only reason for approaching him was that he published the Quintet.

I am leaving on May 1st or 2nd. Unfortunately I cannot come to Vienna (Dr. Boller has invited me to the Bruckner evening). I have a travelling companion and I made him a firm promise a long time ago that I would go directly to Italy with him...²⁷⁵

Bruckner was overwhelmed with Levi's generosity and thanked him profusely in his reply. He enclosed Gutmann's contract and confirmed that he had '>nothing against Mr. Gutmann', describing him as '>'the most active businessman in the world.' He mentioned that he had sent the orchestral parts of the Seventh to Mottl in Karlsruhe and asked Levi to forward the score of the work and convey some instructions:

...Would you be so good as to indicate to Herr Mottl that the 5 tubas (not horns as in Leipzig) are of the utmost importance. If the *fff* is not marked in the score (for tubas and horns) at the end of the funeral music in the Adagio, please insert it in the

275 See *HSABB* 1, 274-75. for Levi's letter to Bruckner, dated Munich 26 April 1885; the original is in St. Florian.

manner in which it was played three times after *Die Walküre*. Regarding his Majesty, I will do exactly as you suggest... As soon as the contract is returned to me I will hand over the score to Gutmann...²⁷⁶

Levi's suggestion that Bruckner use such formal styles of address as '>your most obedient servant' and '>your most gracious Majesty' when writing to the king makes amusing reading, as for Bruckner it was second nature to adopt submissive terms like these when writing to anyone in authority. His letter of thanks to the king is liberally sprinkled with them:

... Your Majesty, the true royal patron of the immortal Master [Wagner], has always been for me the ideal German monarch! The illustrious and marvellous portrait of Your Majesty has always been at my side! And now I bow down before Your Majesty with the utmost deference and subservience and thank the Almighty that He, in His everlasting wisdom, has granted the world a heavenly guardian and protector of German art in the person of His Supreme Majesty, the King...²⁷⁷

Bruckner referred to this letter when writing to Marie Demar on 11 May – '>I have just thanked the King of Bavaria for accepting the dedication.' Marie Demar was a young lady he had met several times at the Opera House in

276 See *HSABB* 1, 275-76 for this undated letter. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 329-30; the original is privately owned. It was clearly written as a response to Levi's letter of 26 April and was intended to reach Levi before his departure for Italy - hence the surmised date of 'after the 26th April 1885' in *HSABB*. See also *HSABB* 1, 277 for a letter from Levi to Joseph Schalk, dated Munich 1 May 1885, in which he mentions that he has returned the contract and regrets the lack of communication between them; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 153/1.

277 See *HSABB* 1, 277-78. for this undated letter. From references to it in other letters written at the same time, however, we can assume that it was sent to the king on either 8 or 9 May 1885; there is an autograph draft of the letter in the ÖNB.

278 See *HSABB* 1, 280 for Bruckner's letter to Marie Demar, dated Vienna, 11 May 1885; the original is in the ÖNB. Marie Demar (1865-1946) married William Blaschek in 1890.

Vienna. He sent her a photograph of himself on 2 March with the request that she in turn send her photograph to him! Bruckner was delighted when she complied with this request. He was less successful, however, with his proposal of marriage and intention to dedicate his Eighth Symphony to her, both of which she graciously declined. Yet another abortive >'affair of the heart'!²⁷⁸

In his next letter to Levi, Bruckner was able to provide him with a substantial amount of information:

... I trust that you arrived in Rome safely. I received the supreme resolution from the king's intendant and yesterday, 9 May, sent the letter of thanks to the king via the ministerial councillor, von Schneider. Absolutely everything is your work! Eternal thanks! May God bless you! Thousand upon thousand hurrahs! I am very happy with the whole affair.

Mr. Gutmann is already making plenty of noise and is also very pleased with the outcome. Friend Mottl has written to me several times and I received a card a few hours ago in which he says he is really delighted with the >'marvellous piece', as he calls it, and will do his utmost etc. The Te Deum was performed with indescribable jubilation, the Quintet as well (again played by Hellmesberger).

Wetzler of Vienna wants to publish the Te Deum, which I have written for choir and orchestra and dedicated to God as a thanksgiving for surviving so much suffering in Vienna. Mr. Richter is to perform it in London when he receives his doctorate!!

It is my sincere wish that you obtain all the rest and recreation you need and that your nervous system in particular will be refreshed in Switzerland. Once again I thank you from the bottom of my heart and pray that you will continue to be favourably disposed towards me! I only wish that I could see you sometime in Upper Austria...²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ See *HSABB* 1, 279 for this letter from Bruckner to Levi, dated Vienna, 10 May 1885. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 327-28.; the original is privately owned. Levi's itinerary, as

In this letter and in other letters written at the same time, Wetzler is mentioned as the potential publisher of the *Te Deum*.²⁸⁰ In fact, thanks to the generosity of his pupil, Friedrich Eckstein, who undertook to defray a large part of the expenses involved, it was Theodor Rättig, the publisher of the Third Symphony, who eventually published the work later in the year.²⁸¹

The performance of the Adagio from the Seventh Symphony in Karlsruhe on 30 May made a considerable impact on many of the professional and knowledgeable amateur musicians present. The reviewer for the *Weimarer Zeitung* was amazed that Bruckner's name had been completely unknown outside Vienna until recent months,²⁸² and Richard Pohl, a music journalist in Weimar and a personal friend of Liszt and Wagner, and Professor Ludwig Nohl from Heidelberg University were particularly impressed. The latter wrote to Bruckner from Heidelberg on 3 June, saying that the Adagio had

outlined in his letter of 26 April to Bruckner, was Florence (until 6 May) and Rome (6-16 May). Hans Richter did not perform the *Te Deum* in London, but gave the first British performance of a Bruckner symphony - no. 7 - in May 1887.

280 See *HSABB* 1, 281-83 for four letters: (1) to Theodor Helm (in which he encloses copies of Munich reviews), dated Vienna, 11 May 1885; original in private possession; (2) to Johannes P. Hupfauf, director of Munich at Salzburg Cathedral, dated Vienna, 11 May 1885; original in the ÖNB; (3) to Eduard Rappoldi, a well-known violinist based in Dresden, undated; first published in *ABB*, 186, original not extant; (4) to Moritz von Mayfeld, dated Vienna, 12 May 1885; original in the Archiv der Stadt Linz.

281 Full score T.R. 40b; piano score (ed. J. Schalk), T.R. 40.

282 See *G-A* IV/2, 331 for an extract from this review which appeared in the *Weimarer Zeitung* on 3 June 1885.

283 See *HSABB* 1, 284 for this letter, dated Heidelberg, 6 June 1885; the original is in the ÖNB.

'given him >renewed comfort and hope for the future of our heavenly art' and no other music apart from Bach, Beethoven and Wagner had affected him in this way. A nervous illness prevented him from writing any more fully at the time, but he hoped to visit Vienna in the near future and express himself more fully to Bruckner.²⁸³ Bruckner was so delighted with Nohl's letter that he sent it to several of his friends, suggesting that it be published as a kind of anti-toxin to the poisonous utterances of Hanslick and others. On 20 June, for instance, he wrote to Wolzogen:

... A veritable antidote to the persecutions of Hanslick and his gang. There are much more honourable men in Germany! Please be so good as to have this letter published in the [*Bayreuther*] *Blätter*. Your famous paper gave me an opening in Holland. I thank you from the bottom of my heart, most noble patron - you are an aristocrat in the true sense of the word and brilliantly gifted!²⁸⁴

Wolzogen replied to this letter on 12 July, apologizing for not writing earlier because he had been away from Bayreuth. He promised Bruckner that he would quote Nohl's letter at the earliest possible opportunity and suggested that the Adagio of the Seventh could be performed at one of the

284 See HSABB 1, 268 for this letter, dated Vienna, 20 June 1885. It was first published in ABB, 191; the original has been lost.

285 See HSABB 1, 291-92 for this letter, dated Bayreuth, 12 July 1885; the original is in St. Florian.

well-attended >'popular concerts' in Berlin.²⁸⁵

Apart from Nohl's letter, however, Bruckner had received very little news about the performance and, understandably, was surprised at the lack of communication. He wrote to Mottl on 17 June:

Dearest friend! Superb court music director!

A few days ago I received a very enthusiastic and honourable letter from Professor Nohl in Heidelberg and realised that there must have been a very successful performance. I waited in vain for a report from Dr. Schönaich and for the Karlsruhe papers - but to no avail! They must have been really bad!

I have heard nothing else, apart from through Göllicher who is too optimistic in these matters for my liking. (I read something in the *Frankfurter [Zeitung]* and the *Elsas-Lothringer Zeitung* for the first time a few days ago.) Apart from that, nothing! My authority is Mr. Nohl who is really enthusiastic - and he would not have been if he had not heard the movement played so brilliantly!

Please accept my most deeply-felt gratitude and admiration for your kindness and friendship! I will never forget it! And, now that you are such a great artist, please continue to be my >'old-young' friend and brother and put your brilliant artistry at the disposal of my works...

Gutmann has been asking for the orchestral parts...²⁸⁶

Bruckner was also none too pleased with his young friend Göllicher who had promised to send a report of the Karlsruhe performance to Theodor Helm for publication in the *Deutscher Zeitung* but had failed to do so. In order to ensure some kind of report in a Viennese newspaper Bruckner wrote to Helm, enclosing Göllicher's enthusiastic letter about the performance, in

²⁸⁶ See *HSABB* 1, 286 for this letter, dated Vienna, 17 June 1885. The review in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was published on 1 June.

the hope that it would be a viable substitute, but Helm did not make use of it.²⁸⁷ Bruckner's tone was distinctly cool when he wrote to G llerich on 24 June:

To Mr. A. G llerich,
Composer, at present in Weimar

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your letter. Unfortunately, I have to inform you that you have disappointed me greatly by not keeping your promise to write to Dr. Helm. Consequently Helm has not written anything, as both Dr. Sch naich and Mottl have also failed to send a report.

I certainly provided Dr. Helm with your letter but he returned it to me without comment. Once again I confirm my great disappointment that important people received no reports from my friends...

Helm wrote today that he waited in vain until the deadline.²⁸⁸

He was on more friendly terms when he wrote to G llerich again a fortnight later. He began by asking G llerich to pass on his '>'deepest respects' to Liszt, and continued:

My dear, good friend,

You will find it wholly understandable that it would mean a great deal to me if Dr. Helm were to print in the *Deutscher Zeitung*, albeit belatedly, what the German musicians have to say about me - '>'nothing like this written since Beethoven',

287 See *HSABB* 1, 287 for Bruckner's letter to Helm, dated Vienna, 19 June 1885. The original is in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek, G llerich's letter to Bruckner is not extant. Although Helm did not make use of this letter, Gutmann used Nohl's letter in an advertisement in the *Deutscher Zeitung* (14 June 1885) concerning the forthcoming publication of Symphony no. 7.

288 See *HSABB* 1, 288 for this letter, dated Vienna, 24 June 1885; the original is privately owned.

>'can only be compared with Beethoven in feeling and Wagner in compositional facility.' He [Helm] is staying at the *Hahn* inn in Nonnthal, Salzburg. He appears to be somewhat difficult to persuade, in spite of your fine words. But you can do it, my highly esteemed friend and dear biographer, particularly if you give him no peace. So please do what you can. It is certainly the first public festival in Germany in which my name has appeared...

Gutmann told me that von Bülow had recommended the 7th Symphony to Berlin. I go to Steyr at the end of this week...

Repeating his request that Helm be given no peace, Bruckner suggested that Göllerich send the following paraphrased extracts from a review of the symphony by Ernst Wilhelm Fritsch, the editor of *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* which had '>marvellous things to say about me':

'Who among living composers has written anything similar or who can be believed capable of doing so; how far back in the past must we search to find anything of equal value? Honour where honour is due! - but this *Adagio* is unique among the works of the post-Beethovenian period'...

'>It remains for the Viennese to pay homage to their distinguished fellow-citizen particularly when cultural backwaters have at last been persuaded to recognise Anton Bruckner'...

'>As soon as time allows, we will look out for a French or Hungarian countess who may be persuaded to act as Bruckner's patron'...²⁸⁹

On the same day (7 July), Bruckner wrote to Arthur Nikisch, his '>great and noble patron and friend' and the '>first apostle to proclaim my unknown work in Germany with the utmost energy and dignity', to congratulate him on his forthcoming wedding. He also supplied the information that he would be going soon to Steyr in Upper Austria where he would be working diligently

289 See *HSABB* 1, 290 for this letter, dated Vienna, 7 July 1885; the original is privately owned. Göllerich was one of Liszt's pupils and was acting as his secretary at the time.

[on his 8th Symphony].²⁹⁰

A month earlier, on *Corpus Christi* day (4 June), Bruckner and Eckstein travelled to Klosterneuburg where he played the organ at High Mass. Later in the day they joined the Schalk brothers, Löwe, Hynais, Julius Mayreder and Hugo Wolf. Bruckner was no doubt very pleased to meet (for the first time) the young man who had spoken so highly of his works in the *Salonblatt*. Eckstein reports a time of great conviviality and a wide-ranging conversation touching on, among other subjects, Brahms, Hans Richter, the Seventh Symphony and the choice of a suitable opera libretto!²⁹¹

Bruckner spent most of his summer vacation as a guest of Father Aichinger, the parish priest in Steyr. Although he was based there for seven weeks (9 July - 27 August), he visited Kremsmünster for four days (1-4 August) as well as calling on his sister and her family in Vöcklabruck.²⁹² He was a guest at St. Florian for the final part of his holiday (27 August - 4 September) and had to return to Vienna earlier than usual because his *Hofkapelle* duties re-commenced on 6 September.²⁹³ He no doubt availed himself of the special concession of 50% reduction in rail fares for all court

290 See *HSABB* 1, 291 for this letter; the original is privately owned.

291 See Friedrich Eckstein, 'Die erste und die letzte Begegnung zwischen Hugo Wolf und Anton Bruckner', *In memoriam Anton Bruckner*, ed. Karl Kobald (Zurich-Vienna-Leipzig, 1924), 51-56, and Günter Brosche, 'Anton Bruckner und Hugo Wolf', in *Bruckner-Studien*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Vienna, 1975), 175. See also Stephen Johnson, *op.cit.*, 142-43. The year is given as 1886 in *G-A* IV/2, 480-85.

292 Earlier in the year *Paixhanslia*, a choral society in Vöcklabruck, granted Bruckner honorary membership. He was informed of this by telegram on 17 May and there was a report in the *Linzer Tagespost* (21, no.113, p.3) on 19 May. See Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 13 for further details.

293 On 28 June Bruckner wrote to Pius Richter informing of the dates of his duties over the summer and asking him if he would be able to act as his substitute. The dates he gave were 26 and 31 July, 16, 18 and 22 August, 6,7,8 and 12 September. Richter was clearly able to help with the July and August dates but not with the September ones. See *HSABB* 1, 289 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB. See also Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 214-17 for text and commentary on Ledermüller's letter-card to Loidol, dated 28 August but begun on 24 August before Bruckner's arrival.

employees which was ratified in June.²⁹⁴ To spend so little of his vacation at St. Florian was certainly a departure from the norm. There was a written invitation from Bernhard Deubler, the new choir director, to which Bruckner replied on 17 June:

... It is also a joy for me to be able to come to St. Florian, because it is the quietest place for me to work. I have continual difficulty with only one thing - being a burden to the abbey. If I could pay for my own accommodation, I would be much more settled and could stay there without any embarrassment. There is really a limit to all kindness! I also wish you a really good holiday...
Please pass on my greetings to Oddo [Loidol] and Ignaz.²⁹⁵

It is possible that Bruckner's '>embarrassment' concealed another reason for not spending more time at the abbey during the summer of 1885. Perhaps, as Auer suggests, there was a combination of circumstances - a positive response from Aichinger to Bruckner's request to stay at his residence in Steyr, new personnel at the abbey, including Moser, the new prelate, with whom Bruckner was not on such familiar terms, and genuine embarrassment, as mentioned in the letter.²⁹⁶

Steyr may not have been such a quiet place to compose as the peaceful surroundings of St. Florian, but it provided Bruckner with the opportunity of

294 See *ABDS* 1, 101-02 for Hellmesberger's circular letter to the members of the Hofkapelle, dated Vienna, 5 June 1885.

295 See *HSABB* 1, 285-86 for this letter; the original is in St. Florian. Deubler's letter to Bruckner is not extant.

296 See *G-A II/1*, 289ff. and *IV/2*, 342. Although there was a verbal promise, there appears to have been no written promise that Bruckner's wish to be buried under the great organ would be fulfilled.

See later in Chapter 6 for the content of Bruckner's will and the provision that he be buried in Steyr if his wish to be buried in St. Florian was not granted. Bruckner wrote to Aichinger on 1 July, asking for accommodation and offering to pay. All he required was a quiet, cool room and a small piano, if possible, as he had to work '>very industriously on his 8th Symphony.' See *HSABB* 1, 289; the original is privately owned.

continuing preparatory work on his Eighth Symphony. During the few days he spent at Kremsmünster he played the organ on several occasions and discussed future performance possibilities with Oddo and Amand Loidol.²⁹⁷

During his short stay at St. Florian, Bruckner played the organ as usual during the morning service on 28 August (St. Augustine's day). The sung Mass was Liszt's *Missa choralis* and the gradual his own *Os justi*. In the afternoon he gave an organ recital which was attended by many of his friends and admirers. In his report of the recital in the Linz *Tagespost*, Carl Almeroth described the scene as a sort of 'mini-Bayreuth to which Bruckner's admirers made a pilgrimage, using every conceivable form of transport - coach, cycle, train, on foot - so as to hear the sublime music which Master Bruckner would produce from the fine instrument.' The themes which he used for improvisation purposes were taken from *The Ring* and from his own Seventh and Eighth Symphonies.²⁹⁸

The day before he left St. Florian to return to Vienna, Bruckner wrote one of his finest short sacred works, *Virga Jesse floruit* WAB 52, for a *cappella* mixed-voice choir. This setting of a text taken from the Feast of the Blessed Virgin was dedicated posthumously to Ignaz Traumihler and was possibly intended originally, like *Ecce sacerdos*, for the centenary of the Linz diocese in October 1885.²⁹⁹ Its first performance, however, seems to have

297 See G-A IV/2, 343ff. for further details. Simon Ledermüller also mentions Bruckner's 'marvellous' playing at this concert in his card to Oddo Loidol, dated 6 September 1885; see Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', 218-220, for text of and commentary on this letter.

298 See G-A II/1, 292ff. for a reprint of Almeroth's report of 1 September 1885.

299 According to Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner als Kirchenmusiker* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1927), 30. Both the autograph of the work and the engraver's copy used for the first edition in 1886 - no. 4 of *Vier Graduale*, publ. Rättig (T.R. 42) - are in the ÖNB. For further information, see G-A IV/2, 346-49 and ABSW XXI/2, 131-34. For a modern edition of the motet, see ABSW XXI/1, 141-45. Bruckner indicates that he sent Rättig *Virga Jesse* and seven other motets - *Os justi*, *Christus factus est*, *Ave Maria*, *Locus iste*, *Afferentur*, *Tota pulchra es* and *Ecce sacerdos* - on the September page of Fromme's *Oesterreichischer Hochschulen-Kalender für Professoren und Studierende für das Studienjahr 1884/85*. On the August and September pages there are also references to what could be construed as

been as an enclave in a performance of the F minor Mass in the court chapel later in the year, on 8 December.

Bruckner's young friends were by no means unoccupied during the summer months, thanks to Levi's generous offer of 1000 marks to cover the printing costs of the Seventh which included a fee for Josef Schalk for preparing a piano score and supervising the printing. Josef sent the piano score to his brother Franz who made some alterations which were extensive enough for the score to be regarded as at least a joint venture. On 14 July Josef wrote to his brother:

... The corrections in the piano score of the Seventh have already come. Gutmann told me that it would be impossible, now that my name has already appeared in all the publicity, to substitute your name; I persuaded him to make a partial change. It should now read: >'Piano score by Franz and Josef Schalk'. If you do not agree with that, write to me so that I can speak to him again. Löwe and I have had a lot of work with the first proofs and, as a result of your sketchy notation, particularly in the Finale, still have a considerable amount to change and correct. Schuch in Dresden wishes to perform the work next year. Bruckner is already away from Vienna in Steyr. I am sending you a cutting from the *Tagblatt*, please return it. I hope that you have heard from Nikisch why he is upset with Bruckner. If he should still be there, tell him in any case that he has offended me by not replying to my letter. I don't think much of fly-by-night enthusiasts. I have recently got to know a nice example in Mottl whom we (Bruckner, Löwe and I) met in Hietzing.³⁰⁰

A fortnight later Josef wrote to Franz again, this time concerning the proofs of the full score of the Seventh, in particular a detail of instrumentation

revision work (?) on *Ave Maria* and *Locus iste*. See *MVP* 1, 244-46 and 2, 218-19.

³⁰⁰ See *HSABB* 1, 292-93, *FSBB*, 52-53 and *LBSAB*, 100-01 for this letter, dated Vienna 14 July 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/6/10. We have no information about the mysterious breakdown in the relationship between Bruckner and Nikisch to whom Bruckner had written a very friendly letter on 7 July; see earlier and footnote 290.

at the end of the first movement. As Leibnitz points out, this highlights for the first time 'the problem which has beset Bruckner research into the Bruckner-Schalk relationship: the question to what extent the brothers intervened in the preparation of Bruckner's works for publication either through advice or independent decision-making.'³⁰¹

... The engraving seems to be very accurate. If you can remember what was actually decided regarding the organ point at the end of the first movement (whether with or without double bass), write to me immediately, as Bruckner's manuscript - in which no alteration has been made and only the timpanist has the E - has been used as the printer's copy. Perhaps you would prefer to see the proofs yourself. I will send them to you, if you wish. Bruckner is in Steyr.³⁰²

Bruckner wrote to Franz from Steyr on 16 August to report that he had just finished sketching the Eighth Symphony. He referred to the Finale as the 'most significant movement of my entire life' and hoped that he might be able to show it to Franz when he returned to Vienna [on 5 September].³⁰³

Bruckner also mentioned a 'colossal article' about him which had appeared in the *Deutscher Montagsblatt* on 10 August. Its author was Paul Marsop, who had sent a report of the Munich performance of the Seventh to the same paper earlier in the year. Writing to Franz, Josef Schalk expressed some surprise that Marsop, a well-known Wagnerian but also an admirer of Brahms, should write such a lengthy article.³⁰⁴

301 *LBSAB*, 101.

