

## Events surrounding the death of Anton Bruckner

Bruckner's will

The year 1896

Death of Bruckner

The Bruckner Estate

Formalin embalming of Bruckner

Official statement of Bruckner's death given by the Municipality of Vienna

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The Karlskirche funeral ceremony

The funeral procession from the Karlskirche to the Westbahnhof

The St. Florian funeral ceremony

The aftermath

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Funerals of Johannes Brahms (1897)

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### Bruckner's will

**10 November 1893** : Confined to bed in Vienna, for almost the whole year, Anton Bruckner (aged 69) will see his health deteriorating (again) but, this time, in an alarming way.

He decides it is now time for him to undertake the drafting of his will. (Originally, Bruckner had appointed his close friend Rudolf Weinwurm, who composed of the patriotic Cantata « Germania » , as his executor due to his legal training.) His brother Ignaz (Nazi) and his sister Rosalie (Sali) will be appointed his legal heirs.

The composer requests that his patriotic Cantata « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) be played in his memory during the funeral ceremonies.

Bruckner will make another special request to the church authorities : his coffin must be wide and his remains exposed (not buried) in the crypt of the abbey church of St. Florian (like former Dean, Jodok « Jodocus » Stülz, prelate of the monastery, benevolent protector and friend of Bruckner) , just below the great organ, which since bears his name :

« I demand that my remains be placed in a metal coffin that will be exposed to air (not buried) in the crypt of the church of St. Florian, under the great organ. »

(If refused, Bruckner will ask to be buried at the Steyr Stadtpfarrkirche cemetery, and not at the Zentralfriedhof among the musical giants of Vienna.)

The request proves to be quite unusual since Bruckner was not an official member of the Clergy. Once approved, people from the monastery will start digging under the church. They will discover to their surprise a historical necropolis dating from the Turkish invasions (site of a battle involving the Huns) , where several thousand skulls and bones will be remove and organize in an elaborate, faintly macabre arrangement (ossuary) before which Bruckner will soon play for eternity !

The composer will leave a clear list of instructions to follow during the embalming procedure (using the newly discovered formalin) .

Because of his degrading mental state, Bruckner will require the preservation at the Hofbibliothek (now, the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek) of its original scores « for better times » (für beßerre Zeit) .

Bruckner will sign the legal papers, place them in an envelope along with the selected autograph manuscripts, then will seal the envelope himself.

## Will

August Göllerich and Max Auer (Ergänzer und Herausgeber) . Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild, Band IV, 2. Teil, Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1926) .

« In the event of my demise, I affect after careful consideration the ensuing last-will instructions :

## I

I request that my mortal remains be placed in a metal coffin, in the vault under the Monastery Church of the Lateran Rule and, to be sure, under the great organ ; it shall be free-standing, inside the vault, without being buried ; and I, myself, already during my lifetime, have obtained approval for this from the most reverend dignitaries of the above named monastery, the coffin designated to be kept-up by the monastery. My body is also to be interred, of which beloved act of kindness Professor Paltauf has already declared himself to be willing ; and all is arranged (first-class funeral) , thereby, to effect the transport and internment in the place of rest which has been designated by me in St.

Florian, in Upper-Austria.

## II

I prescribe that, to the aforesaid monastery St. Florian, the guarantee of the costs of the up-keep of my sarcophagus, in addition to 4 Holy-Masses ; to be sure, 3 Masses for my birthday, the anniversary of my death, and my Name-Day, and a 4th Mass for my parents and my brothers and sisters, which shall be said each year ; a designated sum of money will be given.

## III

To my only heirs, my brother Ignaz Bruckner, in St. Florian, and my sister Rosalie Hueber (born Bruckner) , in Vöcklabruck, I convoke equal portions between them. The aforementioned, in particular, lawfully belongs to the heirs ; and, in the publishing contracts, on the part of my publishers, is covered by the stipulated promise of royalties, hopefully more abundant, will be put aside for them in the future because, during my lifetime, I myself have scarcely drawn upon the material returns from my works.

## IV

I bequeath the original manuscripts of my compositions as follows : the Symphonies numbering 8, until now (the 9th will, as God wishes, soon be finished) , the large Masses, the Quintet, the Te Deum, the 150th Psalm, and the choral work Helgoland - to the Imperial and Royal Court Library in Vienna, directorship of the aforementioned place most kindly to take care of these manuscripts. At the same time, I designate that the firm of Joseph Eberle and Company shall be authorized to borrow, from the Imperial and Royal Court Library, the manuscripts of the compositions they are to publish, for a reasonable time, to take to press for publication. The latter shall be obliged to place, at the disposal of Messieurs Joseph Eberle and Company, the aforesaid original manuscripts as a loan for an appropriate amount of time.

## V

To my servant, Katharina Kachelmeier, in recognition of loyal service for many years, which she has rendered to me, I bequeath the sum of 400 florins. In the event that she is still in my service at the time of my demise, she shall receive a further 300 florins, so that by entry of this provision, she receives a total of 700 florins. I request that this legacy will be paid, immediately upon my death, without any deductions.

## VI

I appoint Doctor Theodor Reisch, Imperial Legal Advocate in Vienna XIX, Oberdöbling, as my executor, and request the aforementioned to take care of fulfilment of my final wishes. I have prepared the same in the presence of the witnesses signed in their own hand-writing.

Doctor Anton Bruckner, m.p.

Ferdinand Löwe, m.p. , as requested witness

Cyrill Hynais, m.p. , as requested witness

Doctor Theodor Reisch, m.p. , as requested witness »

Incipit : Für den Fall meines Ablebens treffe ich ...

Source : August Göllerich et Max Auer. Anton Bruckner : Sein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild, Band IV, 2 Teil ; pages 320-322.

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### The year 1896

**1 January 1896** : Anton Bruckner (aged 71) attends one of his last Philharmoniker Concerts under the baton, for the occasion, of Hans Richter. He will hear his Symphony No. 4 (Romantic) plus a Symphonic-poem composed by the 31 year old Richard Strauß, Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche, Opus 28.

**12 January 1896** : For the last time, Bruckner hears in concert one of his own works. The frail old man is carefully transported in the Musikverein Großer Saal to witness the triumph of his Te Deum. It was recommended by none other than Johannes Brahms who, at the end of his life, seems to have changed its attitude towards the composer to whom he had opposed for years.

Also on the program : the 1843 biblical Cantata for male-choir and large orchestra, Das Liebesmahl der Apostel (The Feast of Pentecost, WWV 69) , composed by the beloved « Master of masters » Richard Wagner (now dead for 12 years) , and the Symphonic-poem Till Eulenspiegel.

Many years after its creation, Wagner called this rarely performed and somewhat forgotten Cantata « a kind of folk miracle » !

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Severe depression and a tendency to religious mania start to appear for Bruckner.

**1 February 1896** : Giacomo Puccini's Opera La Bohème is premiered at the Teatro Regio, in Italy.

**February 1896** : Doctor Richard Heller is now taking care of Bruckner.

**February 1896** : At the suggestion of Richard Heuberger, the 21 year old Arnold Schönberg composes his 6 Piano

Pieces for 4 hands.

**5 March 1896** : Alexander von Zemlinsky's String Quintet in D minor is performed in Vienna by the Hellmesberger Quartet, with quite a good reception.

**9 March 1896** : Adolf Zander conducts Bruckner's Cantata « Helgoland » (WAB 71) with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and the Berliner Liedertafel.

**16 March 1896** : A concert in Berlin is devoted to Gustav Mahler's music : the « Totenfeier » , billed as first movement of the Symphony in C minor for large orchestra (later known as the Second Symphony) , the premiere of the « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen » , and the Symphony in D major for large orchestra (later known as the First Symphony) , revamped-out of what was the Titan by dropping the sentimental « Blumine » slow movement and eliminating the program and titles. (A manuscript of this version of the First exists, but is inaccessible at present, in a private collection.) Played to a half-empty hall, the songs are applauded, but the Symphonic pieces get a disappointing reception. It is interesting that the year before Mahler had premiered the first 3 movements from his Second Symphony but, here, he drops the numbering, perhaps, indicating that, at this time, he still expected to specialize in composing Symphonic-poems and not true Symphonies.