302 See *HSABB* 1, 293-94 and *LBSAB*, 101-02 for this letter, dated Vienna, 27 July 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/6/11. The organ point referred to is in bars 391ff. in the score.

303 See *HSABB* 1, 294-95 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 54/3.

304 See *HSABB* 1, 295 and *LBSAB*, 103 for this letter, dated 18 August 1885; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/6/13. In a later letter to Levi (see below), Bruckner made further reference to his article which, he said, had appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. It is possible that this was merely a reprint. The article was certainly reprinted in the *Linz Tagespost* 204 on 6 September 1885.

In this article, Marsop begins by describing Bruckner as the only living composer, apart from Brahms and Robert Franz, that future historians would have to take seriously. Beside him even such important symphonists of the post-Schumann period as Joachim Raff and Robert Volkmann appeared insignificant. And yet he was comparatively unknown outside his own country. Wagner's recommendation had been as much a hindrance as a help, given the conservative musical climate. As a result of the performance of the Seventh in Leipzig and Munich, however, his importance was gradually being recognised. There was a marked contrast between Bruckner the man 'who stood in his modest attire in front of the excited audience and bowed helplessly and awkwardly' and his music which possessed that one constituent factor conspicuously lacking from contemporary works – 'die Kraft' ('power'):

... At last, at last someone who again puts his whole being into the creative process and is not one of those who, if only God had granted them the precious heavenly gift of originality, would then know where to begin. At last someone who not only mixes his colours because it seems good to him that others have done likewise but who gives life and colour to the product of his creative mind as soon as his imagination takes flight!

Marsop goes on to say that the majority of Bruckner's themes have two assets - a broad melodic sweep and a genuine symphonic character. Although his ability to achieve great musical climaxes demonstrates 'the assiduous study of Wagner', he is 'sensible and tells himself that the rules of the dramatic style cannot be applied to absolute music.' Moreover, he is 'sufficiently gifted for it not to be necessary for him to have his imagination stirred initially by a poetic programme.' And, in spite of the many differences between them, Brahms and Bruckner have one thing in common, namely that they 'do not wish to have anything to do with the Berlioz-Liszt movement away from the mainstream' but lean much more strongly on

Beethoven. While Brahms reaches back to the *Eroica* and the first three movements of the Ninth by way of Schumann's *Manfred* overture, Bruckner does so by way of *Die Meistersinger*. Both methods are understandable and justifiable. Marsop pursues the comparison further:

... In all fairness it must be stressed that Brahms, who displays a considerable mastery of symphonic style in the opening parts of his C minor and F major symphonies, has never been able to write a majestic, broadly flowing Adagio of the kind that we find in Bruckner's Seventh Symphony and in his String Quintet. To find comparable passages in modern music one has to point to the slow movements in Beethoven's C sharp minor Quartet and the *Hammerklavier* sonata. There is also another respect in which Bruckner is in advance of Brahms; he possesses something of that Beethovenian or, if one prefers, Schumannesque humour which turns a small part of the world upside down, plays tag with it for a few minutes and then puts it back in its place nice and neatly. In the Brucknerian Scherzo, Mercurio improvises and Prospero waves his wand. Caprice and imagination are at work alternately and, although there is such a unique admixture of the reasonable and the fantastic, the rational person again feels, nevertheless, how completely a divine folly driven by the malice of method represents the conciliatory middle way between wisdom and madness.

Marsop ends by recalling Bruckner's visit to Wagner's grave which he observed unnoticed the previous year:

... Now quiet and hesitant steps could be heard. In order not to disturb the peace of the great dead composer, a man came near the grave, his head already covered with the silvery-grey hair of approaching old age. He made his way reverently to the foot of the memorial stone, took off his hat, folded his hands and began to pray with such warmth and fervour until tear upon tear ran down his cheeks and the feeling of pain was relieved in sighs of the deepest devotion. The wood-bird was silent - and the Wanderer would also have heard nothing more; his eyes would have been filled with tears as well and, in compassion for the suffering of another, he may have

remembered his own grief. Then the first shafts of sunlight pierced through the branches and tinged with gold the name that was engraved on the stone. The face of the devout man, engrossed in prayer, lit up with what was like the revelation of a higher power; all sadness vanished and there was a brightening of his features which were now filled with a new hope and confidence. It was the reflection of the greatness of Beethoven on the countenance of Anton Bruckner.³⁰⁵

Bruckner mentioned Marsop's 'splendid article' once again when he wrote to Levi shortly after his return to Vienna. While there was growing interest in his work in Germany, he still had reservations about subjecting his Seventh to the onslaughts of the Viennese critics:

... Two days later [i.e. after receiving a copy of Paul Marsop's article] Bote and Bock, the leading publishing house in Berlin, contacted me concerning the publication of my symphonies, with the request that I send them the score of my Fourth (Romantic) Symphony in E flat. If you intend to use this score for performance purposes, I will immediately send them my autograph score, which I do not want to be used for printing. Where is the score of the 7th Symphony which you sent to Karlsruhe? I have had to use the autograph score for printing purposes - and it looks shocking, of course. Mr. Richter told me yesterday that he wishes to perform the *Te Deum*. He is not going to get the Seventh - Hanslick!!! I told Mr. Richter that, if he wishes to perform one of my symphonies at any time, he should choose one that Hanslick has already ruined anyway; he can destroy it even more.

I have finished composing the Eighth. I wish that the detailed working-out was complete. If only I had more time! You will be pleased with it one day. Now to the most important matter. Are you completely restored to good health? This is my dearest wish, indeed my daily prayer...³⁰⁶

305 Marsop's lengthy article is reprinted in G-A IV/2, 350-61.

306 See *HSABB* 1, 296-97 for this letter, dated Vienna, 7 September 1885. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 328-29; the original is in the ÖNB. On 19 September, Bruckner also wrote to his Berlin acquaintance, Wilhelm Tappert, asking him to return the score and parts of the Fourth which he had lent him in 1876 with a view to a possible performance. He pointed out that he had completely revised the symphony since then and that Richter had

It was at about this time that August Göllerich (junior) was beginning to plan a biography of Bruckner. He asked the composer for a few days of his time so that he could obtain the background biographical information he required. In his reply Bruckner mentioned Marsop's article and Bote and Bock's request, but suggested that Göllerich spare himself the expense (of travelling?) involved. He did not have the time, as the Conservatory term was about to begin. So, '>the biography can wait.'³⁰⁷

A few days later Bruckner wrote to his young friend Oddo Loidol in Kremsmünster and sent him the score of *Christus factus est*'>in memory of 2 August 1885' as well as giving him the news about Marsop's article and Bote and Bock's approach. He was also concerned that Father Georg Huemer, the director of music at the abbey, have the F minor Mass copied as soon as possible and ended his letter by saying that he hoped to be in Linz on 4 October.³⁰⁸ Bruckner was referring here to his participation in the centenary

performed the '>new version' with great success in Vienna. See *HSABB* 1, 297-98 for this letter. It was first published in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 67 (1940), 410-11; the original is not extant.

307 See *HSABB* 1, 298 for this letter from Bruckner to Göllerich, dated Vienna, 20 September 1885; the original is privately owned.

308 See *HSABB* 1, 299 for this letter, dated Vienna, 25 September 1885; the original is in Kremsmünster Abbey. 2 August was the date of Loidol's ordination ceremony in Kremsmünster; Bruckner played the organ at High Mass. Bruckner possibly wanted the Mass copied quickly so that it could be returned to Vienna in time for a Hofkapelle performance.

309 See Chapter 3 for further details of this performance, including Adalbert Schreyer's report to Gräßlinger, Bruckner's letter of appreciation to Schreyer (28 October 1885; see *HSABB* 1, 301) and his letter to Burgstaller (also 28 October 1885; see *HSABB* 1, 300-01).

310 See *MVP* 1, 105 and 2, 104.

celebrations of the Linz diocese. On 4 October his E minor Mass was given its second performance in Linz, 16 years after its successful premiere. The score used for this performance had been prepared by Johann Noll, the *Hofkapelle* copyist, in January 1883 and incorporated the various alterations Bruckner had made in the intervening years, particularly in 1876 and 1882.³⁰⁹

A diary entry in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879* (which contains entries for the years 1883-87 as well as for 1879-80) - '>'Messe No. 2 H[er]r. Riedl in Leipzig' - suggests that he also considered offering the work to the Leipzig choir director for performance in the course of the year.³¹⁰

In spite of his reservations about a performance of the Seventh Symphony in Vienna, the Philharmonic decided to include it in their programme for the 1885/86 season. On 18 October Hans Paumgartner reported in the *Wiener Zeitung* that the symphony had been scheduled for performance. A few days before this, however, the reluctant composer wrote to the Philharmonic committee to express his reservations in view of the '>'sad local situation so far as influential criticism is concerned' which could only be exacerbated by his recent German successes.³¹¹ On 6 November Bruckner gave another reason for his disquiet when writing to Mayfeld in Linz:

... I made a protest against the performance of my Seventh Symphony because it is futile in Vienna on account of Hanslick and his gang. If the Philharmonic take no heed of my protest, let them do what they want. There is no point in performing it before January as the parts have not yet been printed.

311 See *HSABB* 1, 299 for this letter, dated Vienna, 13 October 1885; the original of this letter is in the library of the Vienna Philharmonic. In a letter to Aichinger, also dated Vienna, 13 October 1885, Bruckner complained that the Philharmonic appeared to be turning a deaf ear to his protestations. See *HSABB* 1, 300; the original of this letter is in Steyr.

As far as I know, the score etc. (piano arrangement) will not be published until even later than that. 20 orders from abroad, including three from America, have been received.

He then went on to touch on another subject, perhaps in response to a question raised by Mayfeld in an earlier letter:

So far as marriage is concerned, I still do not have any bride-to-be. If only I could find a really suitable dear girl! I certainly have many lady friends. A large number of the fair sex have been pursuing me recently and think that they have to be treated idealistically! It's terrible when one is not feeling well! Totally desolate!...³¹²

Towards the end of the year there were three performances of Bruckner's Third Symphony outside Austria. On 6 December Walter Damrosch conducted the work in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. Both the open rehearsal and performance were reported in *The New York Times*, and there were further reviews of the performance in the *New York Evening Post* and the *New York Daily Tribune*. Both the *New York Times* and *Evening Post* reviews were patronizing, the former praising the distinctness and fluency of the motives, the masterful thematic treatment, and the rich and vivid instrumentation but regretting the lack of 'a spark of inspiration or a grain of inventiveness', the latter commenting that the symphony was well constructed but ponderous and 'void of inspiration' for the most part. The review in the *Daily Tribune*, on the other hand, was complimentary if not overly enthusiastic:

... The likeness between this symphony and the ninth of Beethoven is accentuated by the circumstance that both are in

312 See *HSABB* 1, 302 for this letter, dated Vienna, 6 November 1885; the original is in the Archiv der Stadt Linz, Linz.

the key of D minor. But it might be said here that the resemblance stops with the key and the subject matter of the first movements. Of the tremendous emotional power of Beethoven's crowning work there is no trace in the work of the modern writer, which sounds pedantic and uninspired...Of the four movements the Scherzo alone makes an unqualifiedly pleasing impression. It is fluent, fresh and vigorous in its rhythms and altogether such a piece of music as can be heard at any time with pleasure. The symphony is laid out on a liberal scale, but it is in no respect as revolutionary as might have been expected from so profound a devotee of Wagner as Herr Bruckner. It was given a respectful hearing, but the Scherzo alone called out an emphatic expression of pleasure from the listeners.³¹³

Two performances of the Third in Germany, the first in Frankfurt conducted by Karl Müller, the second in Dresden conducted by Ernst Schuch helped to make 1885 a year in which there were positive and encouraging signs of Bruckner's long-delayed recognition as a leading composer.

The Frankfurt performance on 4 December received mixed reviews. The local *Kleine Presse* attributed its lack of impact not only to the renowned conservatism of the Frankfurt public but, more importantly, to the lack of structural unity and thematic cohesion in the symphony. The reviewer detected 'a potpourri of themes from Wagner's last works' in the final movement. The report in the Leipzig *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, on the other hand, was more encouraging. The symphony was hailed as 'one of the most significant symphonic works of the last decades' and its perceived lack of impact was attributable not to inherent weaknesses but rather to

313 From review in the *New York Daily Tribune* (7 December 1885). See Thomas Röder, *III. Symphonie D-Moll, Revisionsbericht, ABSW zu 3/1-3* (Vienna, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1997), 400ff. for the reports in *The New York Times* (5 and 6 December 1885), *The Evening Post* (7 December 1885), *The New York Daily Tribune* (7 December 1885) and an extract from Walter Damrosch, *My Musical Life* (New York 1923, repr. 1972), 352, in which the conductor recalls the performance and his later meeting with Bruckner in Berlin. Röder also provides the German translation of the *The New York Tribune* article which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 22 December 1885. An abbreviated version of the same translation appeared in the *Linzer Volksblatt* 298 on 30 December 1885. See also G-A IV/2, 368-69.

deficiencies in the performance. The reviewer referred to specific parts in the score where clarity had been marred by the conductor's failure to observe the written dynamic and performance marks.³¹⁴

On 23 November, Bruckner wrote to Ernst Schuch, and asked him to avoid over-quick tempi when conducting the symphony in Dresden.³¹⁵ As in Frankfurt, public and press reception of the Dresden performance on 11 December was less than enthusiastic. Writing in the *Dresdner Anzeiger*, Carl Friedrich Niese acknowledged Bruckner's ability to conceive large-scale structures but regretted his inability to articulate them with 'clarity and lucidity'. Bernhard Seuberlich, the reviewer for *Dresdner Nachrichten*, praised Schuch's assured handling of the work and the orchestra's virtuoso playing but felt that the Seventh, which had already been performed successfully elsewhere, would have been a better choice; the symphony was marvellously scored and there was an abundance of original ideas but the 'nervous composer' preferred to move suddenly from one to another without giving any sufficient clarity and shape; only the third movement displayed the symmetry and unity one would expect from a symphonic movement. Similar sentiments were expressed in a short report of the Dresden performance in the Leipzig *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* in January 1886.³¹⁶

314 See Erwin Horn, 'Bruckneriana zwischen St. Florian und Kremsmünster', in *BJ* 2001-2005 (Vienna, 2006), 231-4, for Oddo Loidol's short contribution to the *Linzer Volkszeitung* 17/268 (21 November 1885) in which the forthcoming Frankfurt performance is briefly mentioned. See also Röder, *op.cit.*, 398-99 for reprints of the reviews of the performance in the *Kleine Presse* (5 December 1885) and the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (7 January 1886). Röder also quotes from a letter from Clara Schumann to Brahms (Frankfurt 15 December 1885) in which she comments unfavourably on the symphony. See also Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann. Ein Künstlerleben. Nach Tagebüchern und Briefen* III (Leipzig 1909), 473.

315 See HSABB 1, 302 for this letter; the original is privately owned. Ernst (von) Schuch (1847-1914) was a pupil of Otto Dessoff. He was appointed court music director in Dresden in 1873 and became general music director in the city in 1889. He had obviously written to Bruckner for information about other works, including the D minor Mass (a copy of which Bruckner enclosed with his letter), the Te Deum and the Fourth Symphony.

316 See Röder, *op.cit.*, 402ff. for reprints of the preview in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* (11 December 1885) and the reviews in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* (13 December 1885), *Dresdner*

Early in the New Year Bruckner's former teacher, Otto Kitzler, wrote to him to congratulate him on the Dresden '>success' and to offer his apologies in advance for not being able to attend the performance of the *Te Deum* in Vienna a few days later:

Dear old friend,

My brother in Dresden who visited me for a few days at Christmas told me that he had heard your Symphony in D minor there and had witnessed an outstanding success. I offer you my heartiest congratulations and am sincerely pleased that you are receiving at last the honour and recognition you deserve.

It has certainly taken a long enough time! I also read fine things about a performance of one of your Masses (is it a recent composition?) in the *Hofkapelle*. I have been deprived of a great pleasure as a result of the unfortunately necessary postponement of our Music Society concert from today until next Sunday, as I wanted to come to Vienna on this day (the 10th) to attend the performance of your *Te Deum*. I have bought myself the score and will perform it next autumn. The programmes for this season are already fixed, unfortunately, but the relevant musical material has already been purchased.

A grand majestic current flows through the *Te Deum*. My warmest congratulations - I am already anticipating the reception keenly.

I will be with you in spirit on Sunday. To end with something prosaic. I spent a very pleasant time with my family in Waidhofen last summer. I was in Linz on 1 August and asked Zappe about you, but he was not able to tell me where you were. If you had been staying at St. Florian I would certainly

Nachrichten (13 December 1885) and *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (28 January 1886). Röder **also** quotes a passage from a letter from Emil Naumann to Ernst Klinger (in response to Klinger's query why Naumann had not given due recognition to Austrian composers like Bruckner and Johann Ev. Habert in his *Illustrierter Musikgeschichte*). Naumann, who had been present at the Dresden performance of Bruckner's Third, claimed that the symphony was 'devoid of structural proportion and organic unity and displayed nothing of the >inner soundness, truthfulness and beauty of tone [found in the works] of our great symphonists Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Fr. Schubert, Spohr, Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann.' See also G-A IV/2, 373-74.

have looked you up...³¹⁷

Recalling that King Albert of Saxony had enjoyed the performance of the two middle movements of Symphony no. 7 in Leipzig at the end of January 1885, Bruckner hoped that Schuch's performance of the Third in Dresden might make a sufficient impression on the king for him to give sympathetic consideration to a request for financial help towards the printing of the Eighth Symphony. We gather that Schuch was either unable or unwilling to act as a 'go-between' from the first of three letters which Bruckner sent to Elisabeth Kietz, the daughter of Gustav Kietz, the sculptor commissioned in the early 1870s to make a bust of Cosima Wagner. She came to Vienna in the autumn of 1885 as a guest of Dr. Hermann Behn who was one of Bruckner's pupils at the time. Bruckner met her and was charmed both by her winning personality and her love of music:

... A young lady has never acted on my behalf so pleasantly and generously as you have! A thousand thanks! I will never forget it. How often my thoughts turn longingly to you and your noble nature which I greatly admire. And your lovely letter! Councillor [Schuch] is not so well-disposed towards me as a man like Levi etc. etc. He still hasn't written to me and he has not fulfilled my request concerning the king, which he promised he would be sure to do...³¹⁸

At the end of 1885, on 30 December, Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk played the first and third movements of the Seventh Symphony at one of the *Wagner Society's* musical evenings. By means of such concerts Bruckner's

317 See *HSABB* 1, 306 for this letter, dated Brno 6 January 1886; the original is in St. Florian. Bruckner's F minor Mass was performed in the Hofkapelle on 8 December 1885. The first performance with orchestra of the Te Deum was conducted by Hans Richter on 10 January 1886.

318 See *HSABB* 1, 329 for this letter, dated Vienna 16 June 1886. It was first published in *GrBB*, 162f; the original is not extant

devoted friends and pupils were attempting to increase his public profile, and they continued to do so even when the strong bastions of conservatism in Vienna appeared to be slowly crumbling in the late 1880s and early 1890s. There was evidence, however, that music critics, journalists and concert promoters were beginning to pay more attention to the composer's growing reputation. In the first of two letters sent in December - to Theodor Helm and Carl Ferdinand Pohl, secretary of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* – there is a brief *curriculum vitae*, indicating that Bruckner had been asked to provide this as the basis for future articles.³¹⁹

The measure of Bruckner's increasing success as a composer can be gauged from a brief review of works performed during 1886. The Seventh Symphony was, understandably, the most frequently performed - on 7 January at one of the Gürzenich concerts in Cologne, conducted by Franz Wüllner; on 19 February in Hamburg by the Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Julius Bernuth; on 14 March in Graz by the orchestra of the *Steiermarker Musikverein* conducted by Dr. Karl Muck; on 21 March in Vienna by the Philharmonic conducted by Hans Richter; on 29 July in Chicago by an orchestra conducted by Theodor Thomas; on 12 and 13 November in New York by an orchestra conducted by Theodor Thomas (Thomas also conducted the work in Boston during the year); and on 18 November in Amsterdam at a *Caecilian Society* concert conducted by Daniel de Lange. The Third Symphony was conducted by Richard Hol in The Hague on 17 March and Utrecht on 20 March, and the first and third movements of the Fourth Symphony were performed by the *Tonkünstlerverein* of Sondershausen conducted by Karl Schröder on 4 June. The first choral and orchestral performance of the *Te Deum* in

319 See *HSABB* 1, 304 for Bruckner's letter to Helm, dated Vienna, 1 December 1885, and *HSABB* 1, 306 for his letter to Pohl, dated Vienna, 31 December 1885; the originals of both letters can be found in the library of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. An article on Bruckner by Helm appeared in the Leipzig *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* in five weekly instalments (30 December 1885, 7, 14, 21 and 28 January 1886).

Vienna on 10 January, conducted by Hans Richter, was followed by performances in Munich (conducted Levi, 7 April), Linz (conducted Floderer, 15 April, in a *Frohsinn* concert which also included performances of *Germanenzug* and the Adagio from Symphony no. 3) and Prague (conducted Friedrich Heßler, 23 or 28 November). The String Quintet was performed again in Vienna by the Hellmesberger Quartet on 7 January and in Sondershausen by the Halir-Grützmaker Quartet in early June. In Leipzig, Karl Riedel directed a performance of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements from the E minor Mass (with organ accompaniment) on 3 July. The *Akademischer Gesangverein*, conducted by Rudolf Weinwurm, included *Trösterin Musik* in a choral concert in Vienna on 11 April and gave an outdoor performance of *Germanenzug* in Meidling at the beginning of May.

The performance of the Seventh in Cologne on 7 January received a favourable review in the *Neue Musikzeitung* from Hans Kleser who began, as many other reviewers had begun, by expressing surprise that the composer had taken such a long time to become recognised outside his own country. He continued by outlining what he perceived to be the main characteristics of Bruckner's style - '>'unusually fine thematic invention', the masterly development of a '>'grand leading idea' and a control of the whole orchestra both technically and dynamically.³²⁰

On the same evening (7 January), the Hellmesberger Quartet gave another performance of Bruckner's String Quintet in their concert series. Hugo Wolf reviewed the performance in the *Wiener Salonblatt* on 10 January:

Anton Bruckner's Quintet is one of these rare artistic phenomena blessed with the capacity to utter a profound

³²⁰ See G-A IV/2, 392-94 for an extract from this review in the *Neue Musikzeitung* VII/2 (January 1886). There was another review of the performance in the *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 26 (1886), 27.

secret in a simple, sensible way, in contrast to the usual procedure, much favoured by our modern >'masters', of clothing simple, everyday thoughts in the enigmatic utterances of oracles. Bruckner's music flows full-bodied and rich from the clear fountain of a childlike spirit. One can say of any of his works: '>It sounded so old, and was yet so new.'³²¹ This is thanks to a strong, popular strain that emerges everywhere in his symphonic compositions, sometimes overtly, sometimes hidden. How charming, for example, is the Ländler-like Trio of the Quintet! How well the composer, for all his earthiness, knows how to play the gentleman of distinction, sometimes by a harmonic deviation or a bit of ingenious counterpoint, by a more richly coloured instrumentation or a surprising inversion of themes etc.