**29 March 1896** : Last public appearance of Anton Bruckner. The occasion : the Palm Sunday concert at the Hofoper. He will hear (again) Wagner's biblical Cantata « Das Liebesmahl der Apostel » (The Feast of Pentecost) , WWV 69.

**April 1896** : Assured of an autumn performance of his « Blumenstück » (flowers-piece) , the second movement of his Symphony No. 3, Gustav Mahler completes its orchestration.

**11 April 1896** : Erich Wolf Degner conducts in Graz the Vienna version of Bruckner's Symphony No. 1.

**April to July 1896** : Alexander von Zemlinsky composes the Cantata « Frühlingsbegräbnis » (Spring-time Funeral) for soprano and baritone soloists, chorus, and orchestra, on a poem by Paul Heyse. Originally composed for small orchestra, it is probably intended for Polyhymnia, but will be revised later for a larger orchestra.

**May 1896** : Clara Schumann is victim of a stroke and becomes very ill. Under this tragic inspiration, Johannes Brahms, just after his 63rd birthday, composes « Vier ernste Gesänge » (4 Serious Songs) , Opus 121, his last completed work. Clara dies later that month, in Frankfurt, at age 76. It is a tremendous loss for Brahms, who is himself now ill from liver cancer.

**10 May 1896** : An article published in the Steyrer Zeitung reports that Anton Bruckner has completely sketched (vollständig skizziert) the Finale of his 9th Symphony. But Bruckner will admit to Franz Xaver Bayer, his Kapellmeister friend and organist at the old Steyr parish church (Alte Stadtpfarrkirche) , that he will not achieve his goal. (No global sketch of the last movement will be left behind.)

In America, the National Gramophone Co. is established by Frank Seaman to undertake distribution and advertising of the gramophone, and is given exclusive sales rights. Thomas Edison dissolves the North American Phonograph Co. and, salvaging his phonograph patents, establishes the National Phonograph Co. to manufacture and distribute phonographs for home use.

The 21 year old Franz Schmidt graduates with excellence from the Vienna Conservatory, and secures a position as cellist with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, often playing under Gustav Mahler's direction.

The 24 year old Alexander von Zemlinsky wins a prize from the Wiener Tonkünstlerverein (Viennese Tone-Artists Association) , for his Piano Trio with Clarinet, Opus 3. Johannes Brahms had provided the prize money, and he recommends the work to his publisher Simrock Musikverlag, who accepts and publishes it the next year. As with Gustav Mahler, the support from Brahms helps bring Zemlinsky greater recognition from the musical public.

**May and June 1896** : 9th Symphony - Final instrumentation and new parts of the exposition. At that stage, he had already reached the Coda, but sadly much of it got lost. Drafting part of the Coda and final cadenza : (Tuesday) 19, (Thursday) 21, (Friday) 22, (Saturday) 23 (this corresponds with May 1896) . Bruckner returned to the beginning of the movement, presumably wrote a clean first bi-folio and divided the contents of the second bi-folio into 2 new bi-folios, renumbering all subsequent bi-folios by one higher. Further detailing of the instrumentation must have begun soon, thereafter, revising the development section (date : 14 June 1896) .

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With age, the amount of prayers wrose sharply in Bruckner's notebook. An effort, perhaps, to will away his religious doubts.

**11-18 June 1896** : (Photo) AUTOGRAPH DOCUMENT RECORDING HIS PRAYERS FROM THE FINAL SUMMER OF HIS LIFE (UNPUBLISHED) comprising a page from Anton Bruckner's diary, bearing autograph annotations in ink covering the period 11-18 June 1896, Bruckner recording by means of abbreviations, mostly single letters, the prayers said, and indicating by means of horizontal strokes under the abbreviations the frequency of his observance of them.

A key to Bruckner's abbreviations and their meaning is as follows :

V = « Vater unser » (Our Father) .

A = « Ave Maria » .

S = « Salve Regina » or « Sanctus » .

Lit = « Litanei » (Litany) .

R = « Rosenkranz » (Rosary) .

Abdg = « Abendgebet » (Vespers) .

The present leaf, a remarkable witness to Bruckner's piety and obsession, was doubtless removed by the composer's former pupil and last secretary, Anton Meißner, from the former's diary (this now preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek : Mus.Hs. 3179/6) in the period following Bruckner's death and the official sealing of his flat in the Oberes Belvedere, on 16 October 1896. Not recorded or published in : Elisabeth Maier, *Verborgene Persönlichkeit. Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen*, Anton Bruckner. Dokumente und Studien Nr. 11, Vienna (2001) .

2 pages, 8vo (13.3 cm x 8.1 cm) : a printed page from Carl Fromme's Österreichischer Professoren- und Lehrerkalender für das Schuljahr 1894-1895, (II. Monatsconferenz am ... Schulaufgaben : ... Sittliches Betragen : ...) , Vienna (11-18 June 1896) .

The leaf torn at one side, with slight loss of paper, apparently not affecting text, a tiny fragment at one corner becoming detached ; together with 2 autograph letters, signed, by Bruckner's pupil and last secretary, Anton Meißner, authenticating the document and recording anecdotes from Bruckner's last days, including a reference to a performance of the Te Deum, and a description of the circumstances of his move in to the ground-floor flat of the (Oberes) High-Belvedere where he spent the last 16 months of his life, 5 pages in all, 8vo, Vienna (15 June 1928) .

**Summer 1896** : During his summer vacation in Steinbach, with Bruno Schlesinger (Walter) as his guest for the summer, the 36 year old Gustav Mahler composes the massive first movement which completes his Symphony No. 3.

At Bad Ischl, Gustav Mahler visits Johannes Brahms for the last time, and shows the old Master the score to his Second Symphony. Brahms considers its Scherzo to be a work of genius (an opinion he rarely expresses) , and says :

« I now consider Mahler the king of the revolutionaries. »

As is always the case with Brahms's ambiguous and sarcastic humour, this may be taken as either a compliment or a put-down but, in any case, Brahms states clearly that he recognizes Mahler's superiority over Richard Strauß.

**Summer 1896** : Alexander von Zemlinsky composes his String Quartet in A major, Opus 4.

The 36 year old Hugo Wolf completes the 24 songs of his second « Italienisches Liederbuch » (Italian Song-Book) .

The 46 year old Richard Heuberger becomes music-critic of the Neue Freie Presse until 1901.

**July 1896** : Although Bruckner recovered from his pneumonia and, as from mid-July, started to compose again, it is quite unlikely that he felt vigorous enough to work consistently from mid July onwards. However, the last date in the manuscript, 11 August, marks a very convincing extension of the beginning of the development section on 2 bi-folios ;

the first numbered 13a by Bruckner, the continuing one, yet unnumbered.

It is likely that Bruckner finished the primary stage of the instrumentation in this period, with the main strings, woodwinds and brass lines noted down in his customary short hand-writing. We can distil this from the available bifolios (including the continuity drafts or Satzverlaufsentwürfe) and his method of transferring the sketches directly to the score.

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**Summer 1896** : Johannes Brahms expressed the wish through a mutual friend to become acquainted with the score of Gustav Mahler's Second Symphony. This happened a few months before Bruckner's death. According to Ludwig Karpath's memoirs, Brahms' opinion of the Symphony was as follows :

« It is not at all clear to me why Richard Strauß is hailed as the revolutionary in music : I consider that Mahler is the king of these revolutionaries. »

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Photo taken in front of the Kustodenstöckl : Anton Bruckner (centre) , his brother Ignaz (doorway) , house-keeper Frau Kathi (Katherina Kachelmayer) and physicians Richard Heller and Leopold Schrötter (back, facing the camera) , and Kathi's daughter, Ludowika Kutschera (barely visible behind Doctor Schrötter) .

In his very sure-footed Bruckner biography, published in 1944, Peter Raabe quoted Bruckner's physician Doctor Richard Heller :

« I believe, to be able to clarify some pronouncements from Bruckner, that, in his ideas, he had to some extent concluded a contract with God. If the Dear Lord wanted him to complete the Symphony, which is intended to be a canticle to God, then He must bestow life for as long as is needed ; should he die earlier, then it is God's own fault if He receives an uncompleted work. Devoutness was, by the way, a principal feature of this great genius. He prayed diligently, and, even when these prayers sometimes took on very peculiar forms, they were nevertheless deeply felt and piously brought forth. As no one could disturb him when he was at prayer, which he carried-out on his knees before his large crucifix, I had the opportunity several times, standing quietly in the room, to hear his prayers. He praised a number of Our Fathers and Hail Marys and closed with a fully freestyle prayer, such as, Dear Lord, let me be in good health again soon, look, I need my health so that I can complete the 9th, etc. He uttered this last passage in a somewhat impatient manner, closing with a triple Amen, whereby, on a few occasions, with the third Amen, he struck against his thighs with both hands, such that one couldn't help but think that he thought to himself : " If the Dear Lord does not hear that now, then it is not my fault ! " »

Bruckner's biographer, Max Auer, also claimed that he saw a page of the score (either at or near the end of the Finale) in which all the leading themes are « piled on top of each other, as in the Finale of the 8th Symphony » .



At one point, Anton Bruckner asked Doctor Richard Heller if he would like to have his Matthäus Mauracher harmonium from Salzburg. (It was donated to the young Bruckner by his good friend, the music-lover, judicial actuary, administrator and copyist of the Monastery of St. Florian Franz Sailer who died in 1848.) . Doctor Heller refused, saying that it was too important for someone to have in his private possession. So, he refused, but then told this story to his colleague Doctor Leopold Schrötter who immediately went to visit Bruckner to ask if he could then have the harmonium. Bruckner gave it to him on the spot. When Doctor Heller talked about this incident later, he could only do so with a sauer face.

**From early July onwards** : Bruckner's prayer entries in his notebook (which serves as a diary) show clear signs of confusion and difficulty in keeping track of days and dates, relieved by clear moments.

Elisabeth Maier notes that Bruckner's prayer entries from his last months « are of varying clarity they become increasingly confused » .

**9 July 1896** : Anton Bruckner faces another attack of pneumonia.

**17 July 1896** : The last sacraments are administered to Bruckner for the third time. According to the testimony of Doctor Richard Heller, the dramatic photograph of the composer lying on his brass bed (dressed in his white night jacket) was taken during the short ceremony, without his knowledge.

**19 July 1896** : 2 days after receiving the last sacraments, Bruckner surprisingly and unexpectedly recovers - it is almost miraculous ! When doctors forbid him to go to church to attend mass, he requires an official written certificate (in 2 copies !) guaranteeing his full freedom. He will regain control of himself only after obtaining them.

« As a professor, doctor Anton Bruckner earned, up to old age, great merit by serving Art. He is entitled to complete freedom as soon he recovers and, altogether, to keep enjoying life to the fullest. »

**August 1896** : Other signs of mental degradation are noted. His religious fervor has now turned into delirium. He prays for hours, and even asks visitors to join him.

**August 1896** : Conductor Otto Kitzler makes a final visit to his former pupil who studied orchestral forms with him (March 1861 - July 1863) .

**11 August 1896** : Bruckner writes the (last) date on the score of the Finale of the 9th Symphony.

**24 August 1896** : The 32 year old Richard Strauß finishes his 6th Symphonic-poem, Also sprach Zarathustra, Opus 30, based on Friedrich Nietzsche's book. The piece becomes notorious for its unresolved ending mixing a B major triad on the trombones with a pizzicato C on the basses. It is premiered on November 27th, in Frankfurt.

**24 September 1896** : Josef Schalk writes to his brother Franz that Bruckner's spirit is leaving him and that he gets

more and more under the spell of religious delusions.

« Our beloved Master Bruckner is now hastening to his end. Since the performance of the Mass, his condition has become steadily worse, and it is a sad thing to see how he suffers you must be prepared that the catastrophe could come at any time. »

« As regards Bruckner, I have very sad news. His mind is disintegrating, and the spectre of religious mania holds him ever faster in its grip. It makes a dreadful impression and, perhaps, a quick end would be the best thing as recovery is out of the question. He is, however, astonishingly tenacious of his bodily health. On my last visit (before the holidays) , he exchanged a few words with me, then, ignoring me completely, he desperately recited the Lord's Prayer, loudly repeating each sentence. It was hard for me to hide my distress, so I crept away. At the moment, I dare not visit him ; I cannot bear it, it is too terrible. Admittedly, there will be better days, but they are impossible to predict. »

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Shortly before the death of Bruckner, composer Hugo Wolf came to visit him. But the agonizing Master was no more in full possession of his mental faculties. Approaching his bedroom on tiptoe, Wolf opened the door a few seconds to take a quick look. What he saw was surprising and heartbreaking :

« Lying in bed, his face was pale and emaciated. His eyes were happily staring at the ceiling. With a transfigured smile, Bruckner was beating time with his index, on music that only him could hear. »

**September 1896** : Just before his 22nd birthday, Arnold Schönberg begins composing a Serenade in D for small orchestra, for the Polyhymnia Orchestra to which he and Alexander von Zemlinsky belong. Only the first movement is completed ; it sounds very much like Johannes Brahms.

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Although they went daily to the Upper-Belvedere's Kustodenstöckl to inquire after Anton Bruckner's health, Frau Kathi (Katherina Kachelmayer) was instructed to admit only his personal secretary Anton Meißner, and not Franz Schalk or Franz Grasberger.

**Fall 1896** : In Sedalia, Missouri (America) , Scott Joplin publishes the Combination March and The Great Crush Collision March, the latter including a programmatic commemoration of an actual staged locomotive crash. It is clear that Joplin played these marches in the ragtime form but did not, yet, know how to notate the rhythms properly.

The 20 year old Bruno Schlesinger (Walter) bids farewell to Gustav Mahler in Vienna and begins his engagement in Breslau (now Wrocław, in Poland) .

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## Death of Bruckner

**Sunday, 11 October 1896** : At sunrise, Anton Bruckner feels surprisingly well. As usual, he meditates and prays for a while sitting in his office chair by the window where he enjoys the great view. Outside, it is the autumnal gloom. According to his faithful servant, Frau Kathi (Katherina Kachelmayer) , the Master tried that same morning to complete the Finale of his 9th Symphony.

By early afternoon, Bruckner takes his calm daily walk in the beautiful French gardens on the Upper-Belvedere. He returns to his quarters at 3 o'clock. A few minutes later, the frail old man feels a cold coming on and decides to lie down for a moment. He asks Kathi to bring him a cup of tea. After drinking half of it sitting on his bed, he falls back, heaves a deep sigh and quietly passes away.

In presence of Anton Meißner, Kathi closes the eyes of the Master then calls Richard Heller and Leopold Schrötter, the personal physicians of the composer, and also the priest who will give the last rights (the 4th time in Bruckner's existence !). Death is confirmed between 3:10 and 3:30 pm. Cause : heart failure coupled with dropsy. Bruckner was 72 years old, 1 month and 7 days. Then, sculptors Sinsler and Herberger (Haberler) , students of Viktor Tilgner, proceed with the face molding for the realization of a funeral mask.

(A sample of the Totenmaske is on display at the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin.)