But Bruckner's harmonic and melodic language was neither banal nor contrived. His musical structure, on the other hand, could be criticised for a certain lack of cohesion:

His thematic invention is the product of an extraordinarily fertile fantasy and a glowing perceptiveness, hence the lucid imagery of his musical language. The sentence structure, however, seems too dependent upon rapid progress, well-ordered periods and a certain well-rounded formal equilibrium... Granted, one can elaborate a subject just as well, and just as exhaustively, in chopped-off sentences as in a long caravan of the best-ordered periods. Epigrammatic brevity of form can allow thoughts to emerge more powerfully and more plastically, but also in a more one-sided and often less clear manner. Here, in every case, a happy medium is preferable to either extreme...³²²

Three days later, on 10 January, the *Te Deum* was given its first performance with full orchestral accompaniment in the third concert of the

321 Hans Sachs's words in his Act 2 monologue in *Die Meistersinger* as he recalls Walther's singing.

322 From review as translated by Pleasants, op.cit., 179-80.

Gesellschaft subscription series. Bruckner's vivid setting of the Latin text won him great public acclaim and the critical reaction was generally favourable.

Writing in the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*, Ludwig Speidel made the usual reference to the musical influences of Beethoven, Liszt, Wagner and Berlioz, but highlighted the profound religious inspiration behind the work:

In his enthusiasm the gifted former choirboy has courageously stepped out of the confines of the Catholic church whose humble servant he has been for many years. He praises his God with voices and strings, timpani and trumpets, completely unconcerned about the possibility of his being somewhat excessive in his treatment of the great subject. He bears his Lord aloft as in a storm, as in a whirlwind. But then, after such 'storm and stress' for the portrayal of which no device is too strong, the depths of heaven and the whole gamut of feelings are laid open. It is a joyful seeing and hearing of the mysteries of faith, their heights and depths. The human voice moves into the foreground as the one organ endowed with the ability to convey such mysteries, whereas one seems to hear in the orchestra the creature longing for salvation. The passage 'Non horruisti virginis uterum' [bars 133-37] has never been set to music with such fervour and passion and, in the following passage, comforting and blissful voices speak to us about victory over death and the opening up of the kingdom of heaven...³²³

Theodor Helm remarked that even those who were usually inclined to ridicule Bruckner or to maintain a stubborn silence when one of his works was being performed joined in the tumultuous applause,³²⁴ while Hans Paumgartner said that the *Te Deum* had guaranteed the composer a worthy

323 From Ludwig Speidel's review in the *Wiener Fremdenblatt* (19 January 1886), as reprinted in G-A IV/2, 401-02.

324 From Theodor Helm's review in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (13 January 1886), as quoted in G-A IV/2, 402.

place beside Bach and Beethoven.³²⁵ Emil von Hartmann's review in the *Musikalische Rundschau* drew attention to the combination of '>inspired invention; and >'enormous musical learning' in the work, as well as the >'religious feeling' which inspired it and prompted the dedication >'Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam.'³²⁶

The other two works in the concert were Schubert's *Miriams Siegesgesang* and Schütz's *Die sieben Worte*. Kalbeck, writing in *Die Presse*, made some comparisons between the latter and Bruckner's *Te Deum* before adopting his normal position of regarding Bruckner as no more than an imitator of Wagner. But there were also some words of praise:

Apart from *Miriams Siegesgesang*, the third *Gesellschaft* concert brought us two very singular works which, although separated by a time-gap of centuries, nevertheless have a kind of spiritual relationship: Heinrich Schütz's *Die sieben Worte* and Anton Bruckner's *Te Deum*. While one does not seem to be music as yet, the other is nearly music no longer. But both produce a highly individual impression and we have sympathy on the one hand for the dry old historian who cocoons himself reverently in the grey monotony of Schütz's gospel setting, and on the other hand for the modernist seeking unusual stimulants whose wishes are abundantly satisfied by the arbitrary and fantastic kaleidoscope of colours. Both works lack the variety of hues and the light and shade which, to our mind, belong to a good painting. They exist as if in a vacuum... We do not know with the latter [Bruckner] where the devout musician ceases and the seeker after effect begins. Nevertheless, the *Te Deum* is by far the most unified, self-contained and effective work by the musical mystic known to us and gives evidence of his outstanding talent.

Bruckner goes back to Beethoven and Wagner shows him

325 From Hans Paumgartner's review in the *Wiener Abendpost* (14 January 1886), as quoted in *G-A* IV/2, 403. Paumgartner's report also contains a review of the recent performance of the String Quintet which would also, in his opinion, occupy a permanent place of distinction in the chamber music repertoire.

326 From Emil von Hartmann's review in the *Musikalische Rundschau* (20 January 1886), as quoted in *G-A* IV/2, 403-04.

the way. Of course, this is not the universally known Beethoven, the master *in extenso* as our lay understanding comprehends him, but that quite special Beethoven, rediscovered after his death, who begins at the very place where he really finishes. The *Te Deum* could be called an offspring of the Ninth Symphony, if it was not at the same time an offshoot of the Nibelung trilogy (sic). A violin figure which pervades the work with the persistence of a steam engine is nothing more than the bare fifths' figuration from which the Allegro of the Ninth is developed. What with Beethoven was an original idea, whose musical and aesthetic justification was clear to everyone, appears to be more like the result of a misunderstanding when Bruckner uses it, although there is no reason to doubt that it still retains its profound significance. It is possible that the microcosm finds its place in the ascending and descending quavers. We readily concede that this hollow-sounding surge of voices and instruments has a surprising effect of elemental force. At the place where the voices begin to expand harmonically and contrapuntally we believe that we see Wotan rather than the God in whose honour the *Te Deum* was written - an unpleasant coincidence for the orthodox Christian, but one which does not disturb us! Bruckner's polyphony is a law unto itself; it belongs to the realm of the haphazard and avails itself of mortar when the rising sap of the musical cell-tissue and the blood running through the veins of the artistic organism are beginning to dry up... The crumbling fugue of '>'In te, Domine, speravi' is shored up but does not develop. It is certainly possible that Bruckner, whose profound understanding of counterpoint and all related skills is universally praised, intended to give appropriate prominence to doubt with which hope is normally tinged, and that consequently he preferred to hide his light under a bushel than resolve to expose even a minuscule part of his greater ability. In the choral passage preceding the fugue there is a - perhaps intentional - reminiscence of the final duet from *Siegfried*. And perhaps in his final '>'Non confundar in aeternum' the composer is interceding with his dear God not to allow the trilogy (sic) to fall into disrepute but to preserve the Bayreuth festival and its building for ever. Indeed anything is conceivable... We have no reservations, however, in praising the deeply felt '>'Te ergo' and its repetition in '>'Salvum fac' with its unidiomatic but appealing violin solo. Both movements are enclosed by choral and orchestral movements of tremendous drive and energy, like gently rolling meadows surrounded by

a dark forest whose towering tree-tops sway in the storm. It is to be hoped that even those who disagree will infer from our honest remarks that we consider Bruckner's *Te Deum* to be an interesting and estimable work of its kind which we have no hesitation in ranking above the normal run-of-the-mill type which observes all the rules...³²⁷

Hanslick was also grudging in his muted praise of the work:

... In contrast to the old Schütz is the almost violent modern effect of Anton Bruckner's *Te Deum*. This praise of God comes storming along with thunderous power - full organ, roaring trombones and drum beats, the whole choir *fortissimo* and in unison. In comparison with other Bruckner works, however, his *Te Deum* seems more clear and more unified. Of course, it is not lacking in jarring transitions and contrasts and in undisguised Wagnerian reminiscences. But the *Te Deum* possesses more musical logic than we are accustomed to from Bruckner who takes pleasure in placing the most heterogeneous ideas side by side and in warming us up with some longer beautiful passage only to thrust us in ice-cold water immediately afterwards...³²⁸

In a later report of this concert which appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Count Laurencin d'Armond praised the uncommon richness of musical ideas in the work but criticised the patchwork nature of the whole.³²⁹ Nevertheless the general feeling was that Bruckner had achieved a notable success with his choral work.³³⁰ It was the most frequently performed of his

327 From Max Kalbeck's review in *Die Presse* (17 January 1886), as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 404-08.

328 From Eduard Hanslick's review in the *Neue freie Presse* 7658 (19 January 1886), as quoted in *G-A IV/2*, 408-09.

329 This review appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 82 (16 July 1886), 321-22. See extract in Louis, op.cit., 320-21. and *G-A IV/2*, 409.

330 Other reviews of the performance appeared in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* (23 January 1886) and in *Kastner's Wiener Musikalisches Zeitung* 1 (24 January 1886), 292-93.

choral compositions during his lifetime and it has retained its position in the repertoire ever since. Many of Bruckner's colleagues and friends were at the performance and several sent letters of congratulation afterwards. Rudolf Weinwurm's generous and warm-hearted sentiments must have brought particular pleasure to the composer. Weinwurm prefaced his letter with a musical quotation from the beginning of the *Te Deum* and went on to say how strikingly the orchestral performance had confirmed the earlier impression made by the performance with piano accompaniment the previous year.³³¹

As well as refining and orchestrating the first version of his Eighth Symphony during 1886, Bruckner composed a short choral piece, *Um Mitternacht* WAB 90. He completed it on 11 February and made use of the same text by Robert Prutz which he had set 22 years earlier.³³² It was written specifically for a special Bruckner concert in Linz on 15 April planned by the *Frohsinn* choral society to celebrate its 41st anniversary. Earlier in the year the choir committee wrote to Bruckner to inquire what music of his was available for performance, and he replied on 2 February:

... The *Te Deum* and the 3rd (D minor) symphony are published by Gutmann (opera house). The publisher holds the performance rights, however, and the music cannot be hired or even copied. All that I could do to help you would be to send you, for example, the 1st and 3rd (Hunt) movements of the 4th (Romantic) Symphony which is not yet in print (but I am afraid

The latter also includes a review of the performance of the Quintet on 7 January. See Gerold W. Gruber, 'Brahms und Bruckner in der zeitgenössischen Wiener Musikkritik', in *BSL* 1983 (Linz, 1985), 210.

331 See *HSABB* 1, 308 for this letter, dated Vienna, 13 January 1886; the original is in St. Florian. See also *HSABB* 1, 307ff. for other congratulatory letters from Countess Anna Amadei (Vienna, 11 January 1886; original in St. Florian), 'old friends' from Linz including Wilhelm Floderer and Karl Kerschbaum (Linz, 18 January 1886; original in St. Florian) and Betty von Mayfeld (23 January 1886; original in St. Florian).

332 Namely *Um Mitternacht* WAB 89 for male voices with piano accompaniment (1864).

that Munich may want this symphony; in which case, I would have to send you another for the Linz performance)...³³³

Bruckner's response to the textual imagery is just as keen as it is in his first setting of *Um Mitternacht*. The second and third verses are set for tenor solo and evocative humming accompaniment for choir which provides a rich, frequently shifting harmonic background.³³⁴

Another choral piece, written at about the same time as *Um Mitternacht - Ave regina coelorum* WAB 8 - can be mentioned here, as it demonstrates Bruckner's continuing involvement, albeit sporadic, with sacred music. The work takes the form of a unison vocal line, accompanied by organ chords. The melody is plainchant-like but is Bruckner's own.³³⁵

The performance of the Seventh Symphony in Hamburg on 19 February had a mixed reception. While the conservative Hamburg public reacted coolly, connoisseurs were much less guarded in their response. One of these was the critic Wilhelm Zinne who wrote to Bruckner the day after the performance:

333 See HSABB 1, 311 for this letter, dated Vienna, 2 February 1886; the original is in the library of the Linzer Singakademie. The concert in April was an all-Bruckner one – *Germanenzug*, *Um Mitternacht*, the Adagio movement from the Third Symphony and the *Te Deum* – apart from the concluding chorus *An Meister Bruckner*, composed by Wilhelm Floderer, the conductor of Frohsinn, to words by Karl Kerschbaum. See G-A III/1, 593-604 and supplementary information supplied by Erich Partsch in his article in the IBG *Mitteilungsblatt* 76 (June 2011).

334 The work is discussed fully in G-A IV/2, 410ff. It was dedicated to the Strasbourg Male Voice Society which published a facsimile edition of the piece in 1886. It was later edited by Viktor Keldorfer and printed by Universal Edition (U.E. 2927) in 1911. There is a modern edition in ABSW XXIII/2, 148-53. See also Renate Grasberger, *Werkzeichnis Anton Bruckner* (Tutzing, 1977), 215 and idem, *Bruckner Ikonographie*. Teil 1: Um 1854 bis 1924, ABDS 7 (Vienna, 1990), 27 for a facsimile of the first page.

335 The autograph of the piece is in the ÖNB and there are sketches in the Kremsmünster Abbey library. It was written for Klosterneuburg and was first published (1910) in the *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* III, 132. For further information, see ABSW XXI/1, 186 and ABSW XXI/2, 135-39. There is a modern edition in ABSW XXI/1, 148-49. A facsimile of the first page of the autograph can be found in ABSW XXI/2, xxviii. The piece is dated 1886 by Renate Grasberger in her *Werkzeichnis*, 12, 'between 1885 and 1888' by Leopold Nowak in ABSW XXI/2, 135 and '12.2 1886 (?)' by Franz Scheder, *ABC Textband*, 491 on account of the fact that the sketch in the Kremsmünster library is written on the same sheet as sketches for the Finale of the Eighth Symphony.

Yesterday your Seventh Symphony filled me with an enthusiasm which I have not experienced to the same degree before, except with Beethoven's Ninth. Never before last night have I been filled with so much admiration when confronted with the work of a genius. This enthusiasm has remained and the overwhelming impression it has made on me is proof that I have found in your symphony that ideal symphonic work which I have been longing for with uncertainty. I have laid aside those scores which I have been intending to study so that I can become acquainted with your incomparable work as soon as possible. That I am not the only one who hopes to profit from its universal value is demonstrated by the number of those who approached the conductor immediately after hearing the work, in order to obtain the score. Within the circle of musicians there is unanimous agreement about the worth of the Seventh. That a public like the Hamburgers would react coolly and negatively to such a flow of ideas could only be expected by anyone who encounters this extremely stupid crowd every day and who knows the favourite meal of this most noble species with its super-blasé attitude. But that will give you less cause for concern, dear Master, in view of the great impact your work made yesterday on the large number of your friends and enthusiastic admirers.

Although you might already have the reviews in two of the daily papers here – 'Hamb[urger] Correspondent' (Sittard) and 'Hamb[urger] Nachrichten' (A.F. Riecius) - I am sending them to you because it is just possible that you did not receive them from anyone else. I do not wish to send you the review in another usually very popular paper because the reviewer in question clearly approached your work without the enthusiasm the event deserved and with a great lack of understanding of the symphonic genre. You must ascribe the constant reference to Brahms in the other two papers (I would gladly exchange his four symphonies for your 'Seventh' alone) to the fact that a significant degree of local patriotism is at stake and, as a result, objective judgment often suffers because things are viewed through 'rose-tinted spectacles'.

I am also able to submit a report of the performance of the symphony yesterday to the new 'Musikalische Rundschau' in Vienna. But I have an overwhelming desire to express my boundless admiration and respect to you - and the fact that I, like you, was once a 'village organist and schoolteacher' can only add to my appreciation, if that is

possible...³³⁶

In acknowledging Zinne's letter, Bruckner expressed surprise that his friend Sucher had not conducted the symphony, but was delighted that Zinne had understood the work so well, particularly as the performance seems to have been less than ideal - certainly in comparison with the Leipzig and Munich performances. Perhaps a 'lack of rhythmical energy' was to blame.³³⁷

In a second letter written shortly afterwards, Zinne gave Bruckner the surprising news that Eduard Marxsen, Brahms's old teacher, had attended the concert and was full of praise for the symphony:

... I was asked by our director of music, Professor v. Bernuth, to pass on the score of the 7th Symphony to Eduard Marxsen, Brahms's teacher, as he was very keen to get to know it. My conversation with Marxsen centred almost entirely on the new symphony. The old man, still in excellent spirits, did not stop praising the beauty of the Bruckner symphony for an entire half-hour. He had gone to the concert with few expectations, but he declared the symphony not only the greatest of modern times but one of the most outstanding that we possess. He had made this judgment before getting to know the score. Everyone who has ears to hear must be of the same opinion. He was evidently very annoyed about the reception of the work on 19 February (there was some hissing after the Adagio in C sharp minor, for instance!) and went home thinking that he was

336 See HSABB 1, 311-12 for Zinne's letter, dated Hamburg, 20 February 1886. The letter was first published in *ABB*, 385-86; the original is not extant. Carl Wilhelm Zinne (1858-1934) became one of Bruckner's staunchest supporters in North Germany. Further information about him is provided by Kurt Blaukopf, *Mahler's Unknown Letters* (London: 1986), ed. Herta Blaukopf, 227ff. For further information about Josef Sittard, see below. A. F. Riecius = August Ferdinand Riccius (1819-1886) who was a composer, conductor and music critic resident in Hamburg from 1864 onwards.

337 See HSABB 1, 312-13 for this letter; no date is given, but the date 'nach dem 20. Februar 1886' is surmised. There is a copy of the letter with the original envelope in the Öffentliche Bücherhallen, Hamburg. Josef Sucher (1843-1908), a former pupil of Sechter's, musical director of the Hamburg Opera from 1878 and of the Court Opera in Berlin from 1882, had evidently promised to conduct the symphony. Bruckner may have been unaware that he had moved to Berlin.

the only one who was enthusiastic about it, only to be disabused of this notion when he read the papers a few days later. He made no mention at all of his pupil Brahms throughout the entire conversation. When a member of the Philharmonic committee said to him, 'We have made real fools of ourselves with the symphony', Marxsen retorted, 'To make a judgment like that is proof of your ignorance. At best you could say "it is not to my taste"'.³³⁸

Joseph Sittard's intelligent review in the *Hamburger Correspondent* dwelt on the structural expansiveness of the symphony:

No matter how one approaches Bruckner's works, even those who are unable to appreciate them will have to concede that an artist of genius speaks to us from this Seventh Symphony. He certainly cannot be reproached for formlessness and lack of contrapuntal knowledge and skill, nor can a considerable creative power in thematic invention be denied him. The structural conventions are most strictly observed in all four movements. Bruckner even allows himself the luxury, which an artist endowed with the divine power of strong vivid imagination is certainly at liberty to do, of supplementing the usual two main themes in the first movement, for example, with a third of equal importance and of adding yet another contrasting theme. The structure is certainly expanded by this means but it is an expansion which, to borrow a legal expression, is effected on thoroughly judicial and legitimate grounds. Bruckner's themes are designed on the large scale; all of them are filled with a significant content and are of an outstanding melodic beauty. These are not expressionless miniature motives made up of intervals put together at random, but large, bold and powerful ideas that could only be conceived by a man of stature. The way in which he develops these ideas is novel and unusual, even bizarre at times. His imagination often works fitfully and moves along in seven-league boots. But it does not follow that the legitimacy of his artistic creativity should be called into question. If we adopt such a puritanical standpoint, we can then place a full-stop at the end of Beethoven's works and say:

³³⁸ See *HSABB* 1, 313-14 for this letter; no date is given, but 'zwischen 20. und 26. Februar 1886' is surmised. It was first published in *ABB*, 384-85; the original is not extant.

thus far and no further. Intellectual development does not stop, however, and the inspired artist has always appeared at the appropriate time to point art along new paths. When Brahms appeared with his larger works they were all found to be abstruse and artificial. The greatest arbitrariness was discovered in them and nothing but cold reflection could be seen.

But the worst criticism was that the melodies could not be retained and taken back home. And today? Today Bruckner has to listen to the same criticisms, but intensified, and he is accused of the deadly sin of Wagnerianism. However, he has not copied the advances for which we have the composer of *The Ring* to thank, but simply accepted the greater wealth of expressive means acquired by music during the past fifty years, transferred them to symphonic form and developed them in a completely independent way. In a word, Bruckner is no mannerist, but a stylist, an artist who possesses such a superabundance of musical riches that he does not need to borrow from anyone else.

Sittard described the Adagio as 'a movement the like of which has not been written since the funeral march in Beethoven's *Eroica*... a funeral march of the most noble kind', and continued:

The principal theme is in two parts. Five tubas together with violas, cellos and double basses begin a mournful motive in the lugubrious minor key. The string orchestra continues with a moving song in E major in the rhythm of a solemn funeral march. The mourning is transfigured, as it were, by the recollection of the deeds of a great man or hero who was snatched from the world. With this theme, which is made up of two contrasting parts, the composer has already prepared the foundation for a vivid dramatic development, but a subsidiary theme now appears. It has a beautiful consolatory character and lifts the spirits of those who are mourning. And how the composer proceeds to develop these themes! A drama of the most shattering kind enfolds before our mind's eye. The first mournful motive again gives way to the march-like theme in the major and then also appears in the friendly major key at the greatest climactic point where it is joined by the violins descending from the heights. But the sounds of mourning still

appear, albeit fleetingly, and the movement ends quietly and comfortingly with a heavenward glance, as it were. The composer who was able to write such a work of art as this movement belongs among the immortals...³³⁹

On 24 February Bruckner wrote to Sittard to express his gratitude. He mentioned the successes of the earlier Leipzig and Munich performances and added that it was vital that the Scherzo was played 'very quickly; the changes of tempo are imperative'.³⁴⁰

Another Hamburg musician with whom Bruckner corresponded at the time, E. Schweitzer, wrote him a very encouraging letter on 20 March and confirmed what Zinne had already said about the great impact made by the Seventh:

... My dear Professor, I cannot avoid writing you a few lines in response to your very charming letter. First of all I have to convey to you warmest greetings from Professor Bernuth and Director Marxsen. Both are still completely full of the powerful impression that your magnificent symphony made on them. How badly Bruch's *Odysseus* fared in comparison, and how superficial, even trivial at times, and boring for the most part it seems in contrast to your work! There has been a great swing of opinion in your favour here in Hamburg partly as a result of all the critics enthusiastically taking your side and, it must also be said, largely on account of Marxsen standing up for you so energetically. The so-called Brahmsians had not expected that. These fellows are Brahms supporters in name only. In actuality Brahms serves them only as a cover so that they can fire their poisoned arrows at the newly-emerging fine, first-rate composers. In fact, they treat Brahms in the same way, and even wounded him in the not too distant past in a manner

339 From Sittard's review in the *Hamburger Correspondent* (20 February 1886), as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 417-20. Josef Sittard (1846-1903) was a music journalist who was based in Hamburg from 1885 onwards and who, like Wilhelm Zinne, was an eloquent advocate of Bruckner's music in North Germany. A.F. Riccius's review also appeared in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* on 20 February 1886.