By order of Emperor Franz-Josef, the funeral home at the Imperial Palace of the Upper-Belvedere had been decorated of flowers and plants from the Imperial greenhouses : the Richard Wagner Society, the « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » and « Schubertbund » Choral Societies, the Philharmonic, the students of the University of Vienna and several provincial Music Societies had lay wreaths by deputations. And the Vienna Conservatory has floated, in sign of mourning, a black flag atop its monument.

Based on the sincere testimony from friends and family members of the Master, the rumour that the very sick and almost senile composer was unable to organize his ideas made its way. Consequently, his ambitions to complete the Finale of his 9th Symphony was considered unrealistic. The scattered pieces of surviving manuscripts were labeled as « inconsistent » . The entire Symphony was not only unfinished but inherently « unachievable » !

Unfortunately, the almost total dependence of Anton Bruckner towards his private secretary and confidant Anton Meißner (a former student of the Vienna Conservatory from the academic year 1878-1879) increased during the last years. Meißner is described by August Göllerich and Max Auer as « a very young Catholic man » .

For 3 consecutive days, the body of Bruckner is exposed in his bedroom of the « Kustodenstöckl » , watched by the « pious » Meißner, welcoming families, students and friends who came to pay their last tribute. He strongly encourages them to bring « souvenirs » (i.e. : hand-written pages left on the Master's work-table) ; thus, dispersing « to the 4 winds » his musical testament !

Bruckner had completed the first 3 movements of the 9th Symphony. But nothing is final unless the composer has decided so. The work does not contain his final « imprematur » and it remains far from clear whether he was ultimately satisfied with the music he had put to paper. (Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk will get their hands on copious sketches and manuscripts of the Finale.)

A total number of at least 40 bi-folios containing more than 600 bars of music, must have existed. Both the exposition and large portions of the development section had been fully completed.

Bruckner completed 206 (208) fully instrumented bars and 224 bars with strings and short-hand notes for woodwinds and brass. Furthermore, we have continuity drafts (Satzverlaufsentwürfe) of 122 bars. No such sketches survived of 111 bars, thus the music needed to be construed from both original (68 bars, by sequence, transposition, 1:1 repetition and adaptation) and free material (43 bars) , all together about 17 % of the Finale, or about 4 minutes of music. This all makes a total of 663 plus 2 optional bars.

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Furthermore, sketches have been found to the Coda, long believed lost - a crescendo passage of around 24 measures based on the opening motive and a brief ascending chorale phrase, as well as, most significantly, the movement's concluding 24 measure cadence. Finally, we know from the memoirs of Bruckner's last doctor, Richard Heller, that the Symphony was intended to conclude with a « song of praise » in D major, which Bruckner even played to him on the piano. In other words, although the final double barline cannot be found in the material which survives today, we still have a clear impression of the Finale as a whole. For only very few measures has no music whatsoever of Bruckner's survived.

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The Fac-simile Edition also offers the closest approach to Bruckner's overall concept of the Finale, and although they are his last words on paper, we need to realise that they reflect his work in progress without the possibility to conclude it. Nothing in there can, therefore, be considered as final, not even the fully scored and instrumented portions, with passages either boldly over-written or cut, pasted and glued. Thus, we will never be able to grasp whether he had later on revised the Finale, or even the entire work, more or less. We deal with what is left, and it is of no use whatsoever to start speculating about what is not there. However, one should consider that already the surviving material contains numerous revisions and working phases, for instance, the first theme group survived in, at least, 6 different phases. Hence, it seems to be appropriate to assume that Bruckner, at least, came to a more or less « final » structure of the piece as such.

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Since 1921, a commemorative plaque topped with a cameo (profile of Bruckner in relief) , by artist Edi Naumann,

adorns the Kustodenstöckl, the pavilion of the gamekeeper located at Number 3 of the Heugasse, the inscription says :

« In this house, Anton Bruckner died on October 11, 1896. »

It is a gift of the Society of Friends of Music, located at No. 12 Tuchlauben. This is where Bruckner began his musical activities in the capital. (The building no longer exists.)

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### The Bruckner Estate

**Monday, 12 October 1896** : Lawyer, Doctor Theodor Reisch, arrived at Bruckner's home in the Belvedere lodge, and ordered in his capacity of executor of the Last Will that all books and manuscripts be secured and sealed to prevent arbitrary circulation. Physician Richard Heller recalls :

« The poor man had scarcely closed his eyes, as the authorised and unauthorised fell upon his Estate like vultures. »

However, it took a further 5 days to draft an Estate report and to deliver, at least, part of the manuscripts to Reisch. All other objects were stored in a wall cabinet and sealed. Today, there is still no exact inventory description available.

In contrast with preliminary drafts and sketches of previous works, the compositional history of Bruckner's last Symphony happens to be well-documented by drafts and, in part, already fully scored fragments. The composer simply did not live long enough to destroy what he considered no longer needed ! Almost no sketch material survives of most of the Symphonies, only a couple of discarded bi-folios and pages. We have only extant, huge materials of the 8th and 9th Symphonies. However, it may be possible that, already in Bruckner's lifetime, he gave away discarded material for the 9th's Finale, at least, in one case : the 4 discarded score bi-folios found in the Estate of pianist Cyrill Hynais, one of Bruckner's former pupils.

The executor failed to hold the Estate together until all matters were properly settled. Only the scores of main works, which Bruckner had bequeathed to the Court Library in Vienna went there straight away. As a consequence, acquaintances, friends and societies got their share in this equation at random.

Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe got the opportunity to verify the manuscripts and other papers that Bruckner had left, and they decided that the less important relics (including books) were transferred to Bruckner's sister, Rosalie Hueber in Vöcklabruck (they were later acquired by Max Auer) . In 1902, a small case also containing part of Bruckner's correspondence was delivered to Bruckner's first biographer, August Göllerich, in Linz. He would return it after use to the St. Florian monastery.

Bruckner had already been through all the paper piles, at the time, that he was changing quarters, from the Wohnhaus, the 4-floor apartment building located at No. 7 Heßgasse, at the corner of Schottenring (No. 5) , to the Belvedere lodge. He ordered Anton Meißner to throw all the superfluous papers into the open fire, a rigorous act

mainly affecting his early manuscripts. It is the customary act by people when moving to other premises, to get rid of each and everything that is no longer valuable, just to minimise the hassle of toil and moil. It appears that Anton Meißner kept a part to himself and gave away various manuscripts after Bruckner's death.

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### Formalin embalming of Bruckner

When Anton Bruckner wrote his will on 10 November 1893, he left a comprehensive list of instructions to follow during his embalming with formalin, a technique recently used. He believed in the supernatural (healing) power of the relic, a concept that was prevalent in the Catholic Church at this time.

Bruckner makes a special request to the church authorities : his coffin must be wide and remain exposed (not buried) in the crypt of the abbey church of St. Florian (as former Dean Jodok « Jodocus » Stülz, prelate of St. Florian, benevolent protector and friend of Bruckner) , just below the great organ, which since bears his name :

« I desire that my remains be placed in a metal coffin that will be exposed to air (not buried) in the crypt of the church of St. Florian , under the great organ. »

The real value of relics lay in their ability to perform miracles. A relic that was an acknowledged fake could become « real » if it performed a miracle or after a trial by ordeal. People believed relics were invested with heavenly powers and that to be close to a relic, or even better, to touch one, would provide a person with spiritual blessings, divine protection, and even a cure from illness. In a world which could seem so uncertain, with wars, disease, and incurable illnesses, religious people often sought the protection which they believed a religious relic could offer. Someone who bought a relic would often carry it on his or her person, to be accessible at all times.

In Catholic theology, sacred relics must not be worshipped, because only God is worshipped and adored. Instead, the veneration given to them was « *dulia* » .