340 See *HSABB* 1, 313 for Bruckner's letter to Sittard: the original is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

similar to what they are saying now about your great work. Marxsen has told me so many times how one day when Schumann had presented the young Brahms with a testimonial – ‘New Paths’ - which did him [Marxsen] the greatest credit, Brahms’s father came to him in great sadness because all the musicians had told him that, as a result of such a stupid article about Johannes, his son’s whole career had been destroyed!

You mention Sucher in your letter. Now, between ourselves, it is fortunate that he was not the first to perform the symphony here - it would not have been possible for a long time. In the first place, the Municipal Theatre orchestra is the most overworked in the world. Each month it is required to play at least 29-30 times in the Hamburg or Altona or Theatiner theatres and, during the summer months, to give performances in the zoo each evening from 7 to 12 for Director Tottini. It is quite clear that the necessary time and, as far as the conductor is concerned, the necessary freshness are not available to rehearse a masterpiece such as yours.very carefully and it was given a very good performance. Between ourselves, there is a particular reason why he is criticised in the Hamburg papers. He will not allow a lady friend of Dr. H., the chief editor of [one of] the above papers, to sing in the Philharmonic concerts! That is an open secret here!...³⁴¹

The first Austrian performance of the Seventh was given not in Vienna but in Graz. On 14 March, Dr. Karl Muck, a young music director at the beginning of a distinguished career, conducted the orchestra of the *Steiermärkische Musikverein*.³⁴² Preparations for the concert were

341 See *HSABB* 1, 317 for this letter, dated Altona, 20 March 1886. It was first printed in *ABB*, 360ff. The originals of both this letter and Bruckner’s earlier letter to Schweitzer are not extant. Bruckner noted down both Sittard’s and Schweitzer’s Hamburg addresses in Fromme’s *Österreichischer Hochschulen-Kalender für Professoren und Studierende für das Studienjahr 1885/86*; see *MVP* 1, 293 and 2, 239. In September 1886, the critic Heinrich Genß reflected on the Hamburg performance of the Seventh and the lukewarm public reaction to the symphony in a review article in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. See Melanie Kleinschmidt, ‘Voraussetzung und Ganze/Teile-Strukturen des Musikverstehens – Betrachtung auf der Grundlage der Rezension der Siebten Symphonie Bruckners von Hermann Genß (1886)’, in *BJ* 2006-2010 (Linz, 2011), 189-99.

342 Karl Muck (1859-1940) studied at Würzburg and Leipzig and held posts as music director in Zurich, Salzburg and Brno before going to Graz. He moved to Prague in 1886, Berlin in 1892, and took up an appointment as conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1912. After the 1914-18 war, during which he was interned, he became a guest conductor

meticulous. No less than fourteen rehearsals were held and Muck had to correct many copyist's mistakes in the parts. Bruckner attended the final rehearsals and, according to Eckstein, had to make a detailed search of some of the popular Graz watering-holes in order to find the tuba players from the Vienna Philharmonic who were supposed to be engaged in playing rather than drinking! But Muck's painstaking rehearsals paid dividends. Bruckner received a standing ovation and the review in the leading Graz paper, the *Tagespost*, was complimentary on the whole. The critic, Karl Maria von Savenau, had strong reservations, however, about 'those passages in Bruckner's score where too many dissonances, indeed whole sequences of dissonances destroy the euphony, and the supreme principle of beauty in all art is violated', adding that 'exuberance in art is the signature of the modern era - we are living in a dithyrambic epoch.'³⁴³

Muck enclosed a copy of this review when he wrote to Bruckner the day after the performance:

Once again my sincere thanks for the unforgettably beautiful hours which I spent studying your work. You can rest assured that I will seize every opportunity to renew my acquaintance with it in the future! The period of your stay passed too quickly, and I was always surrounded by idle or tiresome people, with the result that I did not have the

in Europe and America but was based in Hamburg from 1922 to 1933. For further information, see Kurt Stephenson, 'Karl Muck', in *MGG* 9 (1961), cols. 842-3, and Hans Christoph Worbs, 'Carl Muck' in *The New Grove*, Second Edition, 17 (2001), 356-57.

343 See *G-A IV/2*, 424-27 for a reprint of the complete review which appeared in the *Graz Tagespost* on 16 March 1886. Earlier, on 12 March, the evening edition of this paper printed a biographical article on Bruckner. See Ingrid Schubert, 'Wagner und die Neudeutschen in Graz', in *BSL* 1984 (Linz, 1986), 36-37 for further information and for extracts from another review which appeared in the *Graz Morgenpost* 61 (also 16 March 1886). The young Siegmund von Hausegger also provided a report for the *Deutsche Zeitung* (16 March 1886). It was his first contact with Bruckner and his music. The concert was held in the Graz Stephaniesaal. After the concert, Bruckner gave an organ recital in the hall. Bruckner's 1885/86 diary (Notizbuch um 1885/86) and Fromme's *Hochschulen-Kalender für Professoren und Studierende für das Studienjahr 1885/86* contain the names and addresses of Muck, Savenau and Hausegger. See *MVP* 1, 271-72 and 293; 2, 230 and 239.

opportunity of telling you properly how much your work meant to me and how I did my utmost to do justice to your high intentions. I trust that I was successful in providing you with at least some proof of this through the performance.

I enclose the 'review' from Savenau, our Beckmesser-in-chief. The others have still not reported anything. As soon as their concoctions appear, I will send them to you.

In accordance with your wish, I am also sending you my portrait. I would be extremely pleased if you could send me a picture of yourself very soon; but please do not forget to add the appropriate dedication by writing a couple of lines.

Have you already read Hausegger's review in the *Deutsche Zeitung*?..³⁴⁴

Finally, on Sunday 21 March, the symphony was given its first orchestral performance in Vienna. Bruckner had already written to Bernhard Deubler in St. Florian inviting him and Ferdinand Moser to what he undoubtedly regarded as a major event in his career.³⁴⁵ In spite of his earlier reservations about a Viennese performance of the Seventh, Bruckner described it afterwards as the best performance he had heard of any of his works and was full of praise for Richter and the Philharmonic players. At a reception given in Bruckner's honour by the *Wagner Society* after the concert, Richter spoke very graciously of a change of attitude towards Bruckner on the part of the Philharmonic players. There had been misunderstanding and distrust in the past, but now there was complete acceptance. Bruckner would never again have to hear the first performance of any of his works outside Vienna.³⁴⁶

344 See *HSABB* 1, 315 for this letter, dated Graz, 16 March 1886; the original is in St. Florian.

345 Not only did he send them an invitation, but he also undertook to procure tickets for them! See *HSABB* 1, 314-15 and 316 for his two letters to Deubler, dated Vienna, 16 and 19 March 1886 respectively; the originals are in St. Florian.

346 On 25 March Bruckner wrote officially to the Philharmonic Society to congratulate Richter on his 'excellent and most inspired conducting' and to express his 'deepest admiration' of the orchestral players' excellent performance. See *HSABB* 1, 320 for this letter; the original is privately owned. In his 1885/86 diary, Bruckner noted interpretation details in rehearsals of both the *Te Deum*, first performed two months earlier, and the

On 24 March Bruckner wrote to Josef Sittard in Hamburg to provide details of the very positive reception of the symphony in Vienna, in spite of the normal lack of enthusiasm expressed by the triumvirate of Hanslick, Dömpke and Kalbeck!³⁴⁷ The following day he sent almost identical letters to Levi and Wolzogen, informing them of the successful performances of the work in Graz and Vienna:

... All struggling and striving were to no avail. The 7th Symphony was performed by the Philharmonic on the 21st. Richter put his whole heart into it. The jubilant reception was indescribable. 5-6 tumultuous recalls even after the 1st movement; and so it went on - after the Finale unceasing tumultuous enthusiasm and recalls. A laurel wreath from the *Wagner Society* and a bouquet. The picture of the Master with my wreath round his neck was so marvellously apt. I also received the bust of the 'immortal one' from Dresden the following day, and I embraced it warmly and tearfully.

On 14 March I was in Graz for a performance of the same work directed by Dr. Muck, a brilliant conductor from Würzburg. An equally great success! Could you possibly arrange for a short report to appear in a Munich paper? I would be most grateful.

Bote and Bock have withdrawn and I no longer have a publisher [for the Fourth Symphony]. I felt I had to make you, my artistic father, aware of this. Please convey my deepest thanks and respects to Dr. and Mrs. von Fiedler. My kindest

Seventh Symphony; in the latter, for example, he indicates that, in the second movement, 'power should be reserved for the C major [passage]', the second subject material in the Finale should be less quick, and the horns should not be so thrusting in the first movement ('1. Satz. Hörner nicht etwas stoßen - ?') See *MVP* 1, 275-76 and 2, 231.

347 See *HSABB* 1, 318 for this letter; the original is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. See also *HSABB* 1, 321 for a letter from Friedrich Eckstein to Sittard, dated Vienna, 3 April 1886; the original is also in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. In his letter, Eckstein says that he has arranged for Röttig to send Sittard the scores of the Third Symphony and the Te Deum, but laments the fact that so much of Bruckner's music - '>'perhaps a thousand written pages' - still remains unpublished. Enclosed with his letter are some of the reviews of the Vienna performance of the Seventh. When Bruckner wrote to Sittard later in the year (probably in August), he enclosed some details of his compositions and mentioned that Röttig had sent him the scores requested. See *HSABB* 1, 339 for this undated letter; the original is also in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

regards to your wife.

The king should now have the score...

N.B. I have just seen the *Morgenpost* of 23 March and the *Deutsche Zeitung* of 25 March which are splendid. Speidl (*Fremdenblatt*), Frei (*Tagblatt*) and the *Wiener Zeitung* should also be good.³⁴⁸

In his letter to Wolzogen Bruckner apologized for not being at home when Wolzogen visited him and thanked him for his letter which contained a poem that could possibly be set to music – ‘St. Francis’s >Hymn to the Sun’. Bruckner was delighted with the >‘splendid poem’ but had other demands on his time:

... Unfortunately I am submerged in the 8th Symphony and have almost no time to compose. On 14 March I was in Graz for the performance of my 7th Symphony. The performance, directed by Dr. Mück, a brilliant conductor from Würzburg, was excellent (14 rehearsals) and the reception was indescribably magnificent. I was greeted with fanfares after the Finale.

On 21 March the performance of the same work in Vienna by the Philharmonic under Richter was truly excellent...³⁴⁹

Bruckner must have been thrilled to receive the congratulations of many of his Conservatory colleagues after the Vienna performance. He was apparently even more surprised and delighted to find a telegram awaiting him when he returned home. It was from Johann Strauss - >‘I am completely

348 See HSABB 1, 318-19 for this letter to Levi. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 331; the original is not extant. Bruckner refers here to the dedication score of the Seventh which he had sent to King Ludwig II on 5 March (see *MVP* 1, 273-74 and 2, 230-31 for Bruckner’s sketch of the dedication in his 1885/86 notebook-diary); Ludwig Klug, the Bavarian court secretary, forwarded the score to the king in Hohenschwangau on 10 March. See also HSABB 1, 319 for Bruckner’s letter of thanks to the Wagner Society, also dated Vienna, 25 May 1886; the original is in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

349 See *HSABB* 1, 320 for this letter to Wolzogen; the original is in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

overcome - it was one of the greatest experiences of my life.'³⁵⁰

As Bruckner had anticipated, the critical reviews of the Seventh polarized quite clearly into pro- and anti-Bruckner groups. Hanslick was at least honest enough to confess that his first impressions made it impossible for him to arrive at an objective assessment of the work:

... Bruckner's new Symphony in E major was the *pièce de resistance*. The public certainly did not display much resistance. Some already fled as early as the end of the second movement of this symphonic boa-constrictor and a large number departed after the third, so that only a small number remained to enjoy the Finale. However, this plucky Bruckner legion applauded and cheered with the might of thousands. It has certainly never happened previously that a composer has been recalled four or five times after each single movement. Bruckner is the newest idol of the Wagnerians. It cannot exactly be said that he has become fashionable, because the public will in no way follow this fashion. But Bruckner has become a military command and the '>'second Beethoven', an article of faith for the Wagner community. I confess frankly that I would find it difficult to judge Bruckner's symphony fairly as it seems to me to be so unnatural, overblown, morbid and pernicious. As in all of Bruckner's larger works, the E major symphony contains inspired ideas, interesting and, indeed, beautiful passages, six bars here and eight bars there; but between these flashes there are stretches of interminable darkness, leaden monotony and feverish over-excitement. In a letter to me, one of Germany's most respected musicians describes Bruckner's symphony as the chaotic dream of an orchestral musician overtaxed by twenty *Tristan* rehearsals. That appears to me to be apt and to the point. This is as much as I can say with any honesty after my first disturbing impression...³⁵¹

The like-minded Gustav Dömpke took Bruckner to task for his lack of

350 See Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 14.

351 From the review in the *Neue freie Presse* 7755 (30 March 1886), as reprinted in G-A IV/2, 436-37

architectural sense and deficiency in long-term harmonic planning:

... Bruckner lacks the feeling for the basic elements of any musical structure and for the combination of a series of integral melodic and harmonic parts; it has forsaken him if he ever possessed it. His imagination is so incurably diseased and fractured - and we know what tutor and 'healer' was responsible - that it does not recognize anything which resembles the necessity for regularity in chord sequence and periodic structure. The top and bottom of his view of art is that creative spirits ignore all laws and rules usually followed to some extent by others. What seems to us momentarily to be great and pure in Bruckner must be a chance occurrence or a deception. Perhaps we should give up the attempt once and for all to seek an explanation for the abnormalities of a 60-year-old which a 20-year-old could not eliminate quickly enough. Bruckner composes like a drunkard. He is a past master in deception, and his imagination is swamped by the most heterogeneous dregs of Beethoven's and Wagner's music without the balance of an intellect which is capable of sifting these influences according to their value and essential ingredients and, above all, without the artistic power of assimilating them and forging them into a separate and independent individuality.

In Bruckner's modulatory and periodic structures we find the most purposeless breadth as well as the most startling rashness and lack of reason. Verbose repetitions of a motive by means of so-called *rosalias* are of such frequent occurrence in each of his symphony movements that one must marvel at the self-deception of those who admire such passages. A new-fangled *rosalia* differs from the old honourable one in its pronounced predilection for remote keys whose cunning accumulation makes such a strong impression on the listener and keeps him so occupied that he forgets the *rosalia* and is not so bored as he should be. Unfortunately, after the measured, impressive opening which is reminiscent partly of Wagner and partly of Beethoven (the best part of the entire symphony), the rest of the first movement goes downhill.

The main theme of the Adagio undeniably makes a strong outer impression when one first hears it, but it is no more than an effective combination of constituent parts, albeit original and deeply-felt. Comparison with the Adagio theme of a true

master in the Haydn-Brahms tradition will also make the difference gradually clear to those who allow themselves willingly to be deceived at the outset. At the end of the first section the composer mixes bass tubas and horns and has them play the most gruesome and chromatically divergent passages possible. We truly tremble at the musty smell that assaults our noses from the discords of this decay-addicted counterpoint.

Scherzo and Finale do not trail far behind the first two movements. The former certainly has a lot of temperament and a cheerful theme (influenced by Beethoven's Ninth) but there is a far too ugly mixture of roughness and over-refinement as it progresses.

There is unanimous agreement that the Finale is the weakest and most chaotic part of the symphony. Even the eulogists tend to agree. Its motto ought to be: '>Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.' Not only the opening but the movement as a whole appears to have been swept together by a broom. The same is true of the piercing instrumentation in which the composer has a predilection for sudden alternations of *pp* and *ff*. Otherwise the orchestration is the attractive part of the work, but even it ceases to be interesting when pure nonsense is being scored.³⁵²

Although illness prevented Max Kalbeck, the music critic of *Die Presse*, from attending the concert, he provided a review of the work based on a perusal of the score and, possibly, attendance at one of the rehearsals:

... If only the E major symphony was the first orchestral work of a 20-year-old. Then we would not need to ask, '>What has happened to your other works, old man?' And the fermenting juice, which behaves just as absurdly here as it does in Bruckner's other compositions, would finally give us the promise of a good wine. If Mr Hans Richter is as serious as he appears to be in his admiration for the composer who has been unjustly ignored during his lifetime, he will have unenviable obligations to fulfil. There remains nothing else for

352 From Dömpke's review in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 2186 (30 March 1886), as reprinted in *G-A* IV/2, 438-40. The Latin motto is from Horace: '>The mountains are in travail, an absurd mouse will be born.'

him to do but perform Bruckner's six earlier symphonies one after the another as soon as possible. The composer, crowned with laurels as 'German symphonist', his faithful admirers, and the critics have a right to make this demand. If Bruckner is the inspired successor of Beethoven that we are supposed to recognize and admire, he should take charge of the Philharmonic concerts and show the world what he is capable of doing! He who has said A must also say B, and he who brings the E major symphony must also bring the Symphonies in A major, B flat major, E flat major, D minor and C minor at the risk of filling the empty seats in the hall by proclaiming the message of the new gospel. We believe in the future of the Bruckner symphony as little as we believe in the victory of chaos over the cosmos. But that is a matter of opinion and a question of taste about which there is no need to argue, as far as we are aware. Bruckner treats the orchestra like an instrument upon which one can improvise at pleasure. His Seventh Symphony is no more than an impromptu comedy with stock characters which is partly attractive and partly repellent, a picture painted in a variety of colours and modelled on Beethovenian and Wagnerian motives. Ideas coruscate and glimmer in the simmering broth-like mass of orchestral sound, but these ideas are the dead and mutilated remains of an old world doomed to destruction, not the fruitful seeds of a new world struggling to come into being. Nevertheless, something could be done even with these ideas if they were manipulated by a master who had control over the over-all structure. But the sizzling flames fizzle out, fading away just as they are at their most bright, and the outer shell is destroyed.

The most successful movement of the work, relatively speaking, is the slow movement in C sharp minor, a scrupulously schematic copy of the Adagio of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with the free use of Beethovenian and Wagnerian melodies. Siegfried's obsequies from *Götterdämmerung*, the Funeral March from the *Eroica*, the 'Cry to the Saviour' from *Parsifal* and thematic elements borrowed from the Adagio of the Ninth are woven together with great skill to form a tone-painting whose predominantly dark colour and timbre make a strong impression on the listener. Two pairs of tenor and bass tubas and a contrabass tuba dig a pitch-black grave into which one peers with ecstatic trembling. But this Adagio, praised to the skies by its over-zealous admirers, also suffers from the same basic malady

that afflicts all Bruckner's works and is due to the absolute inability of the composer to think and act according to the laws of musical logic. With a predictability bordering on the comic Bruckner invariably places his rehearsal letters at the points where he has run out of breath, and he has to go to all the trouble of using all 24 letters of the alphabet.

How proudly he begins his Allegro. The theme for horns and cellos rises heavenwards above tremolando violins. But how pathetic is the end of this bold ascent! It was no shooting star, no flying eagle, only a rocket that disintegrates in the air. And, at the end, the entire symphony peters out like a musical firework.

Bruckner's thematic and contrapuntal endeavours are touching in their clumsiness. In the first movement he introduces an awkward quaver figure with upward-leaping semiquavers as an independent motive. No one can say where it comes from and where it is going to - but it comes from the '>Nibelungs' and goes to the devil. It is provided with a melody to comfort it in its abandoned state, and when everything finally comes together it is certainly there as well. Empty chromatic scales, dry sequences and cruel harmonic jokes which make one's hair stand on end - these are all Bruckner's stock-in-trade. Many a military trumpeter will envy him his ability to achieve contrapuntal miracles with broken chords which are played rhythmically in the manner of the 'Urmotiv' in *Das Rheingold*.

The third movement of the symphony, which is too strictly modelled on the Scherzo of Beethoven's Ninth, has as its main theme a trumpet signal which would be of excellent use in the first major fire that we have. Above all, this Scherzo shows very conspicuously that Bruckner is of necessity one of those modern composers who are dissatisfied with the established order of things only to the extent that they are unable to find their own place in the latter. The '>bold' composer makes up his inventory pedantically and with the anxiety of an accountant, and produces one four-bar period after another with the sweat of his brow so that no mistake occurs!

The Finale begins with the same tremolo as the Allegro and finishes also with the same theatrical apotheosis in which the Bengal light undeniably produces applause but does not leave a particularly pleasant fragrance. In between there is a large stretch consisting of a partly alarming, partly amusing mixture of bravado and wretchedness, and this ambitious

expanse of music attempts in vain to replace the depth that is lacking. The confusion that this more than problematical work, which exists only by the grace of its great predecessor, is said to cause in otherwise entirely rational people results *inter alia* from the fact that the music publisher, Mr. Albert Gutmann, has considered the highly unfavourable response of the famous critic, Eduard Hanslick, to be a recommendation of his most recent product and has added a report of the same as an advertisement.³⁵³

More thoughtful and discriminating reviews were provided by Hans Paumgartner and Robert Hirschfeld, both writing in the *Abendpost*. Paumgartner provided a lengthy article, part of which was a criticism of a section of the audience and critics like Hanslick who were unable to entertain the possibility of admiring a work like Bruckner's Seventh as well as maintaining their obvious preference for Brahms's works. As far as Bruckner's symphony was concerned, Paumgartner praised the composer's '>symphonic thinking' as reflected in the character of all the themes, their presentation and development, the orchestral conception of the themes (as compared with the themes in the orchestral works of Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms which, he considered, were pianistically inspired) and Bruckner's boldness in expanding traditional symphonic form and adapting it so that it had become 'an independent means of expression for his inner thoughts.' Although the Finale in particular had a novel structure, its motivic content was so impressive that it would soon become a favourite piece for every musician.³⁵⁴

Hirschfeld's article a few days later was pleasantly free of '>point-scoring'

353 From Max Kalbeck's review in *Die Presse* (3 April 1886) as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 441-50 and Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner* (Mainz, 1983), 169-74. In Gutmann's defence, it should be pointed out that his other advertisements for the symphony included favourable reports of the work!

354 From Paumgartner's review in the *Wiener Abendpost* (27 March 1886) as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 450-55. See also Tschulik, *op.cit.*, 174-75.

and contained a well-balanced, objective comparison of Brahms's and Bruckner's styles:

To all appearances the Viennese are not lacking in artistic taste but only in enough space to exercise it. We have a lot of enthusiasm but little room for monuments. It is no doubt simply because no space could be found for Bruckner's symphonic works in the Philharmonic programmes that it has been impossible to perform anything other than fragments of his symphonies up to now. And it has been the enthusiasm aroused by numerous performances of the Seventh Symphony in Germany which seems to have opened up a space for the most recent symphony of our native composer in the Philharmonic programme-plan.

And now for once Bruckner has found not only a place but even a place of honour. And this place of honour is of such importance that the ridicule of adverse critics no longer affects him. In the *Neue freie Presse*, Ed. Hanslick dares to offend good taste by declaring that Bruckner composes like a drunkard.³⁵⁵ We live in sorry times when men dare to say such things about a composer who has had a long and honourable life as a productive artist, an esteemed teacher, a highly regarded church composer, and our most brilliant organist. People of this ilk who dare to serve art have never contributed strong and original deeds, serious and sincere words, and noble teaching. Where these men sense an artistic spirit who is to be feared as something of a rival of Johannes Brahms in any musical sphere, he is suppressed and silenced in all sorts of ways. It has to be said that the incontestable reputation of such an important man as Brahms does not need to be protected by such critical nightwatchmen. Nevertheless, I have more empathy with Brahms as a symphonist than with Bruckner who can now claim to be his equal as a result of his >'Seventh'. The sturdy and dour strength of Brahms seems to me better suited to the symphonic style than Bruckner's prodigal and superabundant inventive powers. If many of Brahms's symphonic themes are lacking in the necessary succinctness, Bruckner's freely- and expressively-unfolding themes often possess too much, with

³⁵⁵ It was not Hanslick, but Gustav Dömpke, writing in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, who made this comment. See earlier.

the result that one has difficulty in avoiding dramatic ideas which really have nothing to do with the symphony. I would prefer to focus some attention on Brahms's methods of handling the symphonic style as bequeathed by Beethoven than to be concerned with Bruckner's attempts at greater breadth and display of colour. The introduction of dramatic accents, and the dynamic style in particular, to the symphony lends it an unsettled, rhapsodic character, a type of freedom which seems to me to be unsuited to symphonic form as it leads without fail to the dramatic symphony and to programme music which signifies the disintegration of absolute music.

I am not sure if a step which really leads to disintegration can be counted as progress in the truest sense. These typically rhapsodic features were most noticeable in the last movement of the E major symphony. The excellent conclusion of the first movement also seems to me not to be an organic part of the whole structure. One has the feeling here that a theatre curtain suddenly drops with a loud noise and separates the listener from an important dramatic scene.

But of what importance are such aesthetic reservations beside the truly overpowering and inexhaustible richness of imagination, the amazing structural strength and the deep-seated warmth of feeling which seem to be combined so felicitously in Bruckner's artistically skilful and yet so naive creative spirit and give the E major symphony the unmistakable stamp of a master work? These extraordinary assets are combined with Bruckner's entirely excellent art of instrumentation which presents the most intricate musical combinations and the boldest contrasts in the brightest and clearest light. As a result, each idea in the symphony is carefully introduced and shown to full advantage...³⁵⁶

Theodor Helm was convinced that the performance of the Seventh in Vienna marked a definite breakthrough in Bruckner reception in the city and could think of no other symphony since Beethoven which had such an arresting and majestic opening. After a thorough analysis of the first movement, in which he praised the originality of all three main ideas, the

356 From Robert Hirschfeld's review in the *Wiener Abendpost* (1 April 1886), as reprinted in G-A IV/2, 463-66.

wealth of motivic development in the middle section, and the triumphant coda which reminded him of the end of Wagner's *Das Rheingold* as the gods process into Valhalla, Helm described the Adagio with its '>most shattering funereal sounds' as '>perhaps the greatest written since Beethoven' and '>certainly without any comparison the most sublime symphonic Adagio of modern times.' Not only was it a memorial to Wagner, but Beethoven, '>another composer deified by Bruckner', had given his '>heavenly blessing' in inspiring the '>consolatory second main theme' that was reminiscent of the '>equally soulful, equally transfigured D major and G major episodes in the Adagio of the Ninth Symphony.' Other suggested Beethovenian models for the movement were the funeral march from the *Eroica* symphony and, in terms of the '>gigantic plan of the formal dimensions', the F sharp minor Adagio from the Piano Sonata in B flat op. 106. The applause for the '>much more complex' first movement was much greater than that for the second movement probably because many in the audience '>lost the thread' of the extended periodic structure of the latter.

Helm also detected a '>Beethovenian spirit' in the A minor Scherzo and described the F major Trio as a '>veritable melodic pearl'. In the Finale, he was full of praise for the orchestra which coped admirably with Bruckner's occasional '>unconventional [melodic] leaps' and '>flashes of lightning' and communicated the ringing sonority and rhythmical elan of the movement with enthusiasm.³⁵⁷

Finally, Hugo Wolf, writing in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, was pleased to report the successful performance and the public's belated recognition of the composer:

... Bruckner has not been spared the age-old painful

³⁵⁷ From Theodor Helm's review in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (25 March 1886), as reprinted in G-A IV/2, 455-62.

experience of the prophet without honour in his own land. Struggling for decades in vain against the obtuseness and the hostility of the critics, rejected by the concert institutions, pursued by envy and ill will, he was already an old man when fortune kissed his brow and the thankless world pressed laurel wreaths upon his head. Not even Berlioz had so bad a time of it as Bruckner. Berlioz was denied by his countrymen, but abroad he enjoyed successes, and in his creative prime, too, that must have brought a measure of consolation for his misadventures in Paris. For Bruckner the doors of foreign concert halls were first opened late in his life, and the transient attention given his works under Herbeck's influence was neither serious nor thorough enough to reveal his full worth in the spotlight it deserved. Only most recently, thanks to the efforts of some young musicians and the Academic Wagner Society, has there been a favourable turn in the public attitude toward his works. His *Te Deum* was performed to applause in the concerts of the Society of Friends of Music, and now the *Symphony no. 7 in E*, so jubilantly received in Germany. The ice of our concert institutions' severe reserve has been broken. The great success enjoyed by our countryman abroad could no longer be contemplated with the indifference heretofore most generously accorded Bruckner's works by our Philharmonic Orchestra...³⁵⁸

Wolf's thinly-veiled sarcasm notwithstanding, Bruckner thanked Richter and the orchestra for their contribution to the success of the work.³⁵⁹ Richter for his part thought highly enough of the symphony to take it with him to England the following year when he gave a series of concerts with the London Philharmonic in St. James's Hall. Bruckner's pleasure in Johann Strauss's acknowledgment of the significance of the symphony was increased when a social evening was arranged for the two composers and the sculptor, Viktor Tilgner, who was later to make a bust of Bruckner.

Between the Graz and Vienna performances of *Symphony no. 7* there

358 From the review in the *Wiener Salonblatt* (28 March 1886), as translated by Pleasants, op.cit., 201ff.

359 See earlier and footnote 346.

were two performances in Holland of Symphony no. 3, both conducted by Richard Hol, the first in The Hague on 17 March, the second in Utrecht on 20 March. The critical response was lukewarm; the reviewer for *Caecilia* found much that was beautiful and original in the work but criticised the composer for his >'unfortunate insertion of a trivial, meaningless motive' in the Finale.³⁶⁰

Munich had witnessed a momentous performance of Bruckner's Seventh in March 1885. A year later, on 7 April 1886, Hermann Levi directed an equally successful performance of the *Te Deum*. The music-loving Princess Amalie was present at both the afternoon rehearsal, during which Bruckner improvised on the organ, and the evening concert, and spoke to the composer.³⁶¹ Writing in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* on 10 April, the reviewer detected similarities, stylistically and motivically with Liszt's compositions but singled out the '>structural succinctness and conciseness' and the '>warmth of feeling' for special mention:

With this work Bruckner has come alongside the great composers Berlioz and Liszt who, for their part, have drawn inspiration from Beethoven's great Mass and produced a number of sacred and oratorio-like works which in their totality represent a rebirth of the true sacred-religious style. In these works ardent and passionate feelings and the attempt to produce precise poetic and musical expression lead of necessity to individual and characteristic melodic shapes. Although the contrapuntal element is by no means completely in the background it is no longer regarded as an end in itself.

The essence of Bruckner's *Te Deum* is that it occupies a

360 Reviews appeared in two issues of *Caecilia* (The Hague, 1 and 15 April), the first covering the performance in The Hague, the second the performance in Utrecht. See Thomas Röder, *III. Symphonie D-Moll Revisionbericht*, 405-06 for extracts from these reviews. See also Cornelis van Zwol, '>Holland: ein Brucknerland seit 1885', in *BJ* 1980 (Linz, 1980), 135. Richard Hol (1825-1904) was organist at Utrecht Cathedral, director of the local Music School and director of the town concerts. For further information about Hol and his activities as a Bruckner conductor, see Cornelis van Zwol, '>Richard Hol - Bruckner-Dirigent zwischen Verhulst und de Lange', in *BJ* 1997-2000 (Linz, 2002, 321-30).

361 See *G-A* IV/2, 470-71 for her recollection of the meeting.

unique intermediate position between the styles that prevail in Berlioz's and Liszt's religious works. Bruckner has structural objectivity in common with the former... whereas the type of feeling is more reminiscent of Liszt. The composer reveals himself to be a master of the contrapuntal style. Particularly fine are the rhythmically independent voice-leading and the extremely detailed development of the 'in te speravi' fugue with its enormous upswing at 'non confundar in aeternum'...³⁶²

On 11 April Rudolf Weinwurm conducted the *Akademischer Gesangverein* in a performance of Bruckner's *Trösterin Musik* WAB 88. But the original words, written specifically in memory of Josef Seiberl in St. Florian in 1877 (*Nachruf* WAB 81), were changed and a new text supplied by August Seuffert, editor of the *Wiener Zeitung* and a member of the choir. Hans Paumgartner provided an appreciative review of the choral piece in the *Abendpost* on 30 April. Bruckner also had the opportunity of hearing another of his choral pieces, *Germanenzug*, performed by the same conductor and choir at an open-air concert in Meidling shortly afterwards.

It is not known if Bruckner spent Easter at St. Florian.³⁶³ He had invited Deubler, the choir director, and Moser, the abbot, to the Vienna performance of his Seventh Symphony, and it is possible that Deubler at least was also present at a special concert given in the composer's honour in Linz on 15 April. On 12 April Bruckner wrote a brief note to Göllicher in Wels to inform him that he would be taking the express train from Vienna to Linz on Wednesday 14 April, and on 13 April he asked Wilhelm Floderer, the

³⁶² From the review in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (10 April 1886), as reprinted in *G-A* IV/2, 471ff. See also Uwe Harten, 'Zu Anton Bruckners vorletzten Münchener Aufenthalt', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (Tutzing 1993), 325.

³⁶³ He was certainly there on 24 April, the date of a letter sent to the German Railway Company in which he reported the loss of a winter hat during a train journey between Vienna and Munich on 5/6 April, possibly taken mistakenly by a young army lieutenant. See *HSABB* 1, 325; the original is privately owned.

conductor of *Frohsinn*, to book a room for him at the *Kanone* hotel and added that there was a possibility that one of his young German students would be accompanying him.³⁶⁴

The concert consisted of performances of *Germanenzug*, *Um Mitternacht*, the Adagio from Symphony no. 3 and the *Te Deum*, and Bruckner's many fellow Upper Austrians who attended made a point of demonstrating their esteem by giving him a standing ovation at the end. In a short speech of thanks, Bruckner recalled the various trials and tribulations of his career, including the '>'great humiliation' he had been subjected to by >'three Viennese newspapers', remembered with affection the encouragement and support of Wagner, acknowledged the recent help provided by Nikisch in Leipzig, Levi in Munich, Mottl in Karlsruhe and Richter in Vienna, and considered the present day as one of the greatest in his life. To end the proceedings, a special chorus written in his honour - '>'An Meister Bruckner' (with music by Floderer and text by Kerschbaum) - was sung.³⁶⁵

Bruckner was so convinced that Hanslick (and Brahms) were inflicting

364 See *HSABB* 1, 322-23 for these two letters. The letter to Göllicher was first published in *ABB*, 210 and the letter to Floderer was first published in the *Neue musikalische Presse* 14/3 (1905); neither of the originals is extant. The young German student was almost certainly Friedrich Klose, who began private lessons with Bruckner in 1886. See *HSABB* 1, 323 for a letter from Klose to Göllicher, dated Vienna 16 April 1886. Klose also provides details of the Linz stay in his *Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner*, 123-27.

365 See *G-A III/1*, 593 for further details. The text of Bruckner's speech is printed in *ABB*, 208-09. Bruckner also sent a special letter of thanks to Frohsinn on 20 April. He thanked all those who had helped to make the occasion so memorable, particularly as it had taken place among his '>'family' in Linz. See *HSABB* 1, 324 for this letter which was first printed in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 30 April. Although Bruckner mentioned Mottl among those who had helped to create interest in his works outside Austria, he was disappointed to learn that his former pupil had directed a performance of the *Te Deum* in Karlsruhe in April with piano accompaniment only. He wrote to Mottl to express his disappointment and disapproval, pointing out that the *Te Deum* had now been performed with orchestral accompaniment in Munich, Vienna and even Linz! See *HSABB* 1, 328 for this letter, dated Vienna 4 May 1886; the original is in the ÖNB.

further >'great humiliation' on him by ostensibly putting pressure on Richter not to perform his Seventh Symphony in London at the end of May that he asked Levi to intercede on his behalf and persuade Richter not to renege on his alleged promise.³⁶⁶ There is no indication that Levi carried out this rather unusual request; perhaps he felt that it would be professionally unethical to do so. On the other hand, he did what he could to gain greater recognition for Bruckner in his native Austria. Shortly after the performance of the *Te Deum* in Munich, Levi wrote to the music-loving Princess Amalie in the hope of securing her help:

... Bruckner's life has been a series of failures and disappointments up to now; a few works performed in his native country... have certainly been very successful with the public but the very powerful Viennese press - under the leadership of the philistine Hanslick who is opposed to any progress in the realm of music - has always treated Bruckner as a man who is by no means to be taken >'seriously', as a madman who has only the occasional lucid moment. Bruckner enjoyed his first real success with the performance of his 7th Symphony here last year. He had introduced himself to me in Bayreuth two years ago (hitherto even his name had been unknown to me!) and had asked me at least to take a look at one of his works. I promised him that I would look through his work thoroughly. On my return to Munich I found the score of his 7th Symphony, and the more I studied the work the more astonished I was that a man like this could have been ignored for such a long time. At the first rehearsal of this very difficult and unusual work I had to contend with the opposition of almost the entire orchestra. The opinion was that it was not music at all, and the committee of the Music Academy even put pressure on me to drop the work from the repertoire. But I refused to be put off and consequently had the pleasure of observing the musicians become more interested with each rehearsal (I held five) and finally become really enthusiastic at the performance. The majority of the public were also thrilled, and this evening was the first shaft of light in the life of this much neglected man. With the assistance of a few friends I

366 See *HSABB* 1, 325 for this letter, dated Vienna, 29 April 1886. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 332.

then collected a small sum of money which I made available to a Viennese publisher as a contribution towards the cost of printing the symphony. I also supported Bruckner's most humble request that His Majesty, our most gracious King, accept the dedication of the symphony. Eventually, as a result of his success here, other concert-giving bodies took notice of Bruckner. In short, it appeared as if good fortune would finally work a little in his favour. But, unfortunately, this has still made no difference to Bruckner's parlous material situation. In order simply to make ends meet, he has to teach for five-seven hours each day. The majority of his works lie unpublished in his cupboard, and official circles in Vienna either show their disapproval or constantly ignore him. He is thoroughly disheartened and, under these circumstances, it is doubtful whether he will be able to complete his newest and, according to his friends, most significant symphony.

My most humble request to Your Royal Highness is this: would it be possible for you to put in a good word for Bruckner? The Austrian State has to atone for some earlier sins of omission. Mozart was left to struggle with life's necessities, and Schubert was allowed to become the victim of poverty. Even Beethoven was not able to enjoy any support whatsoever from the court or from the state. Far be it from me to rank Bruckner alongside these immortals. Nevertheless among composers alive today he is the most important and the one most deserving of support. Perhaps Your Royal Highness could take the opportunity of making your imperial cousin, Archduchess Valerie, aware of Bruckner's position! A small annual stipend from the Emperor's private purse would restore Bruckner's creative spark, rescue him from the compulsory labour of teaching and, as a result, perhaps enrich the world with some important masterworks. And as Bruckner is already 62 years of age, that should probably not be too great a sacrifice to make!

In order to provide Your Royal Highness with further information I take the liberty of enclosing a letter from one of Bruckner's friends and pupils, as well as a review of the symphony referred to above.

I ask Your Royal Highness to pardon me for approaching you in this manner. But the deep interest which Your Royal Highness takes in our art and the confidence that I have in your great kindness causes me to hope that your response to

this letter will be a friendly one...³⁶⁷

On 4 June Bruckner wrote to Levi to thank him for his support and to give him the news that the first and third movements of his Symphony no. 4 and his String Quintet were to be performed during the Composers' Festival of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* held in Sondershausen from 3 to 6 June.³⁶⁸ Liszt, who was the driving force behind the Festival, was by no means a >Bruckner 'enthusiast' and had reservations about the Seventh, but he did concede admiration for parts of the Quintet. He had already played a piano-duet arrangement of the Adagio with his cousin, the Countess Henriette von Liszt.³⁶⁹

King Ludwig of Bavaria, the dedicatee of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony and a potential influential patron of his music, died tragically on 13 June. There was still strong support for Bruckner in the Munich court, however. Levi's letter to Princess Amalie no doubt exaggerated Bruckner's '>perilous material situation' but it had the desired effect. Princess Amalie evidently wrote to the Emperor and received a reply from him on 28 June, indicating that something would be done for Bruckner. On 1 July the Lord Chamberlain received an official letter, signed but not written by Hellmesberger, with the recommendation that Bruckner be awarded a minor decoration - the '>Knight Cross of the Franz Josef Order' - and granted an increase in salary of 300 florins per annum. Attention was drawn to Bruckner's '>commendable performance of duties' as a court organist, as well as his prominence as a

367 See *HSABB* 1, 326-27 for this undated letter (probably written at the end of April 1886); it was first published in *G-A* IV/2, 486-90.

368 See *HSABB* 1, 329 for this letter. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 333. See also *HSABB* 1, 327 for Bruckner's letter to Hermann Behn (dated Vienna, 1 May 1886), to whom he had temporarily lent the score of the Fourth Symphony; the original is in the Music Division of the New York Public Library.

369 See August Stradal, '>Erinnerungen aus Bruckners letzter Zeit', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 99 (1932), 974 and Lisa Ramann, 'Lisztiana. Erinnerungen an Franz Liszt (1873-1886/87)' (Mainz, 1983), 337-45.

composer of symphonies and church music, two of his Masses being among the most striking of the *Hofkapelle's* repertoire:

...Several of his great symphonies, the number of which has reached eight so far, have had sensational successes in the Vienna Philharmonic concerts and in performances in Munich, Leipzig etc. etc. The same is true of a String Quintet which has had an enthusiastic reception from the public in several recent performances.

Bruckner's compositions have an abundance of inventiveness, inspiration and high artistic quality and will undoubtedly bring the composer widespread recognition...³⁷⁰

The Lord Chamberlain, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, supported Hellmesberger's recommendation, and the Emperor gave his official approval on 8 July.³⁷¹ Bruckner received the decoration on 9 July and there was an official notice in the *Wiener Zeitung* the following day.³⁷² On 9 July Bruckner took Levi's advice and used Princess Amalie's name-day as an opportunity to send both his best wishes and his profound thanks for the active part she had played in interceding on his behalf with the Austrian royal family.³⁷³ He received several messages of congratulation, including two letters from St. Florian, the first from Moser, the second from the abbey choir.³⁷⁴ His friend of many years, Rudolf Weinwurm, also wrote to him to

370 From transcript of official letter in *ABDS* 1, 50 and 102ff. Further information about the Franz Josef medal can be found in *ABDS* 1, 112-13.

371 See *ABDS* 1, 51-54 and 104-110. The salary increase came into effect on 1 August.

372 *Wiener Zeitung* 155 (10 July 1886). Bruckner's reference to Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst's full title in his 1885/86 diary-notebook is possibly an indication of his receipt of the decoration. See *MVP* 1, 271 and 2, 230.

373 See *HSABB* 1, 332-33 for the texts of both Levi's letter to Bruckner, dated Munich, 6 July 1886, and Bruckner's letter to Princess Amalie, dated Vienna, 9 July 1886; the original of the former is in St. Florian, and that of the latter is not extant.

374 See *HSABB* 1, 335 for Provost Ferdinand Moser's letter, dated St. Florian, 11 July 1886, and *HSABB* 1, 337 for the letter from the choir, dated St. Florian, 15 July 1886 and

say that, as 'the most significant of our native composers', he richly deserved the honour.³⁷⁵

Bruckner's letters to Hermann Levi, Adolf Obermüller of the Linz *Musikverein* and Moritz von Mayfeld, as well as a telegram to *Frohsinn* also refer to this honour.³⁷⁶ He expressed his profound gratitude to Levi for the important part he had played.³⁷⁷ Mayfeld was informed that the Emperor had evidently offered to pay for any 'artistic journeys' Bruckner might wish to undertake in the future. Another interesting piece of information in this letter suggests that the immediate problems concerning Richter's performance of the Seventh Symphony in London had been resolved. These had been highlighted in an earlier letter to Levi at the end of April and in a letter to Wilhelm Zinne in June.³⁷⁸ Now, however, it was a question of the performance having to be 'postponed' because Richter had taken ill.³⁷⁹

In the meantime, the British musical public was made aware of both Bruckner and his Seventh Symphony in an article written by C.A. Barry which appeared in the *Musical Times* on 1 June:

Readers of German musical papers will have noticed that

signed by some of the members; the originals of both are in St. Florian.