St. Jerome declared :

« We do not worship, we do not adore, for fear that we should bow down to the creature rather than to the Creator, but we venerate the relics of the martyrs in order the better to adore Him whose martyrs they are. »

The Catholic church divides relics into 3 classes :

**First-Class Relics** : Items directly associated with the events of Christ's life (manger, cross, etc.) or the physical remains of a saint (a bone, a hair, skull, a limb, etc.) . Traditionally, a martyr's relics are often more prized than the relics of other saints. Parts of the saint that were significant to that saint's life are more prized relics. For instance, King St. Stephen of Hungary's right forearm is especially important because of his status as a ruler. A famous theologian's head may be his most important relic. (The head of St. Thomas Aquinas was removed by the monks at the Cistercian abbey

at Fossanova where he died.) If a saint did a lot of traveling, then the bones of his feet may be prized. Catholic teaching prohibits relics to be divided up into small, unrecognizable parts if they are to be used in liturgy (i.e., as in an altar).

**Second-Class Relics** : Items that the saint owned or frequently used, for example, a crucifix, rosary, book, etc. Again, an item more important in the saint's life is thus a more important relic. Sometimes a second-class relic is a part of an item that the saint wore (a shirt, a glove, etc.) and is known as « ex indumentis » (from the clothing) .

**Third-Class Relics** : Any object that is touched to a first- or second-class relic. Most third-class relics are small pieces of cloth, though in the first millennium oil was popular ; the Monza « ampullæ » contained oil collected from lamps burning before the major sites of Christ's life, and some reliquaries had holes for oil to be poured in and out again. Many people call the cloth touched to the bones of saints « ex brandea » . But « ex brandea » strictly refers to pieces of clothing that were touched to the body or tombs of the apostles. It is a term that is used only for such ; it is not a synonym for a third-class relic.

The sale or disposal by other means of relics without the permission of the Apostolic See is strictly forbidden by canon 1190 of the Code of Canon Law. Relics may not be placed upon the altar for public veneration, as that is reserved for the display of the Blessed Sacrament (host or prosthoma and Eucharistic wine after consecration in the sacrament of the Eucharist) .

Many churches were built along pilgrimage routes. A number in Europe were either founded or rebuilt specifically to enshrine relics (such as San Marco in Venice) , and to welcome and awe the large crowds of pilgrims who came to seek their help. Romanesque buildings developed passageways behind the altar to allow for the creation of several smaller chapels designed to house relics. From the exterior, this collection of small rooms is seen as a cluster of delicate, curved roofs at one end of the church, a distinctive feature of many Romanesque churches. Gothic churches featured lofty, recessed porches which provided space for statuary and the display of relics.

Historian and philosopher of art Hans Belting observed that in medieval painting, images explained the relic and served as a testament to its authenticity. In *Likeness and Presence*, Belting argued that the cult of relics helped to stimulate the rise of painting in medieval Europe.

Reliquaries are containers used to protect and display relics. While frequently taking the form of caskets, they have many other forms including simulations of the relic encased within (e.g., a gilded depiction of an arm for a relic consisting of arm bones) . Since the relics themselves were considered valuable, they were enshrined in containers crafted of or covered with gold, silver, gems, and enamel. Ivory was widely used in the Middle-Ages for reliquaries ; its pure white colour an indication of the holy status of its contents. These objects constituted a major form of artistic production across Europe and Byzantium throughout the Middle-Ages.

**12 and/or 13 October 1896** : The corpse of Bruckner is mummified in formalin by professor Paltauf. A premiere for a composer.

(Oddly enough, the last person to be mummified in Switzerland will be Czech composer Bohuslav Martinů in 1959.)

Formaldehyde was discovered by the German chemist August Wilhelm von Hofmann in 1867 (1869) . It was determined to be an excellent preservative and became the foundation for modern methods of embalming replacing previous methods. Within a few years, until 1898, 8 of 45 medical schools throughout Europe introduced formaldehyde for preservation purposes. Even at that time, there was discussion about the final concentration, with some authors advocating concentrations as low as 3 % , others demanding 10 % . In addition, the immediate adverse effects were already known : skin irritation, conjunctivitis, irritations of the respiratory system, and headache.

According to an article in the Basler Woche newspaper of 17 December 1998, Anton Bruckner's corpse was secretly transported to an anthropological facility in Basil, Switzerland, for restoration. The restoration, performed by Doctor Bruno Kaufmann was done in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of Bruckner's death (1896-1996) .

Mummification used by the Egyptians was a widely known method which involves the removal of body fluid and wrapping the body in linens. Prior to mummification, Egyptians would lay the body in a shallow pit in the desert and allow the sun to dehydrate the body.

The modern technique of mummification with formalin (an important solution to body preservation) was introduced in 1896 in Switzerland.

The country holds today 20 mummies from medieval times and 100 Egyptian mummies. Many were brought back from the Napoleonic wars by soldiers.

...

From the end of the Middle-Ages up until early modern times, mummy parts were thought to have healing qualities. Mummified limbs were ground down and mixed with honey and wine to form a tonic or poultice, which could be applied to the skin.

At the end of the 18th Century, a Napoleonic expedition to Egypt awakened an interest in the world of the pharaohs.

« The export of mummies was outlawed by this time, so traders smuggled severed mummified limbs instead, which were easier to transport » , Kaufmann explained.

These appeared at art-markets and were snapped up by museums and private collectors. Kaufmann believes that it was during this period that the severed hand was acquired by a rich Geneva dynasty, the Bovy and Balland families, who bought the castle of Gruyères in 1848.

On the ground-floor of the dungeon, they set-up a curiosity chamber, where the limb was put on show.



The creepy claw now resides in a first floor corridor, and visitors are free to gaze at it for as long as they please. Hopefully, it doesn't carry a curse.

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### Official statement of Bruckner's death given by the Municipality of Vienna

« The City Council of the Imperial and Royal Capital and Residential City of Vienna, filled with deep sorrow, reports the passing of Professor Anton Bruckner, Honorary Doctor of Philosophy of the Imperial and Royal University of Vienna, Knight of the Franz-Josef Order, Imperial and Royal Court Organist, Member of the Imperial and Royal Court Musical Ensemble, Reader in Harmony and Counterpoint in the Imperial and Royal University of Vienna, Honorary Citizen of Ansfelden and Linz, Honorary Member of the Vienna Men's Choral Society, etc., etc., who on Sunday 11 October 1896 at 3:30 pm, after a long and painful illness and having received the last holy sacraments, in the 73rd year of life fell asleep blessed in the Lord. The earthly shell of the deceased will be taken on Wednesday 14 October at 3:00 pm from the house of mourning (the Kustodenstöckl of the Upper-Belvedere, located at No. 3 Heugasse in the third District) to the Parish Church of St. Charles Borromeo, there to be solemnly blessed, after which follows its laying to rest in the Monastery Church of St. Florian in Upper-Austria after further ecclesiastical ceremonies. Holy Mass for his soul will be said in St. Charles on Thursday 15 inst. at 10:00 am, and in many other churches. Vienna, 13 October 1896. »

(Reported in the Deutsche Zeitung - Thursday, 15 October 1896.)

The mayor of Vienna Josef Strobach dedicated a eulogy to composer Anton Bruckner during the last council meeting and the City Council voted unanimously to absorb the costs of the funerals.

...

Im Namen seiner beiden Geschwister Rosalia und Ignaz wurde folgende Parte verteilt : Vom tiefsten Schmerze gebeugt, geben die Unterzeichneten Nachricht vom Hinscheiden ihres innigstgeliebten Bruders, des Herrn Professor Anton Bruckner Ehren- Doctor der Philosophie der Kaiserlich-Königlich Universität in Wien, Ritter des Franz-Josef-Ordens, Kaiserlich-Königlich Hoforganist, Mitglied der Kaiserlich und Königlich Hofmusik-Kapelle, Lector für Harmonielehre und Contrapunkt an der Universität Wien, Ehrenbürger von Ansfelden und Linz welcher am Sonntag, den 11. October 1896, um 4 Uhr Nachmittags, nach langem schmerzvollen Leiden und Empfang der heiligen Sterb-Sacramente im 73. Lebensjahre selig in dem Herrn entschlafen ist. Die irdische Hülle des uns theueren Verblichenen wird Mittwoch den 14. dieses Monats, um 3 Uhr Nachmittags, vom Trauerhause : III. Bezirk, Heugasse Nummer 3, oberes Belvedere, in die Pfarrkirche zu Sankt Karl Borromäus überführt, daselbst feierlichst eingesegnet, worauf die Beisetzung in die Stiftskirche Sankt Florian in Oberösterreich nach nochmaliger Einsegnung und Requiem erfolgt. Die heiligen Seelenmessen werden Donnerstag den 15. dieses Monats, um 10 Uhr Vormittags, in obgenannter Pfarrkirche sowie in mehreren anderen Kirchen gelesen. Wien, den 12. October 1896. Rosalie (« Sali ») Hueber, geborene Brucknerals Schwester Ignaz Brucknerals Brüder.

At the announcement of the death of Anton Bruckner in the greatest pain, the estate was bequeathed, in equal shares, to his brother Ignaz and his sister Rosalie. Professor Bruckner has received the following honours : Doctor of Philosophy from the Imperial-Royal University of Vienna ; Knight of the Order of Franz-Josef ; Imperial-Royal organist of the Court ; Imperial-Royal member of the Music Chapel of the Court ; speaker on harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna ; honorary citizen of Ansfelden and Linz. He died in his sleep on Sunday, October 11th, 1896, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, following a long illness and great suffering. He received the sacrament of the Dead in its 73rd year of life. The funeral will be held on Wednesday, the 14th of this month, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The remains will leave the house located at Number 3 « Heugasse » on the Upper-Belvedere, and will be brought to the parish church of St. Charles Borromeo for the celebration of the « Requiem » Mass. After that, the coffin will be transferred to the monastery of St. Florian, in Upper-Austria, his final resting place. After repeated blessings, another « Requiem » Mass will be celebrated on the 15th of this month, at 10:00 am, in the Abbey Church and several other churches of Austria.

(Vienna, 12 October 1896. Rosalie Hueber, sister of Bruckner ; and Ignaz Bruckner, brother of Anton.)

Inheritance and payments related to the copyright of Bruckner's works were bequeathed, in equal parts, to his younger brother Ignaz and his sister Rosalie : which is worth about 10,000 Florins (Guilders) .

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### The funeral procession from the Upper-Belvedere Kustodenstöckl to the Karlskirche

**Vienna : Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (early afternoon) .**

Anton Bruckner's associations with the Austrian State and the Vienna University meant that full civic and academic honours were accorded him, providing a striking contrast with his humble origins. No expense was spared : the coffin was made of bronze, a glass-walled hearse covered with flowers and wreaths was drawn by 6 black horses, and 2 wagons were required to transport the innumerable floral tributes. The coffin was lifted on to the hearse at 3 o'clock and, after the « Akademischer Gesangverein » had sung Bruckner's « Germanenzug » , the « cortège » , including the official representatives of the Austrian Government, the Vienna Conservatory, the « Hofoper » , the general superintendence of the Imperial Theaters, all Viennese theaters, representatives of the University carrying banners, and choral and other musical Societies such as the « Schubertbund » and the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » began its solemn progress under a suitably grey sky. The 2 Bruckner's siblings still alive, Rosalia (« Sali ») and Ignaz (« Nazi ») , rode in the 1st carriage.

In the 2nd carriage travelled the acting Mayor of Vienna, Josef Strobach, accompanied by his 2 Deputy counsellors : Karl Lueger (the next Mayor, 1897-1910) and Josef Neumayer (who will replace the fallen Lueger, 1910-1912) followed by other representatives of the municipal Council.

In the 3rd carriage travelled Bruckner's executor, Imperial Legal Advocate Doctor Theodor Reisch. Among the mourners who followed were Brucknerians such as : organist and composer Josef Vockner (1842-1906) ; writers Theodor Helm

and August Göllerich, Junior ; various performers, and members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

Half an hour after setting-out, the cortège arrived at the Karlskirche, where there was already a large crowd waiting, including all manner of State and Civic dignitaries, senior members of the University, leading arts administrators and musicians, and even 2 inspectors from the fire brigade.

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### The Karlskirche funeral ceremony

**Vienna : Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (3:00 pm) .**

The funeral was completely in the hands of the City Council and, to a lesser extent, the academic and musical institutions of Vienna, so that the composer's relatives, who drop-out of journalistic narrative as soon as they have entered it, could do nothing but simply let it all happen around them.

Those attending included : Rosalia Hueber (1829-1898) and Ignaz Bruckner (1833-1913) , the only surviving siblings of the composer ; conductors Hans Richter, Wilhelm Jahn, Ferdinand Löwe and Richard von Perger ; Josef Vockner who will succeed Bruckner at the Conservatory ; music-writers Theodor Helm and August Göllerich, Junior ; Mayor Josef Strobach ; Deputy counsellors Karl Lueger and Josef Neumayer ; professor Siegmund Exner, Rector of the University accompanied by other senior members ; musicians of the Wiener Hofoper ; 200 dignitaries from Vienna's musical scene ; members of the Akademischer Wagner-Verein, the Akademischer Gesangverein, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and the Schubertbund Music Societies ; leading arts administrators and musicians ; plus numerous professors, colleagues and students.

Resident of a small apartment (with big windows in the living-room) on the 4th floor of a plain stone building at No. 4 of the Karlsgasse, next to the looming Baroque dome of the Karlskirche, Johannes Brahms, suffering of a fatal liver condition, still manage to be late for the ceremony ! He is forced to remain standing in the back, near the closed doors. Not far from him, behind a big pillar, sits (in the twilight) little Bernhard Paumgartner, aged 9, with his mother, operatic soprano Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, a close friend of Bruckner. The child will see tears dropping on the cheeks of the 63 year old composer who voluntarily distances himself from the crowd. An attendant approaches Brahms and assures being able to find him a place somewhere in the church. But Brahms, in a sombre mood, seems to mutter something like :

« Ha, whatever. I'll be the next to find myself in a coffin. »

(He will die only a few months after, on April 3rd, 1897.)

During the solemn blessing of the body, 2 of the most prestigious Viennese Choral Societies were each chosen to performed a specific sacred work.

The Wiener Männergesang-Verein Men's Choir sang the « Libera me, Domine » for male-choir and wind instruments (edited by Anton Böhm & Sohn, 1909) composed by Johann Herbeck, a fierce supporter of Bruckner in Vienna since the beginning.

Afterwards, the Singverein under its current director, composer Richard von Perger (1854-1911) , provided the only formal musical contribution of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde : The Litany for the Feast of All Saints (Litanei auf das Fest Go Seelen) by Franz Schubert (D. 343) , a work dating from 1816 (first edition of 1831, edited by Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1894-1895) based on a libretto written by Johann Georg Jacobi (1740-1814) .

As requested in Bruckner's will, the middle-section of his first published work : « Germanenzug » (the Germanic Host) (**WAB 70**) , based on a text by August Silberstein, was also given during the Mass. A secular (patriotic) Cantata in D minor, composed in 1863-1864, for male solo quartet (SATB) , a cappella male-choir, and brass ensemble (consisting of 2 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, 3 horns, 1 baritone horn - or euphonium, and 1 bass tuba) . The performers, for the occasion, are the Wiener Akademischer Gesangsverein accompanied by a horn quartet composed of musicians of the Hofoper.

Finally, the renowned Wagnerian Hans Richter conducted the funeral music taken from the Adagio of the 7th Symphony, in a version for harmony (wind instruments arranged for the occasion by the beloved Bruckner disciple, Ferdinand Löwe. The effect in the vast church was grandiose !

(During the execution of Bruckner's works, the wind-section of the Vienna Court Opera was not visible to the public.)