375 See *HSABB* 1, 334 for this letter, dated Vienna, 9 July 1886; the original is also in St. Florian.

376 Scheder, 'Telegramme an Anton Bruckner', 14 for details of this telegram, no doubt in response to a congratulatory letter or telegram from the choir. It is dated 13 July 1886; the original is in the *Frohsinn* archive in Linz.

377 See *HSABB* 1, 334 for Bruckner's undated letter to Levi which was first published in *GrBLS*, 333-34, and *HSABB* 1, 336 for the letter to Obermüller, dated Vienna, 13 July 1886, the original of which is in the Linzer Singakademie.

378 See *HSABB* 1, 330 for Bruckner's letter to Zinne, dated Vienna, 16 June 1886, in which he enclosed three photographs of himself for his Hamburg friends - one for Zinne, one for Marxsen and one for Bernuth; the original is in Hamburg Public Library.

379 See *HSABB* 1, 338 for Bruckner's letter to Mayfeld, dated Vienna, 23 July 1886; the original is in the Archiv der Stadt Linz.

during the last few months their columns have teemed with biographical and critical notices of the composer whose name heads this article and who, on all sides, has been heralded by them as presenting the rare phenomenon of a man who, after the attainment of his sixtieth year, has suddenly burst upon the world with his Seventh Symphony, and wherever it has been performed has been at once recognised as a composer of extraordinary genius and acquirements. In England the name of Anton Bruckner, which is not to be found in any biographical musical dictionary, either English or foreign, that we have been able to consult, will probably only be familiar to a few from the fact that on the occasion of the opening of the Royal Albert Hall, in 1871, he was one of a number of foreign organists who, by invitation, repaired to this country with the view of exhibiting their skill upon the newly created organ of the Royal Albert Hall and that of the Crystal Palace. As a performance of Herr Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, which has created so great a stir of late in musical Germany, is promised at a forthcoming Richter Concert, the name of this composer, if his Symphony meets with the same reception that it has had elsewhere, will be in everyone's mouth. We propose to advance a few particulars of his artistic career, so far as we have been enabled to cull them from German papers which we have at hand, and from other sources.

During his biographical sketch, Barry recalled Bruckner's exploits as an organ virtuoso:

In 1869 he visited France where, as a virtuoso of the organ, he secured a series of veritable triumphs, especially at Nancy and Paris. In 1871, as already stated, he came to England on a similar mission. Here it may be recalled that, on one occasion of his improvising at the Crystal Palace, he played in so inspired a manner, and was so carried away by his feelings, that the blowers were unable to supply the necessary amount of wind that he required.

Later in the article Barry discussed Bruckner's compositional output in general and the Symphony no. 7 and *Te Deum* in particular:

As only four of Bruckner's larger works - viz. his Symphonies nos. 3 and 7, his *Te Deum*, and a String Quintet - have as yet been published, it is impossible to speak of his compositions generally, except on hearsay. In preference to this, therefore,

we confine ourselves to furnishing a few particulars of those of his works, the scores of which lie before us - viz. the Symphony no. 7 in E and the Te Deum. But preparatory to this it may be remarked that in the very early days of the 'Richter' Concerts, Hans Richter brought the score of Bruckner's '>'Wagner' Symphony with him to London, with the view of performing the Scherzo therefrom - an intention which, however, was not realised. An opportunity was then accorded the present writer of cursorily examining the score of this Symphony, but all that at the present date he can recall respecting it is the fact that in outward appearance it was a work of gigantic proportions... A hasty glance at the score [of the Seventh Symphony] is sufficient to prove at once that we are in the presence of a composer who has something important to say, and has his own peculiar mode of expressing himself. But so polyphonic is it in its structure, and so important and independent a part is assigned to the wind instruments that, without further study than we have been able to give to it, it would be rash to predict how it will come out in performance. In regard to the predominance of the wind instruments, it may, however, be said that in its external aspect it more nearly resembles the score of '>'Die Meistersinger' than any other which we can call to mind. Of the work generally it may be said that though it conforms to the usual four-movement symphonic plan, it is laid out on a grand scale. Bruckner requires a large canvas for his picture, a goodly stock of brushes for the delineation of his subjects, both in mass and in detail, and a pallet furnished with the most vivid and brilliant colours. To drop metaphor, it may be said that his themes are of a strikingly bold and impressive character, and that both contrapuntally and orchestrally they are treated with consummate skill and effect. A strong family likeness exists between the first and last movements, a modification of the first subject of the former forming the principal basis of the latter, and thus serving to impart a sense of unity to the entire work. The Scherzo will probably be the most readily accepted of the four movements, but the Adagio is undoubtedly the most important. This was written soon after Wagner's death, avowedly as an Elegy in memory of the great master, and a most elevating and impressive Elegy it certainly is. Overwhelmed with grief at the death of his friend, Bruckner has here interpolated a motive from his Te Deum, which is therein associated with the words: '>'Non confundar in aeternum', and thus comes very appropriately as a prayer

both for the deceased master and for his survivors...The *Te Deum*, which is laid out for chorus, a quartet of soloists, organ *ad libitum* and orchestra, by its greater simplicity and rugged grandeur contrasts strongly with the elaborateness of the Symphony...By maintaining for the most part a diatonic tonality in the purely choral portions of this work, by unison singing, by the admission of so-called ecclesiastical progressions, by the use of triads without their thirds, and by keeping the distinction between praise and prayer well in view, Bruckner has produced a work of an eminently religious character, and one for which the epithet '>'sublime' does not seem too strong...³⁸⁰

Nikisch's performances of the Seventh Symphony and of two movements from the same work in Leipzig at the end of 1884 and beginning of 1885 had one interesting repercussion. The *Riedel-Verein*, a choral society founded and conducted by Professor Karl Riedel, sang two movements from Bruckner's E minor Mass in St. Peter's Church, Leipzig on 3 July 1886. In a preliminary notice which appeared in the *Leipziger Tageblatt* on the morning of the concert, Riedel described the principal features of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, referring erroneously to the Mass in question as '>'an unprinted Mass in C major which is in regular use in the liturgy of the imperial court chapel in Vienna and which has also been performed in Linz.' After the concert there were reviews of the performance in the main Leipzig papers. The reviewer of the *Leipziger Zeitung* considered that the acoustics of the church hindered a true appreciation of the music with its frequent modulations and chromatic passages.³⁸¹ Writing in the *Leipziger Nachrichten*, Bernhard Vogel praised the initiative of Riedel and his choir but regretted that the work had been accompanied by an organ instead of wind instruments as in the original:

380 From C.A. Barry's article in *The Musical Times* xxvii / 520 (1 June 1886), 322ff. A German translation of the first paragraph of this article can be found in *G-A* IV/2, 529-30.

381 See *LABL*, 65 for this review of 5 July 1886.

...However, if we accept this as a necessary expedient and concentrate on the vocal parts, we have to concede that there is an abundance of striking individual features and bold ideas in surprising harmonic garb. Just as Bruckner in his symphonies appears to be a contemporary of Berlioz, so here the frequent bold changes of key are most clearly reminiscent of the Frenchman's great Requiem. In Bruckner's work, just as in Berlioz's, the abundance of important individual ideas seems oppressive and unclear to us at times, and just as it can happen that one is unable to see the wood for the trees, many will look in vain for the desired unity and the large, all-encompassing main idea in the coincidental fusion of clever details.

But how these individual features astonish us! The >'Amen' fugue, although suitably more subdued in character than the bright Gloria, is a veritable masterpiece of modern counterpoint.³⁸²

Martin Krause, the critic of the *Leipziger Tageblatt*, also regretted the lack of the original wind accompaniment and would have preferred to hear the two movements in the context of the whole Mass rather than sandwiched between various sacred pieces.³⁸³ Intonation problems in the Credo reduced its impact but the Gloria had many strikingly beautiful passages:

... the >'Qui tollis peccata mundi' and the great upswing after the >'Quoniam tu solus sanctus' can only come from the mind of a composer of genius. Another performance will no doubt give us a clearer understanding of the remarkable >'Amen' which has a strange physiognomy that is probably without parallel.³⁸⁴

382 See *LABL*, 65-66 for this review of 6 July 1886.

383 The concert included motets by Palestrina, Victoria, Eccard, Bach and Franck, arias/songs by Handel, Beethoven and Hiller, and organ pieces by Frescobaldi, Huber and Liszt.

384 See *LABL*, 66 for this review of 5 July 1886.

The performance was also reviewed in two music journals, the *Musikalische Wochenblatt* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In the former the reviewer was impressed by the demonstration of harmonic and contrapuntal skill but was critical of the ‘>many profane and secular sounds emanating from this music, reminiscent of the theatre rather than the house of God.’ In the latter the reviewer commented that the stirring effect produced by the Gloria had been weakened by the final >’Amen’ which was too long-drawn-out. In his opinion, the Credo did not reach the same heights.³⁸⁵

Bruckner set off on his annual Bayreuth trip on 24 July. He informed Wilhelm Zinne of his imminent departure when writing to him on 22 July. Zinne had written to Bruckner on 12 July, enclosing a photograph of himself and passing on the good wishes of Bruckner’s other Hamburg acquaintances, Marxsen and Bernuth.³⁸⁶ On 31 July Franz Liszt died in Bayreuth. Bruckner played at his funeral service on 4 August, improvising on themes from Wagner’s *Parsifal*. According to both Göllicher and Stradal, he was very self-critical and was upset by the lack of imagination and invention in his playing.³⁸⁷ On the journey back from Bayreuth, however, Bruckner seems to have been in better humour (in spite of his hopes of seeing the *Grossglockner* being dashed!) and talked to Stradal and a travelling companion, Taborsky, a music publisher from Pest, about his Eighth

385 See *LABL*, 67 for extracts from these two reviews, dated 15 July and 9 July 1886 respectively.

386 See *HSABB* 1, 335-36 for Zinne’s letter to Bruckner. It was first published in *ABB*, 389ff.; the original is not extant. This letter is also mentioned by Blaukopf in Herta Blaukopf, *op.cit.*, 227. See *HSABB* 1, 337-38 for Bruckner’s reply, dated Vienna, 22 July 1886; the original is in the Hamburg Public Library.

387 See August Stradal, >*Erinnerungen...*, in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 99 (1932), 976. There were reports of the funeral in the *Fränkische Kurier* (4 August), *Bayreuther Tagblatt* (4 August) and *Oberfränkische Zeitung* (5 August). See *G-A IV/2*, 494ff., Stradal, *op.cit.*, 977-78 and Franz Scheder, >*Frühe Bruckner-Aufführungen in Nürnberg*, in *BJ* 1989/90 (Linz, 1992), 260.

Symphony:

... He mentioned... the death knell which is imitated at the end of the first movement, the German >'Michael' who dances in the Scherzo, the Cossacks (beginning of the final movement) and the powerful brass theme which is meant to portray the two Emperors...³⁸⁸

Bruckner also made the acquaintance of the composer and conductor, August Scharrer, during his stay in Bayreuth. He was later the dedicatee of Scharrer's *Sechs Lieder* op.2 (1894). In his memoirs Scharrer recalls meeting Bruckner in Bayreuth and Berlin (January 1894) and visiting him in his apartment in the Heßgasse in Vienna while he was working on the Adagio of his Ninth Symphony (later in 1894).³⁸⁹

After spending some time with his sister and brother-in-law in Vöcklabruck, Bruckner travelled to Steyr on 17 August. He had been invited to stay at the presbytery again, and was met at the station by his young friend, Franz Wiesner. The following day he played the organ in the parish church during High Mass.³⁹⁰ Bruckner probably spent some time at St. Florian, but dates at the end of the Adagio and at the beginning of the Finale of the Eighth Symphony clearly indicate work on these movements in Steyr at the end of August and beginning of September.

On his return to Vienna Bruckner had organ commitments at the *Hofkapelle* on 17 and 19 September. An audience with the Emperor on 23 September at 11.00 a.m. provided him with an opportunity to thank him personally for the decoration he had received. Bruckner also received

³⁸⁸ From Stradal's account, as reported to Göllerich; see *G-A IV/2*, 496-97.

³⁸⁹ For further information about August Scharrer (1866-1936) and his relationship with Bruckner, see Franz Scheder, 'August Scharrer und Anton Bruckner', in *Studien & Berichte (IBG Mitteilungsblatt)* 67 (2006), 17-23.

³⁹⁰ Wiesner relates how Bruckner was translated '>into another world during his organ playing' in his account, which appears in *G-A IV/2*, 500-01

further confirmation that he would obtain financial support for the increasing expense incurred in travelling to venues outside Austria where his works were being performed.³⁹¹

Bruckner took an almost childlike pleasure in hearing reports of performances of his Seventh Symphony in America (Chicago, New York and Boston) and Amsterdam. In two letters to his young friend, Elisabeth Kietz, in January and February 1887, he referred back to these successful 1886 performances and hoped that the symphony would make a similar impression in Dresden and Berlin. He also apologised for his dilatoriness in writing - his Eighth Symphony was occupying much of his time!³⁹²

Bruckner was invited by the *Deutscher Singverein* in Prague to play the organ part in a performance of his *Te Deum* to be conducted by Friedrich Heßler on 28 November. He was offered a sum of 50 florins for travelling expenses; there is no indication that he responded to this invitation.³⁹³

In any case, the dissemination of his works by means of the printed score was in the forefront of Bruckner's mind at this time. After two movements from the Fourth Symphony had been performed in Sondershausen, Bruckner had asked Karl Riedel to send the score to Schott in Mainz. Schott, however, had declined to print the work and had returned the manuscript to

391 The September 1886 pages in Fromme's *Österreichischer Hochschulen-Kalender für Professoren und Studierende für das Studienjahr 1885/86* contain references to Bruckner's audience with the Emperor (the date is underlined in the calendar page); see *MVP* 1, 300 and 2, 245.

392 See *HSABB* 2, 4 and 7 for these letters to Elisabeth Kietz, dated Vienna, 4 January and 23 February 1887. The originals are not extant; they were first published in *GrBB*, 163-64. See earlier in the chapter and footnote 318 for reference to an earlier letter to Kietz, dated Vienna, 16 June 1886. Elisabeth Kietz, the daughter of the sculptor, Gustav Adolph Kietz, met Bruckner for the first time in Autumn 1885 when she visited Vienna.. There were two performances of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in Dresden during 1887. The first on 15 March was conducted by Jean Louis Nicodé, and the second in April was conducted by Ernst von Schuch.

393 See *HSABB* 1, 341-42 for the letter of invitation to Bruckner from the *Deutscher Singverein*. It is dated Prague, 17 November 1886 and is signed by the secretary, Heinrich Weiner, and the president, Prof. Dr. A. Weiß; the original is in St. Florian.

him in August. Bruckner offered it to Gutmann whose response was more favourable but who, as the composer indicated in a letter to Levi, had suggested that the composer request a grant of 1000 florins from the court towards the cost of printing. Bruckner was unwilling to do this. Evidently nothing had changed in Vienna:

... Everything is as it always has been in Vienna (It seems that Schönaich has turned against me again.) Without the support of Hanslick everything is doomed to failure in Vienna! I have been aware of this since 1874 (when I was appointed lecturer at the University). I lose patience sometimes. I still do not know when the 8th Symphony will be finished, but at least I have another seven. To Mrs von Fiedler I send my warm greetings and to Dr. Fiedler and you, my artistic father, I send my deepest respects and thanks for everything...³⁹⁴

In December Bruckner was granted another audience at the Hofburg. On this occasion he was received by Archduchess Valerie, the Emperor's daughter, and Princess Amalie of Bavaria who was visiting Vienna at the time. Princess Amalie provided the following report of the meeting:

... I got to know for the first time Bruckner's truly droll personality, this child-like naivety and simplicity combined with such stature and talent which he was aware of himself because he related how Wagner had said to him, '>Bruckner, you are a great composer', and had promised him that he would perform his symphonies. But there was no trace of self-importance in his words - only the justifiable pride of the divinely-gifted artist. Bruckner was working on the final movement of his Eighth Symphony at the time and said that the Scherzo was the '>German Michael'. In the final movement there was a funeral march where all the motives, including the German Michael, came together like friends

394 See *HSABB* 1, 341 for this letter from Bruckner to Levi, dated Vienna, 16 November 1886. It was first published in *GrBLS*, 334-35.; the original is not extant. See also *HSABB* 1, 340-41 for Levi's letter to Josef Schalk, dated Munich, 14 November 1886, regarding difficulties in finding a publisher for the Fourth; the original of this letter is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 153/2.

gathering round a death-bed with great grief. He wanted this symphony to be performed, not in Vienna because of anxiety about malicious criticism, but in Munich. He did not appear to see eye-to-eye with court music director Levi about the symphony at this point in time. I heard later that Bruckner had given way in this difference of artistic opinion. Bruckner had a truly touching devotion for his Emperor. He told me that it was the finest day of his life when he spoke to the Emperor for the first time and that he was so delighted with the Franz Josef decoration precisely because it bore the Emperor's signature. Although he had been offered extraordinary support, he said, that, on this occasion, he did not wish to ask for anything and '>rob' the imperial coffers which had so many demands made on them. As an Upper Austrian he would not do such a thing.³⁹⁵

Nevertheless, Bruckner appears to have persuaded Princess Amalie that he would benefit from an annual pension of some kind. To obtain it was far from a simple matter, however. Bruckner explained this when he wrote to Levi again on 3 January 1887:

... I was granted an audience by Princess Amalie in the Hofburg recently; (like everything else, I have you to thank for this). Both the Princess and Archduchess Valerie, who was also present, were extremely gracious. I spent a long time with their Royal Highnesses who appear to have been well entertained by my company. I shall tell you everything when I next see you. Nitsch, a senior civil servant, wanted to take the initiative and grant me a fixed salary from the Emperor's private purse (so that I would not have to ask continually for the Emperor's financial support) to enable me to give up private teaching and have more time for composing. The 8th Symphony, which is still not finished, is, unfortunately, the most glaring evidence that I do not have as much time and money as my superior, Hellmesberger, is disposed to maintain. This situation appears to be a great obstacle. Princess Amalie is in complete agreement with me and has

395 Princess Amalie's account appears in *G-A IV/2*, 504-05. The '>difference of artistic opinion' between Bruckner and Levi came a year later.

promised most graciously to speak to His Royal Highness on my behalf.

I learned today from Prelate Mayer, the court priest who also took my side earlier, that Baron Mair, the general director of the imperial private bank, is just as opposed to a fixed income as Hellmesberger!!! That is certainly the most shocking news!

Perhaps Princess Amalie has already heard this from the mouth of the Emperor himself and has informed you. Nothing can be done if the Emperor does not make a direct recommendation himself.

In Leipzig the King of Saxony has expressed great enthusiasm for the 7th Symphony (which, according to reports, is said to have had great success in Amsterdam and, particularly, New York). Princess Amalie was there recently. Perhaps a knock on that particular door would not be in vain. In my opinion, help from abroad is all the more reliable, because enemies at home fall by the wayside. Judging by what has happened already, I know that you, court music director, who have been responsible for all that I have attained so far, have been unceasing in the past in your efforts to draw the king's attention to my situation. Consequently I have been bold enough to pour out my heart to you in this manner. Please do not be annoyed. You are my only supporter.

My kindest regards and respects to Mrs von Fiedler and her husband, Dr. Fiedler. If it is possible and permissible, please convey my deepest respects and most humble thanks to His Royal Highness. I thank you again, court music director, for all your kindness up to now, ask you for your continued goodwill, and remain respectfully yours...

N.B. I will gladly give Herr Gutmann the 1000 marks towards printing (the 4th >'Romantic' Symphony in E flat).³⁹⁶

Bruckner was apparently unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain a fixed pension. Auer comments:

396 See *HSABB* 2, 2-3 for this letter, which was first published in *GrBLS*, 335ff. Extracts can also be found in *G-A* IV/2, 504, 507ff. and 523. Felix Nitsch was one of the Imperial treasurers. >'Prelate Mayer' = Dr. Laurenz Mayer (1828 - 1912) who was a chaplain at the court; '>Baron Mair' = Friedrich von Mayr. Levi and his friends raised the money required for the Fourth to be published by Gutmann. See also Levi's letter to Josef Schalk (footnote 394) concerning the money raised. The full score appeared in 1889 (A.J.G. 710) and the parts and Löwe's piano-duet arrangement in 1890 (A.J.G. 712).

... Above all it was court music director Hellmesberger who opposed it, his reason being that there were so many poor and needy people in Austria who had a greater claim to financial support than Bruckner. While one courtier was well-disposed towards him, another opposed him. And so, in spite of, indeed perhaps because of, his direct approach to the high nobility and royalty, he was not able to obtain a larger fixed income which would have allowed him to give up his regular occupation and concentrate on his activities as a composer.³⁹⁷

Nevertheless, Bruckner's financial situation was by no stretch of the imagination parlous. In the meantime, his young friends were continuing to help and, even at this stage, '>advise' him. Hostile criticism from a particular section of the Viennese press seems to have made him more ill-humoured and even suspicious of his friends at times, however. While his relationship with Franz Schalk remained on a good footing - perhaps a case of absence making the heart grow fonder - his relationship with Josef became cooler. Bruckner was certainly somewhat jealous of Josef's enthusiasm for and promotion of Hugo Wolf's music from 1887 onwards; and yet Josef remained an extremely active promoter of Bruckner's music. As we shall see, Bruckner's self-confidence was shattered by Levi's negative reaction to the original version of the Eighth Symphony in the autumn of 1887. Leibnitz comments lucidly on one of the most knotty problems of Bruckner research:

... Now began the years of agonizing self-criticism and self-revision, the revision of Symphonies VIII, III and I. Bruckner's pupils and friends, particularly the Schalk brothers, were involved in this revision process. The entangling of the complex interrelationship between Bruckner's own willingness to make alterations and the interference of his pupils and friends is one of the most interesting albeit impenetrable

397 G-A IV/2, 506-07.

problems of Bruckner research.³⁹⁸

On 6 December 1886, Josef Schalk sent Franz, now music director of a theatre in Czernowitz, his piano reduction of the first movement of the Eighth Symphony so that he could take a critical look at it. He asked him to make sure that he returned it promptly and >'well packed', adding

... Bruckner sends his greetings and wishes to inform you about his trials and tribulations in the composition of the Finale. In the meantime, Löwe has assumed the position of musical adviser.³⁹⁹

Bruckner was still in communication with his friends in Hamburg. On 13 December Eduard Marxsen wrote to him from Altona to thank him for replying so quickly to an earlier letter and for assisting his efforts to establish a charitable foundation.⁴⁰⁰

Shortly before setting off to spend his Christmas vacation at St. Florian, he wrote to his copyist, Leopold Hofmeyr in Steyr, enclosing 10 florins for some work with which he was extremely pleased and sending seasonal greetings.⁴⁰¹ Johann Aichinger, the parish priest of Steyr, was the recipient of another letter written at the same time. Bruckner, obviously grateful for being able to spend time in Steyr during the summer, took the opportunity of

398 See *LBSAB*, 110.

399 See *LBSAB*, 111. The original of this letter is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/7/8.

400 See *HSABB* I, 343 for this letter. It was first published in *ABB*, 340; the original is not extant. A sum of money was sent from the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde to the foundation on 23 December 1886.