The last word was given to a member of the Akademischer Gesangsverein, who bade farewell on behalf of the Gesangsverein and the student body of the University. The ceremonies ended, at half past 4.

A commemorative plaque donated in 1993 by Die Gesellschaft der Freunde Wiens, located at the Karlskirche entrance, observes his passing.

It reads :

« Zum gedenkam an Anton Bruckner. In dieserkirche wurde sein Leichnam am 14 Oktober 1896 unter Teilnahme der Wiener Musikwelt feierlich eingeseget. »

(In Commemoration of Anton Bruckner. In this church, on October 14, 1896, his body was solemnly consecrated with the participation of the Viennese musical world.)

The Brucknerstraße (originally named Brucknergasse, on 4 January 1901) is located near the Karlskirche.

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The funeral procession from the Karlskirche to the Westbahnhof

**Vienna : Wednesday, 14 October 1896 (4:30 pm) .**

Inconsolable and frustrated, Johannes Brahms will leave the Karlskirche before the ending of the ceremony to be part of the following funeral procession which will stop at the Wien Westbahnhof (Vienna's West Train Station) where a special train, bound for St. Florian's station (Sankt Florian Bahnhof) , is awaiting the bronze coffin. Member of no official Musical Society, the beloved student of the Master, Hugo Wolf, now aged 36 (who was refused admission inside the church because owning no pre-paid ticket) will probably also join the cortège.

Unfortunately, neither Wolf nor Brahms will be aloud to give Bruckner a last and solemn tribute.

In all, thousands of people will attend the closing procession. It is reported that Wilhelm Jahn, the acting music-director of the Wiener Hofoper was the first in front. Not far behind, Brahms followed reverently (after years of misunderstanding and rivalry) . The mourners will march silently through the streets of Vienna. Most probably, they will turn on Heßgasse and stop in front of Bruckner's last civic apartment : the Wohnhaus ; their eyes will stare at the windows of the 4th floor. The train will leave the Westbahnhof in the evening for Linz (where the composer lived from 1856 to 1868) then for St. Florian, its ultimate stop.

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### **The St. Florian funeral ceremony**

**St. Florian : Thursday, 15 October, 1896 (10:00 am) .**

After repeated blessings, a second official funeral ceremony (following the one at the Karlskirche in Vienna, the day before) is celebrated at the Collegiate Church of St. Florian's Abbey (and also in several other churches in Austria) .

The Dean of the Monastery is accompanied by 60 members of the clergy. A strong delegation composed of representatives from the private sector, politicians from Upper-Austria and from the City of Linz. All the firefighters of St. Florian are present at the ceremony !

According to Bruckner's will (and thanks to the special permission of the prelates of the monastery) , the sarcophagus was placed in the crypt under the great organ. During the impressive burial ceremony, house-organist Josef Gruber (a former student from the Harmony class of the Master at the Vienna Conservatory, in 1887-1888, who became a musical devotee of the Cecilian ideals) improvised on themes from Parsifal, the final Opera by Richard Wagner.

The sacred Motet « Libera me, Domine » (Deliver me, O Lord) No. 2 in F minor (composed originally for the inhumation of prelate Michæl Arneth, in March of 1854) (**WAB 22**) was also performed.

As an ultimate tribute to their beloved and famous Kapellmeister, now deceased, all members of the Liedertafel (Choral Society) Frohsinn of Linz are on site to sing with great emotion Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's 1833 sacred chorus «

Beati Mortui in Domino » (Blessed are the Dead) , Opus (posthumous) 115, No. 1. Largely and smoothly homophonic, with occasional simple imitation between basses and tenors or among all 4 parts, this seems to belong as much to the tradition of the Romantic Chorlied as to that of sacred music. Mendelssohn composed it in German, adding the Latin text as an alternative ; in German, that text is « Wie selig sind die Toten » , one of the core texts of Johannes Brahms' Ein deutsches Requiem.

Beati mortui in Domino morientes deinceps moriuntur amodo.  
Etiam Dicit enim spiritus,  
ut requiescant a laboribus suis  
et opera illorum sequentur ipsos.

English translation :

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord  
from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit,  
that they may rest from their labours ;  
and their works do follow them.

In 1847, the young Bruckner, aged only 23, had the opportunity to hear in Linz the Oratorio Paulus (St. Paul) , Opus 36, by Mendelssohn. This was the catalyst for his gradual move towards composition, signaled by performances at St. Florian of his Requiem Mass (1849) and his Magnificat and Missa solemnis in B-flat minor (both in 1854) .

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### The aftermath

With the news of Bruckner's death, obituary feuilletons by music-critics, information and reports of the funeral, and publications of condolence messages from important people outside Vienna, the daily papers were involved with Bruckner for between 3 and 6 days. The final word (excluding the resumption of the discussion every time a work by Bruckner was performed) came in the form of a desperate plea published in the Neue Musikalische Presse, a plea which, in the light of nearly a Century of belief that the final movement of the 9th Symphony was so fragmentary as to make any thought of reconstruction and completion impossible, appears to have remained largely unanswered :

« This request is directed to all persons who still have original manuscripts from Bruckner in hand and also to those who possess copies of unedited works of the Master : that they allow such manuscripts and copies to be sent to his executor, Doctor Theodor Reisch, Court Advocate, No. 19 Gatterburggasse, Vienna XIX, for the purpose of making possible a complete collection of all Bruckner's works. »

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### Related events ending the year 1896

**18 October 1896** : Josef Schalk obtained in concert with Doctor Theodor Reisch's equation protocol what was left of the manuscripts of the Finale of the 9th to study their context. All other scores, drafts and sketches were, as far as they had not disappeared or given to other people, transferred to the Court Library in Vienna (currently the Austrian National Library) , all in accordance with Bruckner's Last Will.

After Josef Schalk's death, on 7 November 1900, the Finale's manuscripts went to his brother Franz. In 1911, they were lent to Max Auer for analysis. In 1914, 4 score bi-folios were transferred from pianist Cyrill Hynais to the Vienna City and State Library and classified as such, on 14 April 1915. Another bi-folio, also in private hands, was handed to the Music Academy in Vienna, in 1916.

In Bruckner. Versuch eines Lebens (Berlin, 1919) by Ernst Décsey, also one of Bruckner's former pupils, a total number of 75 bi-folios of the Finale is mentioned for the first time. In 1927, Amalie Löwe, the widow of Ferdinand (he had died on 6 January 1925) , and Rosalie Hueber (Bruckner's sister) sold a number of manuscript pages of the 9th to the Vienna City and State Library. It was in the same year that the Anton Bruckner Gesellschaft was established. In 1933, followed another sale by Amalie Löwe, this time to the Prussian State Library, in Berlin, and, in 1939, by Lili Schalk, the widow of Franz, to the Austrian National Library.

**November 1896** : Before a packed hall, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Arthur Nikisch premieres Gustav Mahler's « Blumenstück » , and it receives the best reception (from both audience and critics) so far for Mahler.

**16 November 1896** : In Memoriam Concert in Berlin - Siegfried Ochs conducts Bruckner's Te Deum (**WAB 45**) with the Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir. Soloists : Emilie Herzog, soprano ; Lula Mysz-Gmeiner, alto ; Carl Dierich, tenor ; Anton Sistermans, bass. At the organ : Heinrich Reimann.

**18 November 1896** : Repeat of November 16th Concert. The soloists : Marie Berg, soprano ; Lula Mysz-Gmeiner, alto ; Heinrich Grahl, tenor ; Anton Sistermans, bass. At the organ : Heinrich Reimann.

**26 November 1896** : Take-over of testamentary bequeathed manuscripts by the Vienna Court Library (today, the Austrian National Library) .

Review of the manuscripts of the unfinished Finale of the 9th Symphony.

Reviewing the Mass in E minor before it goes for printing.