401 See *HSABB* I, 343 for this letter, dated Vienna, 17 December 1886; the original is in private possession. See also *HSABB* I, 315 for Hofmeyr's reply which is erroneously dated Steyr, 29 November 1886 (perhaps 29 December was intended?); the original of this letter is in St. Florian.

Aichinger's name day to send him some bottles of Klosterneuburger wine!⁴⁰² On the same day he wrote to Aichinger, he informed Bernhard Deubler in St. Florian that he would be leaving Vienna early on the morning of 24 December and asked him to ensure that his brother Ignaz made arrangements for a coach to pick him up at Enns station.⁴⁰³ He returned to Vienna on 28 December.

1887 was another year of mixed fortunes for Bruckner. There were mixed critical reactions to performances of his Seventh Symphony in Berlin, Dresden, Budapest and London. On the other hand, his *Te Deum* was well received in Linz. After much effort the Eighth Symphony was finally completed.

Bruckner once again expressed his gratitude to Nikisch in one of four letters written at the beginning of the year. He had found it difficult to bid farewell to his friend in Bayreuth the previous summer. He asked Nikisch to pass on a card to Mahler and to convey his thanks to Bernhard Vogel.⁴⁰⁴ In replying to a letter from Friedrich Klose, Bruckner reciprocated his New Year greetings and added the interesting piece of news that the performance of Brahms's Symphony no. 4 at a concert in Vienna on 2 January had been a '>'disastrous flop'.⁴⁰⁵ It is not difficult to detect a mood of despondency in the

402 See *HSABB* 1, 343-44 for this letter, dated Vienna, 22 December 1886; the original is in Steyr. Bruckner also mentioned his audience with Princess Amalie and Archduchess Valerie in the Hofburg earlier in the month.

403 See *HSABB* 1, 344 for this letter, dated Vienna 22 December 1886. It was first published in *ABB*, 295; the original is not extant.

404 See *HSABB* 2, 1 for this letter, dated 'Vienna New Year 1887'. It was first published in *ABB*, 215-16; the original is in private possession. Mahler worked as assistant conductor at the *Neues Theater* in Leipzig from 1886 to 1888.

405 See *HSABB* 2, 2 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 3 January 1887. It was first published in Friedrich Klose, 'Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner' (Regensburg, 1927), 149; the original is in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Nachlaß Klose. Klose's letter to Bruckner has been lost. Bruckner also mentioned the apparent failure of Brahms's symphony in his letter to Levi, also dated Vienna 3 January; see later.

other two letters. Franz Schalk had presumably spent part of his Christmas vacation in Vienna. In sending seasonal greetings to his young friend, Bruckner congratulated him on his >'artistic successes'. Since Franz's departure, however, he had returned to his former lonely existence, relieved occasionally by the unpredictable >'comet-like' appearances of Josef!⁴⁰⁶ Bruckner also sent New Year greetings to Theodor Helm, thanking him for his support and describing him as the '>only one who has spoken up openly and honourably on my behalf.' Unfortunately, the others had >'fallen asleep' and some had even proved to be '>>false friends now firmly ensconced in the enemy camp.' Bruckner asked Helm to mention favourable reports he had received of performances of the Seventh in New York and Amsterdam in '>a small article'. He looked forward to an early opportunity of becoming better acquainted with his >most honourable supporter - 'the only one'.⁴⁰⁷

Bruckner's Seventh Symphony was performed by Karl Klindworth and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in Berlin on 31 January in a concert which also included Mozart's Symphony no. 41 and Brahms's Violin Concerto.⁴⁰⁸ The reviewer for the *Deutsche Tageblatt* commented on the phenomenon of a 63-year-old composer one of whose works had been performed in Berlin for the first time. Many other composers had written seven or even more symphonies which had never been performed - without any loss to the world. But this was a different matter altogether:

406 See *HSABB* 2, 1 for this letter, dated Vienna, New Year 1887; the original is in the ÖNB.

407 See *HSABB* 2, 4-5 for this letter, dated Vienna, 9 January 1887; the original is in the ÖNB.

408 The concert and Bruckner's attendance were previewed in editions of the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* from 27 January onwards.

...In this symphony a giant clad in armour from head to foot has stood before us, and our response can only be one of astonishment. How is it possible that a man such as this could remain unknown right to the end of his life, thus sharing the fate of so many by not coming alive until after his death? He stands before us, half-Beethoven, half-Wagner, and yet more Wagnerian than Beethovenian. Nevertheless, he is neither of these two, but a unique phenomenon. It is of no consequence that we can find no parallels to his treatment of ideas. It is entirely up to you if you are reminded of the Ninth in this place and of *Die Walküre* in another, because in the next instant it becomes only a fleeting play of shadows which immediately reveals the individuality of its own appearance. The symphony has the customary four movements, an Allegro in E major, an Adagio in C sharp minor, a Scherzo in A minor and a Finale in E major; but these are only the approximate fundamental tonalities to which Bruckner is not essentially bound. The structure of his melodies, his modulations and even his instrumentation are all Wagnerian, but they are handled in such an eminently unique way that Bruckner can undoubtedly be said to be one of the few who have truly understood the Bayreuth master. And so he has been able to transfer his style to another genre. Those who wish to talk about reminiscences are at liberty to do so, and one person will no doubt have discovered the Valkyries in this place, a second will have discovered Fafner in another place, while a third will have found the 'magic fire' elsewhere. These reminiscences seem to us to be only apparent similarities which are self-evident, so to speak. The work, a gigantic work incidentally, made a very powerful impression on us, so powerful that it seems downright presumptuous of us to venture a review after hearing it for the first time. We wish this to remain a provisional judgment. It is to be hoped that there will be an opportunity of hearing more than one repeat performance of this amazing colossus as soon as possible, and then we could take a closer look at it. We were not entirely surprised that so many of our colleagues had experienced enough of Mr. Bruckner after the first movement. The majority, however, were honourable enough to wait until the end and then several of them came to me in complete amazement and asked, 'What was that?' There is no doubt that it was unexpected and splendid. As we have just said, we

hope soon to be able to come to a clearer understanding of the
>'how' and '>why'.⁴⁰⁹

Other reviews, including Alexander Moskowski's in the *Deutsches Montagsblatt* on 7 February, were less friendly, and there seems to have been something of the same anti-Wagner animosity directed towards Bruckner in Berlin as there was in Vienna.⁴¹⁰ On 13 February, however, Hans v. Wolzogen wrote to him to apologize on behalf of his fellow-Berliners:

... I fear that you have seen my dear native city of Berlin in a bad light and, as a Berliner, I am doubly sorry about this. The Berliners are considered to be irreverent, hyper-critical people and raving modernists. But the opposite is the case. On the contrary, they maintain a touching reverence for the old, have hardly any critical faculties of their own and are most tenaciously opposed to true progress. They are the most good-natured simpletons in the world and have the misfortune always to behave in such a distrustful manner towards what is foreign to them. But when they become well-acquainted with the foreign and the modern becomes old, they cling on to it with the same touching reverence and with unshakeable Nordic faithfulness. This future also awaits you and is anticipated and sensed already by the best of those serious musicians who felt ashamed of and vexed with their fellow-citizens on the evening when your symphony was performed. My information about this comes from respected sources who are of more value than all critics and ruling majorities. An important writer said that pearls had been cast before swine. Another renowned literary figure, who has a fine musical talent, expressed himself thus: '>Up to now, *faute de mieux*, I have considered Brahms to be a pretty decent symphonist. Now the good Doctor shrivels into insignificance when placed

409 Review of 2 February 1887, signed '>w', as reprinted in *G-A IV/2*, 518-21.

410 See *G-A IV/2*, 521 for further details. Other reviews appeared in the *Börse-Courier*, the *Musikalische Rundschau*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*. For further information about this performance and subsequent performances of Bruckner's works in Berlin, including extracts from reviews, see Franz Scheder, '>Anton Bruckner und Berlin', in *BJ* 1997-2000 (Linz, 2002), 211-52.

alongside this giant, as in this concert...'⁴¹¹

Wilhelm Zinne tried to arrange a meeting or interview with Hans v. Bülow in the hope that the latter would lend some support to the Bruckner cause in Germany. Bülow agreed to the meeting but expressed surprise that Zinne should be an admirer of the 'musical or, rather, anti-musical nonsense of the crank Bruckner.'⁴¹² Bruckner obviously had some inkling of Bülow's opinion of him, because he mentioned him by name when replying to Wolzogen's letter:

... v. Bülow has terrible things to say about me; also, it must be said, about Berlioz, Liszt and even Master Wagner. This is extremely sad! He declared that only Master Brahms had revealed real music to him!!! etc. Together with Hanslick he makes life very difficult for me! Hans Richter complies with his (Hanslick's) every wish, and everything in Vienna is just as it has always been and always will be...

NB. The Berlin 'Deutsche Tageblatt' of 2 February (2nd edition) had some fine things to say.⁴¹³

The mixed reception of the Seventh Symphony in Berlin did not prevent Louis Nicodé from giving its first performance at a Philharmonic concert in Dresden on 15 March. Nicodé wrote to Bruckner on 11 March, introducing himself as one of the 'most enthusiastic devotees of your splendid work (E

411 See *HSABB* 2, 6 for this letter, dated Bayreuth, 13 February 1887; the original is in St. Florian.

412 See *HSABB* 2, 7 for the text of this letter, dated Hamburg, 13 February 1887 and first printed in *ABB*, 394 and *G-A* IV/2, 518 (abbreviated).

413 See *HSABB* 2, 8 for this letter, dated Vienna, 23 February 1887 and first printed in *ABB*, 217 (also extract in *G-A* IV/2, 517); the location of the original is unknown. Bruckner also voiced the same grievances about the difficulty of life in Vienna and Bülow's desire to ruin him in a letter to Theodor Helm four months later - on 2 June. See *HSABB* 2, 13 and *ABB*, 219; the location of the original is unknown.

major symphony).⁴¹⁴ Bruckner was profuse in his thanks, regretted that he would not be able to attend the performance, and drew Nicodé's attention to an improvement in the scoring of a passage in the Adagio:

NB. At the end of the 2nd movement (Adagio) in the tuba passage (the actual funeral music), four horns blown *fff* produce a much better effect than two horns three bars before Y.⁴¹⁵

In Vienna the first anniversary of the performance of the Seventh Symphony did not pass entirely unnoticed. An article in Kastner's *Wiener Musikalische Zeitung* upbraided the Viennese for their unwillingness to programme the symphony again during the previous 12 months and reprinted Paul Marsop's prophetic article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* 18 months earlier.⁴¹⁶

The performance of the symphony conducted by Sándor Erkel in Budapest at the beginning of April was reported in the *Pester Lloyd* on 5 April:

... Although not unaware of the great weaknesses which can be found in this gigantic work of superhuman dimensions, we cannot fail to recognise at the same time the composer's great aspirations and tremendous expressive powers. This feeling would increase to one of genuine admiration if we saw individual parts of the work detached from the whole, were no longer confused by the formlessness of the two outer movements, but could examine the two inner movements, the Adagio and the Scherzo, purely on their own merits and

414 See *HSABB* 2, 9 (also extract in *G-A IV/2*, 523-24) for this letter; the original is in St. Florian, V/37.

415 This letter is dated Vienna, 3 March 1887 in *HSABB* 2, 8, but 13 March in *ABB*, 218 (also extract in *G-A IV/2*, 524); the location of the original is unknown.

416 This article appeared in the *Wiener Musikalische Zeitung* 22 on 23 March 1887. For Marsop's article (16 August 1885), see earlier and footnote 305.

become absorbed without prejudice in their musical beauties which undoubtedly secure them a place among the most important musical works of today. If a heroic decision had been made to reduce the entire symphony to these two movements in which Bruckner has given of his best, the effect would certainly have been drastic but the end result would have been indisputable. But the immeasurable longueurs and repetitions of the Finale are downright unbearable in the context of the overall duration of the symphony which exceeds one hour, particularly when the work is the last piece in the concert programme. Our Philharmonic played the symphony with all the devotion of which it is capable and the conductor, Sándor Erkel, who was an eloquent advocate for the greatly misunderstood and persecuted composer, can take the chief credit for the excellent performance.⁴¹⁷

On 23 May Hans Richter gave the first English performance of a Bruckner symphony when he conducted the Seventh in St. James's Hall, London. Charles Barry, who had provided an introductory article the previous year, recorded his impressions:

At the fourth concert... Mr. Richter satisfied the long-standing curiosity of amateurs about Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony - a work that has gone the round of applauding Germany, and was promised in London last year, but, for some reason or other, then withheld. We confess to some disappointment of hopes not unnaturally raised by reports from abroad. It was, we regret to say, outside our cognisance that Bruckner is the protégé of a particular school. We thought that his work has been judged on its merits, whereas it now appears that personal sympathy had more to do with the verdict. There is reason for unfeigned regret at the failure of the much-vaunted Symphony, since every man with a heart in him must desire success for a composer of sixty-three who has vainly struggled after fame all his life. Yet fail it did, at any rate for the time, the audience listening with unmistakable coldness, or else going away. Reasons for this may be found

⁴¹⁷ Extract from the review of the concert on 4 April in the Pester Lloyd (5 April 1887), as reprinted in G-A IV/2, 527-28.

in extreme length - a fault substantially aggravated by lack of proportionate interest -, in an exaggerated and spasmodic matter only allowable when the composer follows the changing and contrasted sentiments of a poetic text, and in an extraordinary mixture of scholasticism with the freedom of the Wagnerian school. Listening to this symphony one might suppose that the orchestral part of a Wagner opera is being played by itself, yet each movement closely follows established form, and the melodies in each movement are largely made by the process known as '>'inversion by contrary motion'. We do not say that the last-named feature is of great consequence as affecting the popularity of the work, because the bulk of an average audience would not recognise the inversions, but it shows the curious state of Bruckner's mind as that of a man brought up on the dry bones of counterpoint, and endeavouring to pose as one who can reconcile Wagnerian methods with those of a past age. There are some fine passages in the slow movement - a sort of elegy for Wagner - and the trio of the Scherzo is pleasing. Each movement, indeed, contains something for admiration, but it is swamped by the abounding product of striving to reconcile various things, and by the results of pretentious endeavour. Mr. Richter may not accept the verdict of a first audience. In that case we shall be ready to hear the work again, and to modify our opinion should there be reason.⁴¹⁸

Barry was evidently not entirely honest about his reaction to the work when he wrote to Bruckner after the performance. Bruckner informed Theodor Helm:

Mr. Barry from London wrote to tell me that Richter conducted a masterly performance of my 7th Symphony in front of a large audience on 23 May and that the work had given him enormous pleasure and aroused his deepest admiration. There is no indication in his letter of how the public responded. I have not been informed of any reviews up to now...⁴¹⁹

418 From article '>Richter Concerts' in *The Musical Times* xxviii / 532 (June 1, 1887), 342-43.

419 See *HSABB* 2, 13 for Bruckner's letter to Helm, dated Vienna, 2 June 1887 and first printed in *ABB*, 219; there is an extract in *G-A IV/2*, 536. The location of the original is

Bruckner's initially more favourable reception in Holland resulted in his being elected an honorary member of the *Maatschappij tot bevordering van Toonkunst* in Amsterdam on 10 June. The secretary of the Society who was probably responsible for nominating Bruckner was Daniël de Lange, the conductor of the successful performance of Bruckner's Seventh in Amsterdam in November 1886.⁴²⁰

At the same time as his Seventh Symphony was being performed outside Austria, Bruckner's male-voice chorus *Um Mitternacht* WAB 90 and Josef Schalk's two-piano arrangement of his Fifth Symphony were heard in Vienna for the first time. Writing to Theodor Helm on 22 April, Bruckner provided some details of the choral piece but made a point of recommending the symphony, the performance of which had been arranged at Helm's request.⁴²¹ Eduard Kremser directed the *Wiener Männergesangverein* in two performances of the choral piece, on 27 March and 6 April respectively. The context of the latter was a '>spiritual concert' and Auer comments that Bruckner played the organ on this occasion - his '>last public appearance as an organ improviser in Vienna.'⁴²²

unknown. The originals of Helm's letter to Bruckner, to which this was a response, and of Barry's letter to Bruckner are not extant.

420 This '>Society for the Promotion of Music' in Amsterdam was founded in 1829. For further information about Bruckner's music in Holland, see Cornelis van Zwol, '>Holland: ein Brucknerland seit 1885' in *BJ* 1980 (Linz, 1980), 135-41, and for further information about the de Lange brothers, Samuel (1840-1911) and Daniël (1841-1918), see van Zwol, 'Näheres über Samuel und Daniël de Lange', in *IBG Studien & Berichte* 68 (June 2007), 6-10. There is a copy of the Society's letter to Bruckner in the Gemeente Archief Amsterdam; see Nico Steffen, '>Die Bruckner-Tradition des Königlichen Concertgebouw-Orchesters', in *IBG Studien & Berichte* 39 (December 1992), 25, note 5. On 25 August, Bruckner wrote to the Society from St. Florian and thanked them for the '>magnificent diploma'. The original of this letter is in the Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, and there is a facsimile of the final page in van Zwol's *BJ* article, 140.

421 See *HSABB* 2, 12, for this letter, the original is in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

422 See *G-A IV/2*, 526-27. The letter from the Wiener Männergesang-Verein to Bruckner,

We have more information about the preliminary rehearsals for the Fifth Symphony, not least a considerable amount of ill-humour (some of it no doubt understandable) on Bruckner's part, from Friedrich Klose's detailed description in *Meine Lehrjahre* and correspondence between Bruckner and Josef Schalk. As Bruckner had been very much involved in the rehearsals preceding the cancelled performance of the Fifth Symphony five years earlier, Schalk thought that Bruckner's presence would not be necessary at any rehearsals apart from the final one. Bruckner, however, thought otherwise and Klose reported what turned out to be a major confrontation between the composer and his well-meaning erstwhile pupil at Gause's restaurant, with Bruckner demanding a postponement of the concert and Schalk saying that this would be impossible. Eventually, according to Klose, Schalk gave way, promised to postpone the concert, and agreed to have as many rehearsals as Bruckner deemed necessary.⁴²³

Three letters written within a few days of each other towards the end of March document the situation more clearly. Writing to Josef on 25 March, Bruckner was adamant that he attend more rehearsals of the Fifth before he could give his permission for the performance to go ahead. In replying to Bruckner's letter two days later, Schalk reminded him that he and the second pianist, Franz Zottmann, had spent weeks carefully rehearsing the work. However, he invited Bruckner to attend two rehearsals the following weekend and was prepared, if Bruckner was not satisfied, to postpone the performance even although this would be a great disappointment to his friends. There was no question of another of Bruckner's works being

enclosing programme and tickets for the first of the two concerts, can be found in *HSABB* 2, 9-10. It is dated Vienna, 23 March 1887 and the original is located in St. Florian, V/36. In the edition of the *Wiener Zeitung* for 8 October 1887, however, there is an announcement that Bruckner would play the organ after the service in the parish church of Alser-Vorstadt the following day; perhaps this didn't constitute a '>public appearance'.

423 Friedrich Klose, op.cit., 140ff. See also Stephen Johnson, op.cit., 123-26.

substituted because there would be insufficient time to rehearse from scratch in time for the concert originally scheduled for 12 April. Josef was also concerned that the enthusiasm of that part of the Viennese public well-disposed towards Bruckner should be maintained. Another winter without a performance of a Bruckner work, albeit on two pianos, would by no means help the Bruckner cause.⁴²⁴

As the underlining of words indicates, however, Bruckner was not to be moved, although his attitude had softened a little - he addressed Schalk as '>dearest, most honourable friend':

I made up my mind most firmly yesterday that I would most resolutely decline with thanks all performances of my works if they were not preceded by several weeks of thorough rehearsal - and, moreover, rehearsals in my presence. I ask you, therefore, to be so good as to choose something else in place of my 5th Symphony. But, if it is convenient, please tackle my 5th during April and May and inform me of the rehearsal dates. I appeal to our long-standing friendship in asking you to comply with my wishes.⁴²⁵

This letter does not have Schalk's address, only the mark '>loco', and this suggests that it was sent by internal mail within the Conservatory. That Bruckner chose to write a letter rather than speak to Joseph personally suggests tension in the relationship. As Klose reports, a compromise was finally reached after both calmed down at the end of a furious argument in Gause's restaurant. The Fifth Symphony would not be replaced but the concert would be put back until 20 April. Bruckner attended all the

424 See *HSABB* 2, 10-11 and *LBSAB*, 113-14. The originals of both Bruckner's letter and Josef Schalk's reply are in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/13/1 and F18 Schalk 146/c/1.

425 See *LBSAB*, 114-15 for this letter, dated 28 March 1887; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 151/2/3/1.

rehearsals leading up to the final performance. He was in a bad mood most of the time, a large part of his ill-humour being directed at Schalk rather than Zottmann. He found fault with all manner of things, for instance lack of balance between the parts, lack of contrapuntal clarity, and too little prominence being given to an important inner part. It was not until Schalk and Zottmann's performance received an ovation at the end of the concert on 20 April that his resistance was finally broken down:

... Suddenly his face lit up as if it had been touched by a magic wand. He sprang from his seat, pushed forward to the front through the wave of applause and bowed a number of times with his hands crossed over his heart and his face beaming. And so: >'all's well that ends well.'⁴²⁶

The concert, which began with a performance of Liszt's B minor sonata by Schalk, was previewed in the *Neue freie Presse* and by Max Kalbeck in *Die Presse*.⁴²⁷ The programme book of the concert contained an explanatory note on the symphony by Schalk who drew attention to its polyphonic character and its fusion of symphonic and fugal techniques in the final movement which reminded him of the parallel movement in Mozart's *Jupiter* symphony.⁴²⁸

In his review of the performance Theodor Helm congratulated Schalk and Zottmann for giving the symphony a hearing but considered that the time had not yet come for it to be properly appreciated in an orchestral performance:

... Of the composer's seven symphonies, this, the Fifth, is the one that is least known. Not one note of it has been heard in public before, whereas the others (with the exception of the

426 Klose, op.cit., 142ff.

427 *Neue freie Presse* 8128 (14 April 1887), 5; *Die Presse* 107 (14 April 1887), 1.

428 See ABSWV Revisionsbericht, Anhang 1, 75 for complete programme note.

Seventh) have all had single performances, without finding a place as yet in the general orchestral repertoire.

But Bruckner has kept his Fifth Symphony (composed in the years 1878 to 1880) hidden away in his work-desk, giving only his most intimate friends a glimpse of the score. And now that we have heard the work, albeit only in a piano transcription, we understand why. In no other work, perhaps, has the composer allowed his Pegasus to rush headlong and unrestrainedly through the clouds and has he been so unconcerned about conventional aims and proportions and the receptive ability of normally endowed listeners. Everything is on a large, enormous scale, but it must be said that there is also a slight degree of the abnormal. This symphony, which lasts one-and-a-half hours, provides very clear evidence of both the virtues and the weaknesses of Bruckner's magnificent talent. Veritable strokes of genius, colossal climactic surges of a kind not found in the works of any other composer living today, and, cheek-by-jowl with these, a sudden break in the thread of musical thought, strange ideas which baffle the listener.

In a thoughtful explanatory note appended to the programme, Professor Schalk describes Bruckner's 'Fifth' as the most specifically contrapuntal of his symphonies. In fact, the work, its final movement in particular, demonstrates a very powerful contrapuntal energy and an unlimited mastery of polyphony in which the composer is seen to be a worthy disciple and heir of Sebastian Bach. But the comparison with Mozart's Jupiter Symphony and its famous closing fugue seems somewhat off-the-mark. If Mozart, the man of symmetry and of fine proportions, were to come down today, he would probably shorten Bruckner's colossal Finale by half. Only then would its gigantic climax, from the point where the bold main theme of the first movement triumphantly joins the head motive of the principal theme of the Finale, achieve its full effect. As is so often the case with Bruckner, the Scherzo is the most convincing and the most compact movement. It is a splendid piece, Beethovenian in inspiration, concealing the most unusual contrasts of mood within itself and yet so gigantic in size that another composer could have made three or four movements from it. In spite of its excessive length, the Scherzo is effective enough to be performed on its own. For the time being, however, we would deem it inadvisable to play the whole symphony without cuts to an average audience like the Philharmonic's. Nevertheless it was to their great credit

that Mr. Schalk and Mr. Zottmann provided us with a glimpse of our highly gifted Bruckner's most subjective work, and they also proved to be the right guides through this symphonic labyrinth...⁴²⁹

Josef was not impressed with Helm's review. Writing to his brother Franz, who was now music director in Carlsbad, he declared himself satisfied with the '>great artistic success' of the whole undertaking, however; but, as usual, he had just managed to break even financially:

... In my next letter I will enclose Helm's review from which you will see clearly his lack of understanding of the 5th Symphony. However, the applause - such an important factor for Bruckner, as you know - was really enormous, and so he was extremely satisfied with the whole undertaking. We are already planning something big and bold for next year. I will speak to you about it later when we have made good progress.

In this letter, Josef also indicated that he was very pleased that Franz had >time to work on the first movement of the 'Eighth'. He also referred to Ferdinand Löwe's involvement in the revision of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony, with the composer's permission, before it went to print:

... The unbelievably painstaking punctiliousness, not to say pedantry, has resulted in the task being extremely protracted, with the result that Gutmann, who is publishing it, did not receive the first movement until a few days ago.⁴³⁰

429 From Helm's review in the *Deutsche Zeitung* 5501 (Morning Edition, 26 April 1887), 1. See *ABSWV Revisionsbericht*, Anhang 2, 75-76 for complete review entitled '>End of the Concert Season'.

430 See *HSABB* 2, 12-13 for the complete text of Josef Schalk's letter to his brother, dated Vienna, 9 May 1887; there are extracts in *LBSAB*, 118 and 127. The original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/8/4.

The printer's copy of the Fourth Symphony discovered in 1939 among the effects of Hans Löwe, Ferdinand Löwe's son, reveals that Bruckner himself not only checked Ferdinand's work but also made revisions of his own.⁴³¹

From 1887 onwards Josef Schalk devoted just as much energy to his activities as a Wolf >'propagandist' as he did to furthering the Bruckner cause. The *Wagner Society* evenings provided opportunities for Wolf's songs to become better known. Franz Schalk was aware of the possibility that Bruckner could feel '>left out in the cold' but was certain that he would rise above any jealous feelings he might have.⁴³²

Bruckner spent his summer vacation in Upper Austria as usual, some of it in Steyr and some of it in St. Florian. On 23 July he wrote to the *Hofkapelle* to request holiday leave.⁴³³ On the same day he contacted Nikolaus Manskopf in Frankfurt who had written to him seeking information about those works of his which had been printed. Bruckner was extremely optimistic in surmising that the Fourth Symphony would be in print '>by October or November'.⁴³⁴

During his stay at St. Florian Bruckner played the organ for services as usual. He was already in residence on 21 August when he wrote a short

431 Bruckner referred to revision work on the Fourth as well as alterations made to the Eighth in a letter to Hermann Levi, dated Vienna, 27 February 1888. See *HSABB* 2, 34-35 for the text of this letter, which is also printed in *GrBLS*, 340-41 and *G-A* IV/2, 589; the original is in private possession. See also the beginning of Chapter 6 for further information about the pre-publication work on the Fourth and the involvement of Josef and Franz Schalk, as well as Ferdinand Löwe.

432 Franz hinted as much in a letter to Josef on 18 December 1888. See *HSABB* 2, 46 and *LBSAB*, 119f.; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 158/9/43.

433 See *ABDS* 1, 114.

434 See *HSABB* 2, 16 for this letter; the original is in the Stadt. u. Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt on Main. Bruckner's Third Symphony had been performed in Frankfurt in December 1885. The Seventh was performed there for the first time in December 1895 and the Fourth during the winter season of 1896/97.

letter to Hans Richter's wife, Marie, apologising for some undisclosed misdemeanour the previous year.⁴³⁵ On St. Augustine's Day (28th August) Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* and Bruckner's own *Os justi* were sung. Deubler wrote later to thank Bruckner for his help and to ask him where he could obtain copies of the *Requiem* parts. Bruckner had left his full score at St. Florian and Deubler intended to perform the work there on *All Souls Day* at the beginning of November.⁴³⁶

Although Bruckner began sketching his Ninth Symphony during the summer and, on his return to Vienna, began to flesh out his ideas in score form, most of his energy was devoted to the completion of the Eighth Symphony with which he had been engaged since the summer of 1884. Dates on the surviving autograph sketches and eventual full scores of each movement provide us with a timetable of Bruckner's work on the first version of the symphony.⁴³⁷

435 See *HSABB* 2, 16-17. The original, formerly in the possession of Erwin Horn, is now in St Florian. See Andreas Lindner, 'Bruckner-Brief wurde an das Stift St. Florian übergeben', in *ABIL* Mitteilungen no.20 (December 2017), 23-24.

436 See *HSABB* 2, 24, for Deubler's letter to Bruckner, dated St. Florian, 15 October 1887; the original is in St. Florian, VII/27.

437 As there are no completely autograph scores for the 1887, 1890 and 1892 first print versions, each modern edition of the Eighth has to rely on several sources, a few of which are not in the composer's hand. Much of the material (e.g. sketches, score fragments and scores pertaining to the 1887 version, preparatory work on the 1890 version, and scores, fragments and performance material pertaining to the 1890 version) is located in the Music Section of the ÖNB under the shelf numbers. Mus.Hs. 6001-02, 6040-55, 6065, 6070-71, 6083-84, 19.675, 28.234-35, 28.241-42, 28.244-45 and Cod. 19.480, etc., but several other manuscripts (autograph and copy) and printed copies with handwritten insertions are to be found in libraries and private collections in Poland, Germany, Switzerland, the USA and various Austrian archives. See also *G-A* IV/2, 531-57, Leopold Nowak, foreword to *ABSW* VIII/1 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1972). Scores of both the first (1887) and second (1890) versions, ed. Paul Hawkshaw, in the *Neue Bruckner Ausgabe* are in preparation. The following representative literature may be consulted for further information about both versions of the symphony:

Franz Gräßlinger, '>Bruckners 8. Symphonie', in *In Memoriam Anton Bruckner* (Vienna 1924), 100-13; Robert Simpson, '>The Eighth Symphony of Bruckner. An Analysis' in *Chord and Discord* 2/6 (1950), 42-55; Leopold Nowak, '>Die VIII Symphonie Anton Bruckners und ihr zweite Fassung' in *ÖMZ* 10 (1955), 157-60, repr. in Nowak, *Über Anton Bruckner* (Vienna

After his successful direction of the Seventh Symphony in Munich in March 1885, Hermann Levi had monitored progress on the Eighth with interest. As early as February 1886 he wrote to Josef Schalk concerning the printing of the work which he had not yet seen:

.. When the 8th is ready for printing, the Emperor will pay the costs - he has promised as much in a letter to Princess Amalie - and then Bruckner must also receive a fee, of course.⁴³⁸

After working painstakingly on the Finale from 26 October 1886 until 22 April 1887 and continuing to put finishing touches to this movement right up to the middle of August, Bruckner wrote jubilantly to Levi on 4 September, the day of his 63rd birthday:

1985), 27ff.; Paul Dawson-Bowling, '>Thematic and Tonal Unity in Bruckner's Eighth Symphony', in *The Music Review* 30 (1969), 225-36; Rudolf Klein, '>Präsentation der Urfassung von Bruckners Achter', in *ÖMZ* 29 (1974), 152-53.; Manfred Wagner, '>Zu den Fassungen von Bruckners Achter Sinfonie in c-Moll', in *Der Wandel des Konzepts. Zu den verschiedenen Fassungen von Bruckners Dritter, Vierter und Achter Sinfonie* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1980), 39-52; Constantin Floros, '>Die Fassungen der Achten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner', in *BSL* 1980 (Linz, 1981), 53-63; Cornelis van Zwol, '>Bruckners Achte Symphonie - Ende und neuer Anfang', in *BSL* 1982 (Linz, 1983), 41-58; Erwin Horn, '>Evolution und Metamorphose in der Achten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner', in *BJ* 1989/90 (Linz, 1992), 7-33; Bryan Gilliam, '>The Two Versions of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony', in *19th-Century Music* xvii/1 (1992), 59-69; Manfred Wagner, '>Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Anton Bruckners Achter Symphonie', in *BJ* 1991/92/93 (Vienna, 1995), 109-15; Erwin Horn, '>Metamorphose des Hauptthemas der Achten Symphonie im Scherzo-Thema', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 123-27; Gernot Gruber, '>Zum Verhältnis von Strukturanalyse. Inhaltsdeutung und musikalischer Rezeption. Exemplifiziert an Bruckners Achter Symphonie', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 129-42; Mathias Hansen, '>Persönlichkeit im Werk. Zum Bild Anton Bruckners in der Analyse seiner Musik', in *BSL* 1992 (Linz, 1995), 187-93; Benjamin M. Korstvedt, *Bruckner: Symphony no. 8* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); Joseph C. Kraus, '>Musical Time in the Eighth Symphony', in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot, 2001), 259-69; Paul Hawkshaw, '"Meine Achte ist ein Mysterium". Zwischenbericht über die Quellen zu Anton Bruckners 8. Symphonie', in *ÖMZ* 63/1 (2008), 14-21; idem, 'Bruckner's Eighth Symphony: Some Editorial Issues', in *The Bruckner Journal* 13/2 (July 2009), 18-21; *GaultNB*, 155-83; *Carragan RB*, 157-73.

438 See *LBSAB*, 129 for this letter, dated Munich, 2 February 1886; the original is in the ÖNB, F18 Schalk 153/2.

Hallelujah! The Eighth is finished at last and you, my artistic father, must be the first to hear the news. Should I have the orchestral parts copied in Vienna or, at my own expense, in Munich?... First of all, I want to ask you if you will perform the Eighth. Then, after the holidays, I want to ask His Majesty the Emperor if he will accept the dedication... Please forgive me for troubling you. I am returning to Vienna, I District Hessgasse 7 on the 15th, and will commence the twentieth year of my employment there...⁴³⁹

Levi replied warmly on 8 September, asking Bruckner to send the score as soon as possible and adding that he would like to have the parts written out in Munich. He saw a performance at the end of November or beginning of December as a realistic possibility and invited the composer to stay with him when he came to the rehearsals.⁴⁴⁰

On 19 September Bruckner complied with Levi's request and sent the score of the Eighth with an accompanying letter:

... May it find grace! I really cannot describe my joy at the prospect of a performance under your masterly direction! I have also so much to say to my eminent artistic father. May you keep in excellent health - then the days of rehearsal and of the performance will hardly be days of suffering, as is often the case with me. May God give his blessing!⁴⁴¹

Unfortunately, Levi's initial enthusiasm turned to disappointment as he

439 See *HSABB* 2, 18-19 for this letter; the original is in the ÖNB. Bruckner made two references to his completion of the symphony on the August 1887 page of *Fromme's Oesterreichischer Professoren- und Lehrer-Kalender für das Studienjahr 1886/87*. '>1. Juli 8. Sinf[onie] fertig' is confirmed by the same date on the autograph score, Mus. Hs. 19.480; '>9. August 1887. das Abschreiben fertig. Abr' refers to the fair copy made by Carl Aigner (Mus. Hs. 6001); see *MVP* 1, 330 and 2, 273. In letters to Marie Schwarzbek (4 July) and Hans Herrig (25 August), he also included the information that '>the Eighth is finished.' See *HSABB* 2, 15-17.

440 See *HSABB* 2, 20 for this letter; the original is in St. Florian.

441 See *HSABB* 2, 21 for the full text of this letter; the original is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde library.

discovered that he was unable to get to grips with the score. Unwilling to hurt Bruckner's feelings, he wrote diplomatically to Josef Schalk, expressing his reservations and seeking his advice:

... Not knowing where else I can get help, I must seek your advice and your assistance. In short, I cannot get to grips with the Eighth Symphony and do not have the will to perform it.

I am absolutely certain that it would meet with the greatest resistance from both orchestra and public. That would make no difference if I was totally convinced by the work, as I was with the Seventh, and could again say to the orchestra, '>You will certainly like it after the fifth rehearsal!' But I am terribly disappointed. I have studied the work for days on end but cannot really get into it. Far be it from me to wish to pass judgment - it is, of course, quite possible that I am mistaken and too stupid or too old - but I find the instrumentation impossible. What has particularly alarmed me is the great similarity with the Seventh and the almost stereotyped form. The beginning of the first movement is splendid but I don't know where to start with the development section. And the entire final movement - it is a closed book to me. What do I do now? I shudder at the thought of how this news will affect our friend! I cannot write to him. Should I suggest that he listens to the work at a rehearsal here sometime in the future? In my predicament I gave the score to a good musician who is a friend of mine, and he too was of the opinion that a performance would be impossible. Please reply immediately and advise me how I can approach Bruckner. If he simply shrugged it off by calling me an ass or, worse, a faithless friend, I would be quite content. But I fear a much worse reaction. I am afraid that he will be totally crushed by this disappointment.

Do you know the symphony well? And can you understand it? Help me, I am at a total loss!⁴⁴²

Schalk's reply was clearly helpful, because Levi was able to say in a

442 See *HSABB* 2, 21-22 for this letter, dated Munich, 30 September 1887; the original is in the Schalk collection in the ÖNB, F 18 Schalk 153/3.

second letter that it had brought him some peace of mind.⁴⁴³ In the meantime, however, he had plucked up the courage to write to Bruckner and he was concerned about Bruckner's possible reaction, as he had not yet received a reply. In this very honest letter, which he must have found extremely difficult to write, Levi attempted to explain his feelings about the score:

... For more than a week I have been trying to write long letters to you. Never before has it been so difficult to find the right words to express what I wish to say to you! But finally I have to do it... The themes are marvellous and magnificent, but their working-out seems dubious and, in my opinion, the instrumentation is impossible.

Levi had reasonable doubts about the possible reaction of the orchestra and the public:

...What do your Viennese friends say, then? I cannot imagine that I have suddenly lost all my capacity to understand your music.

He advised Bruckner to make some changes and reassured him of his continuing support and devotion:

... Do not lose heart, take up your work once more, confer with your friends, with Schalk; perhaps a lot can be achieved through revision... Be kind to me! Regard me as a fool, it does not matter to me; but don't think that my feelings towards you have changed or will ever change.
In true devotion...⁴⁴⁴

443 See *HSABB* 2, 24 for Levi's letter to Schalk, dated Munich, 14 October 1887; the original is in the Schalk collection in the ÖNB, F 18 Schalk 153/4.

444 See *HSABB* 2, 23 for the complete text of Levi's letter to Bruckner, dated Munich, 7 October 1887; the original is in the Munich Staatsbibliothek, Hs.-Slg. Leviana I, 49, 461. There is a reference to this letter in Robert Münster, 'Aus Anton Bruckners Münchner

Schalk confirmed Levi's suspicions a few days later. Bruckner had been devastated by Levi's critical reaction, but Schalk was confident that he would soon recover from the disappointment:

... Naturally your news has hit Professor Bruckner very hard. He is still miserable and inconsolable. It was to be expected, and yet it happened in the mildest form, thus protecting him from even more bitter disappointments. I hope that he will soon calm down and undertake a revision of the work, the first movement of which has been begun in accordance with your advice. It would certainly be better for him not to work at present, as he is upset, in despair, and no longer able to believe in himself. Meanwhile his colossal natural strength, both physical and moral, will soon help him to recover.⁴⁴⁵

Schalk's prediction was fulfilled sooner than expected. Two days after Schalk's letter to Levi, Bruckner was able to inform the latter personally that he would soon be engaged fully in revising the symphony and would carry out the task to the best of his ability. He estimated that this revision would take about a year to complete and looked forward to future rehearsals of the symphony, perhaps during the summer vacation of 1888 when Princess Amalie might be in Munich. It would also be expedient if Levi's projected performance of the Fourth was postponed until March 1888, '>'because the Princess is usually in Munich during Lent' and '>'Gutmann will not have finished printing before the New Year.'⁴⁴⁶

Freunden- und Bekanntenkreis 1863-1886', in *BSL* 1994 (Linz, 1997) and Benjamin Korstvedt discusses and quotes from it in his *Anton Bruckner: Symphony no. 8* (Cambridge, 2000), 18.

445 See *HSABB* 2, 25 for Schalk's letter to Levi, dated Vienna, 18 October 1887. It was published for the first time in the Vorlagenbericht of Robert Haas's edition of the Fourth Symphony, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke* IV/1 (Vienna/Leipzig: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1936). It was also printed in Alfred Orel, ed., *Bruckner Brevier: Briefe, Dokumente, Berichte* (Vienna 1953), 240-41. The original is in the ÖNB.

446 Bruckner's letter to Levi is dated Vienna, 20 October 1887. See *HSABB* 2, 26 for the

When Bruckner sent Levi the score of the Fourth four months later he was by then sufficiently far removed from the traumatic events of September / October 1887 to admit that Levi's reaction to the first version of the Eighth had been perfectly justifiable:

... I have certainly every reason to be ashamed - at least this time - on account of the Eighth. What a fool I have been! It now looks quite different.⁴⁴⁷

Pre-publication work on the Fourth Symphony and further revision of the Third Symphony prevented Bruckner from devoting much time to a thorough revision of the Eighth until March 1889. Writing to Betty von Mayfeld in January 1888, he echoed what he had already said to Levi, predicting that the revision work would not be completed for some time >'as many alterations have to be made and I have too little time to work.'⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it comes as a surprise - as Paul Hawkshaw observes in his interim report on his Critical Commentary on the Eighth for the *Neue Bruckner Ausgabe* - that Bruckner still had sufficient confidence in the 1887 version to continue investing time and effort on preparing several score fragments and having copies made of them in the interim period between the completion of this first version of the symphony and the beginning of intensive work on the second version in 1889/90.⁴⁴⁹

Towards the end of what had proved to be a difficult year for Bruckner he

full text of this letter, first published in *GrBLS*, 339-40, and *G-A IV/2*, 563 for extract; the location of the original is unknown.

⁴⁴⁷ See *HSABB 2*, 34-35 for the full text of this letter, dated Vienna, 27 February 1888, and first printed in *GrBLS*, 340-41; there are extracts in *G-A IV/2*, 563 and 589. The original is in private possession in Paris.

⁴⁴⁸ See *HSABB 2*, 29 for this letter, dated Vienna, 30 January 1888, and first printed in *ABB*, 220; there is an extract in *G-A IV/2*, 564. The original is in private possession in Vöcklabruck.

received the sad news from Hamburg that Eduard Marxsen had died.⁴⁵⁰ Difficulties with the Eighth Symphony, slow progress with the revision of the Fourth, and now the loss of a good friend - not the most auspicious end to his 20th year in Vienna! On the other hand, Linz - the town that he had left with mixed feelings in 1868 - commemorated the 25th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of the new cathedral with a performance of his *Te Deum* on 29 September. Bruckner participated in the event as an organist and was given a reception afterwards in the *Stadt Frankfurt* hotel by members of the *Frohsinn* choir.

On the November page of *Fromme's Oesterreichischer Professoren- und Lehrer-Kalender für das Studienjahr 1886/87*, Bruckner indicated that he played the organ in the *Hofkapelle* at the service on Sunday 13 November, was in the congregation at a performance of Beethoven's [C major] Mass on 15 November and heard a performance of Liszt's *Coronation Mass* on 8 December.⁴⁵¹ It was because of *Hofkapelle* duties that Bruckner was not able to spend any time at St. Florian during the Christmas period, but he would have been delighted to have the opportunity of visiting his young friend Oddo Loidol in Kremsmünster.

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449 Paul Hawkshaw, "Meine Achte ist ein Mysterium", 16

450 See *HSABB* 2, 27 for a letter from Schweitzer, dated Altona, 19 November 1887, and first printed in *ABB*, 363; the location of the original is unknown.

451 See *MVP* 1, 333 and 2, 275.