The Viennese publisher Ludwig Döblinger prints the Franz Schalk version of the 5th Symphony and the the second version (with minor corrections) of the Mass in E minor.

**8 December 1896** (5:00 pm) : In Memoriam Concert at the Dresden Lukaskirche - Heinrich Porges conducts his Porges'scher Chorverein in 2 sacred Motet by Bruckner : Christus factus est (**WAB 11**) and Virga Jesse floruit (**WAB 52**) .

**December 1896** : The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Felix Weingartner performs Gustav Mahler's « Blumenstück » , in Hamburg. The audience insists on an encore. Also in December, Mahler conducts the first 2 movements of his Symphony No. 2 (Resurrection) in Leipzig. The first movement to mixed applause and boos ; and the second movement more successfully.

**December 1896** : Alexander von Zemlinsky has 2 premieres in Vienna : his String Quartet in A major, Opus 4, and then, a few days later, his Clarinet Trio in D minor, Opus 3. They both sound very much like Brahms, and are received very well.

**30 December 1896 (7:00 pm)** : In Memoriam Concert - Herman Zumpfe conducts Bruckner's Te Deum (**WAB 45**) with the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra and the Kaim-Chor. Soloists : Meta Hieber, soprano ; Elisabeth Exter, alto ; U. Schreiber, tenor ; Eduard Schuegraf, bass.

There were still premieres to be given, and major works still to be published. Unfortunately, both performances and publications maintained an uncertain relationship to Bruckner's manuscripts.

A victim of chronic asthma, Josef Schalk outlived Bruckner by only 4 years (he suffered his first asthma attack in 1889 ; his health worsened in 1890 and became significantly worse in 1897) .

His brother Franz, however, continued the distinguished career that was eventually to take him to Austria's most senior musical position, Director of the Vienna Hofoper, via posts in Prague and the Kapellmeistership of the Royal Opera in Berlin. In 1930, he received the title of Generalmusikdirektor as a mark of esteem. He was also, because of his close personal connection to Bruckner, an « unassailable authority in all things Brucknerian » , a situation that was not to last.

Franz undoubtedly made a positive contribution to the first of the 3 great controversies that dominated Bruckner reception in the 20th Century, the continuing struggle over the artistic worth of Bruckner's music. That this was a struggle that Bruckner eventually won is testified to by the experiences of millions of listeners world-wide, even if Bruckner continued for a long time to be a « cause » , a composer conductors either specialized in or left alone.

In the context of the 1889 version of the Third Symphony, Gustav Mahler had championed Bruckner's 1877 version, but the idea of Mahler as a defender of original versions is unfortunately not in accordance with the facts.

### Funerals of Johannes Brahms (1897)

**3 April 1897** : In his Vienna residence at No. 4 Karlsgasse, Johannes Brahms dies of liver cancer according to some biographies, but it would actually pancreatic cancer. He was almost 64 year old. He is buried in Central Cemetery, as Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert.

The evening papers announced that Johannes Brahms had breathed his last ; the next day, the morning papers took-



up the tale and Vienna's florists had cause to believe that they were having a good year. Perhaps, a measure of Brahms's more general popularity, or perhaps, reflecting the superiority of the spring flower supply, it took 5 wagons (as opposed to Anton Bruckner's 2) to carry the wreaths, which numbered more than 200. Unlike Bruckner, who had specified his last resting place in his will and caused his Viennese « cortège » to terminate at the railway station, Brahms left only an un-signed will and no written specifications for the disposal of his remains. This was probably a good thing for his Viennese friends, since, as reported in the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*, he had repeatedly expressed a wish to have his body cremated, and this was by no means the local custom. An excuse for a burial, however, was found. It took this form :

« On the other hand, on the occasion of Billroth's funeral, pointing to the graves of Beethoven and Schubert, he uttered to Max Kalbeck : " One would rest well here ! " All these circumstances were discussed in his circle of friends ; finally, it was agreed that Brahms be committed to the ground. As soon as news of the Master's passing reached the Town Hall, the City of Vienna voted him a grave of honour. »

This was not the end of the matter, since it occasioned a lengthy discussion at a specially convened session of the directors of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* which, in lieu (rather than in spite) of relatives of the deceased, had undertaken to run the funeral. The result of this discussion, that the body would indeed be buried, was reported the next day in the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*.

The funeral itself was held on 6 April. Brahms began his last journey at half past 2, a half hour earlier than Bruckner had begun his. Sealed in a metal coffin and carried in a glass-walled hearse drawn (like Bruckner's) by 6 horses, the body was taken from No. 4 *Karlgasse* to the nearby *Karlskirche*. Unlike Bruckner, however, Brahms, being nominally protestant, did not go in. Nevertheless, by making this the point where the already enormous cortège gathered and marshalled even more persons, the Viennese gave Brahms (and themselves) the next best thing to a service in the *Karlskirche*. The procession itself included people at the head of Vienna's arts administration, such as the General Intendant, Baron Bezecny, and Privy Councillor Nikolaus Dumba, composers such as Antonín Dvořák and (much lower down the list) Ignaz Brüll, Eduard Schütt, Richard Heuberger, Hans Köbler, and Anton Růkauf, just about every chamber ensemble, instrumentalist, and singer (including Anton Stermans, whose career was really blossoming, thanks to the « *Vier ernste Gesänge* ») numerous representatives of major musical institutions outside Vienna, people whose businesses had done well out of Brahms, such as the concert-agents Alexander Rosé and Emil Gutmann, a considerable contingent from the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, representatives of choral and literary Societies, and a larger contingent of journalists than that noted as being present at Bruckner's funeral : Max Kalbeck, Robert Hirschfeld, Theodor Helm, Gustav Schönaich, and Albert Kauders, not to forget Richard Heuberger who was already listed as a composer. This is not to say that journalists other than Helm were not also at Bruckner's funeral, nor that other journalists than those listed were not present at Brahms's. Their listing, however, seems to imply an « official » presence indicating a larger number of journalists who were close to Brahms, as well as giving some indication of the ranking of journalists in terms of perceived importance. Although the wreath sent by the city of Vienna sat atop the coffin along with the wreath from Brahms's native city of Hamburg, there was not the prominence of city council presence which had characterized Bruckner's funeral. This was very much the day of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Brahms's « family » .

The cortège, led by a standard-bearer in old Spanish dress, made its way across the Karlsplatz to the Gesellschaft's own buildings, where it made a station so that Brahms could receive the official farewell of the vice-president of the Gesellschaft, Doctor Billing, and the director of the Konservatorium, Johann Nepomuk Fuchs. The Gesellschaft's Choral Society, the Singverein, sang Brahms's « Fahr wohl » . After this station, the procession continued through the streets, past the Opera and, eventually, to the protestant church on Dorotheergasse, where government and city dignitaries, including a representative of the education minister and the 2 vice-Mayors, the musician Otto Franz representing the Duke of Meiningen, Wilhelm Jahn, director of the Court Opera, and the composer Carl Goldmark, awaited its arrival. The papers reported that the church choir sang « Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath » by Felix Mendelssohn. This, however, is not correct ; the choir actually sang a Chorale, but the largely Roman Catholic congregation, not knowing it, did not join in. Pastor Zimmermann delivered a panegyric, the Wiener Männergesangverein sang Carl Gottlieb Reissiger's « Wanderers Nachtfahrt » , as was its custom on such occasions, and the procession began the final leg of its journey to the Zentralfriedhof.

The cortège arrived at the cemetery gate at half past 5. Here, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, once more, took charge of the proceedings. At the gate, its general secretary, Ludwig Koch, distributed wax candles to 12 men, including Max Kalbeck and Richard Heuberger, who conducted their revered Master to his final resting place, grave No. 27, opposite Ludwig van Beethoven and in the vicinity of Franz Schubert and Johann Herbeck. Brahms's pupil, Richard von Perger, had the last word and the funeral was ended. Subsequent memorials to Brahms will be performed during the concert season.